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CALENDAR FOR 1939

JANUARY							MAY							SEPTEMBER						
S.	1	8	15	22	29	...	S.	...	7	14	21	28	...	S.	...	3	10	17	24	...
M.	2	9	16	23	30	...	M.	1	8	15	22	29	...	M.	...	4	11	18	25	...
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S.	4	11	18	25	...	...	S.	3	10	17	24	...	...	S.	7	14	21	28	...	...

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APRIL							AUGUST							DECEMBER						
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Th.	...	6	13	20	27	...	Th.	3	10	17	24	31	...	Th.	...	7	14	21	28	...
F.	...	7	14	21	28	...	F.	4	11	18	25	...	...	F.	1	8	15	22	29	...
S.	1	8	15	22	29	...	S.	5	12	19	26	...	...	S.	2	9	16	23	30	...

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Administration of India 1939

Reigning Sovereign—His Majesty George the VI

India Office

Secretary of State for India—Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, P. C., G. C. I. E., K. C. I. E.

Permanent Under-Secretary of State—Sir F. Stewart, G.C.I.E., K.C S.I., C.S.I.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State—Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley, M.C., M.P.

Advisers to the Secretary of State—Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Horace Williamson, Sir Joseph Clay, Sir Henry Strakosch, Sir R. Glancy, Khan Bahadur Sir Abdul Quadir, Sir Allan Parsons, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh.

High Commissioner of India—Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Kt.

Trade Commissioner for India—Dr. D. B. Meek.

Government of India

Viceroy and Governor General

His Excellency The Most Honourable The Marquess of Linlithgow, P.C., K.T, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., O.B.E., D.L., T.D.

Commander-in-Chief in India

His Excellency General Sir Robert A. Cassels, G.C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.

Members of Council

The Honourable Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E. (*Education Health and Lands*)

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E. (*Law*)

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Home*)

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Communication*)

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Finance*)

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, (*Commerce and Labour*)

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) In Central Assembly

Congress Party	47
Muslim League Party	26
Congress Nationalists	11
European Group	10
Non-Party	20
Officials	26
	140

(b) In Council of State

Independent Progressive Party	9
Congress Party	8
Muslim League	7
	24

Government of Bengal

Governor

Lord Brabourne, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., M.C. (Appointed November, 27, 1937.)

Council of Ministers (Coalition)

Hon. Mr. Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq, *Chief Minister* (*Education*)
Hon. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, (*Finance*)
Hon. Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, Kt. (*Revenue*)
Hon. Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur of Dacca (*Local Self-Govt.*)
Hon. Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandy, (*Communications and Works*)
Hon. Mr. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy (*Commerce, Labour, Rural Reconstruction*)
Hon. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin K.C.I.E., (*Home*)
Hon. Nawab Musharraff Hussain, Khan Bahadur, (*Judicial & Legislative*)
Hon. Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikut (*Forest and Excise*).
Hon. Mr. Mukunda Behari Mullick, (*Co-operative Credit & Indebtedness*)
Hon. Mr. Tamijuddin Khan (*Public Health, Constitution and Election*)

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) In Assembly

Govt. Supporters :—

Muslim Coalition consisting of Proja, Muslim League Parties	90
Scheduled Caste Group	11
European Group	25
Anglo-Indian Group	4
Hindu Nationalist Group	7
	155

Opposition :—

Congress Party	53
Proja, Krishak Proja, Members belonging to no party, Scheduled caste group, Nationalists	58
	111

(b) IN COUNCIL

Govt, Supporters :—	
Unattached	2
Krisak Praja Party	9
League Party	7
European Group	6
No Party	16
	38
Opposition :—	
Congress Group	13
Progressive Party	6
No Party	5
	24

Government of Bombay

Governor

H. E. Sir Roger Lumley, G.C.I.E., T.D.

Council of Ministers (CONGRESS)

1. Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher (*Prime Minister*) *Political & Services, Education and Labour.*

2. Hon. Mr. A. B. Lathe,—*Finance, Rural Development & Agricultural Department.*

3. Hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi—*Home and Legal, Medical, Public Health.*

4. Hon. Dr. D. D. Gilder—*Health & Excise.*

5. Hon. Mr. M. R. Desai—*Revenue.*

6. Hon. Mr. L. M. Patil—*Local Self-Government and Miscellaneous.*

7. Hon. Mr. M. Y. Nurie—*Public Works.*

Parliamentary Secretaries

1. Gulzarilal Nanda, Esq., P. S. to the Honourable the Prime Minister (Labour) and to the Hon'ble Minister for Excise.

2. B. M. Gupta, Esq., P. S. to the Hon'ble Minister for Home Department and to the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government.

3. Mrs. Hansa Jivraj Mehta, P. S. to the Hon. Prime Minister (*Education*) and to the Hon. Minister for Health.

4. M. P. Patil, Esq., P. S. to the Hon. Minister for Finance, Rural Development and Agriculture.

5. T. R. Nesvi, Esq., P. S. to the Hon. Minister for Public Works.

6. B. S. Hiray, Esq., P. S. to the Hon. Minister for Revenue.

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) IN ASSEMBLY

Congress Party	89
Opposition :—	
Muslim League Party	26
Independent Labour Party	14
Progress Party	12
Peasants & Peoples Party	8
Peasants & Workers Party	8
Democratic Swaraj Party	5
Independents	13
	86
Total	175

(b) IN COUNCIL

Congress Party	14
Opposition	16
Total	30

Government of Madras

Governor :—Lord Erskine, G.C.I.E.

Council of Ministers (Congress)

Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari, *Prime Minister* (*Public and Finance*)
Hon. Mr. T. Prakasam, (*Revenue*)
" " Yakub Hasan, (*Public Works*)
" Dr. Subbarayan, (*Education and Legal*)
Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, (*Public Health*)
Hon. Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai, (*Agriculture and Rural*)
Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, (*Industries and Labour*)
Hon. Mr. S. Ramnathan (*Administration Reports and Public Informations*)
Hon. Mr. K. Raman Menon, (*Courts and Prisons*)
Hon. Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, (*Local Administration*)

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) IN ASSEMBLY

Govt. Supporters :—		
Congress		159
Opposition :—		
Justice Party	17	
Moslem League	13	
European Group	7	55
Anglo-Indian Group	2	
Independents	12	
National Democrats	4	
		214

(b) In Council

Govt. Supporters :—

Congress		27

Opposition :—

Justice Party	6	
Muslim Group	4	27
Independents	12	
National Democrats	5	
		54

Govt. of the United Provinces

Governor

His Excellency Sir Harry Graham Haig, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Council of Ministers (Congress)

Hon. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A., *Premier and Minister of Home Affairs and Finance.*

Hon. Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, B.A., M.L.A., *Minister of Revenue and Jails.*

Hon. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, M.A., LL.D., M.L.A., *Minister of Justice, Development, Agriculture and Veterinary.*

Hon. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, M.L.A., *Minister of Local Self-Government and Health.*

Hon. Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A., *Minister of Communications and Irrigation.*

Hon. Shri Sampurnanand, B.SC., M.L.A., *Minister of Education.*

Parliamentary Secretaries

Parliamentary Secretaries to the Premier and Minister of Home Affairs and Finance :—

1. Shri Venkatesh Narayan Tiwari, M.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
2. Dr. Mahmud Ullah Jung, M.A., LL.D., Bar-at-Law, M.L.C.,
3. Mr. Muhammad Suleman Ansari, M.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
4. Kunwar Anand Singh, M.L.A. (also Chief Whip to Govt).

Parliamentary Secretaries to the Minister of Revenue and Jails :—

1. Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, M.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
2. Shri Hukum Singh, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
3. Shri Gopi Nath Srivastava, M.L.A.

Parliamentary Secretaries to the Minister of Justice, Agriculture, Development and Veterinary :—

1. Shri Jugal Kishore, M.A. (Oxon.), M.L.A.
2. Shri Behari Lal, M.L.A.

Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Local Self-Government and Health :—

Shri Athmaram Govind Kher, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.

Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education :—

Shri Karan Singh Kane, B.A., I.C.R.A. (Glasgow), M.L.A.

Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Communications & Irrigation :—

Shri Lakshmi Narain, B.A. (Hons.), M.L.C.

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) In Assembly

Congress	147
Muslim League	36
Independent Party	24
Not attached to any Party	20
Vacant	1
Total	228

(b) In Council

Congress Party	14
Nationalists	13
Independent Party	8
Not attached to any Party	25
Total	60

Government of Behar

Governor—His Excellency Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Council of Ministers (Congress)

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Shri Krishna Sinha (*Prime Minister*) *Home Affairs, Revenue and Legislative.*

(2) The Hon'ble Mr. Anugrah Narayan Singh—*Finance, Local Self-Government and Public Works.*

(3) The Hon'ble Mr. Saiyid Mahmud, *Education, Development and Employment.*

(4) The Hon'ble Mr. Juglal Choudhury —*Excise and Public Health.*

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Babu Sivanandan Prasad Mandal, M.L.A., *Judicial and Jails.*

(2) Babu Krishna Ballabh Sahay, M.L.A., *Appointment and Political.*

(3) Babu Jagat Narayan Lal, M.L.A.— *Finance and Commerce.*

(4) Babu Jimut Bahan Sen, M.L.A.,— *Public Works and Irrigation.*

(5) Babu Binodanand Jha, M.L.A.,— *Local Self-Government, Medical and Public Health.*

(6) Babu Sarangadhar Sinha, M.L.A.,— *Revenue and Education including Registration.*

(7) Babu Jagjivan Ram, M.L.A.,— *Development.*

(8) Maulavi Sayeedul Haque, M.L.A.— *Excise.*

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) IN ASSEMBLY

Congress	98
The Bihar Nationalist Coalition	26
The Muslim Independent	20
Muslim League	4
No Party	3
	151

(exclusive of the Hon'ble the Speaker.)

(b) IN COUNCIL

Congress Party	10
The Bihar Nationalist Coalition	11
Independent Party	3
No Party	5
	29

(exclusive of the Hon'ble the President.)

Government of Assam

1. Sir Robert Niel Reid, K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E.

Council of Ministers (CONGRESS—COALITION)

2. (i) The Hon'ble Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi, M.A., B.L., Prime Minister, in charge of Home and Education Departments.

(ii) The Hon'ble Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Barrister-at-Law, Minister in Charge of Finance and Revenue Departments.

(iii) The Hon'ble Babu Kamini Kumar Sen, B.L., Minister in charge of Legislative, L.S.G., Judicial and General Departments.

(iv) The Hon'ble Srijut Ramnath Das, B.L., Minister in charge of Medical, Public Health, Welfare of Labour, Boiler, Factories and Electricity Departments.

(v) The Hon'ble Babu Akshay Kumar Das, B.L., Minister in charge of Excise and Agriculture Departments.

(vi) The Hon'ble Maulvi Md. Ali Haidar Khan, Minister in charge of Public Works Department.

(vii) The Hon'ble Srijut Rupnath Brahma, B.L. Minister in charge of Forest and Registration Departments.

(viii) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mahmud Ali, Minister in charge of Industries and Co-operative Departments.

Numerical strength of Parties

(a) IN ASSEMBLY

(1) Congress—Coalition (Ministerialist) Party	55
(2) Assam United Party	51
	106

Government of the Punjab

Governor

His Excellency Sir Henry Duffield Craik, Bart, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.

Council of Ministers

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Major Sirdar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, K.B.E. *Premier*

The Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Dr. Sardar Sir Sundar Singh Majithia, Kt. C.I.E., D.O.L., *Minister of Revenue.*

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram, B.A, L.L.B.,—*Minister of Development.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Manohar Lal, M A.,—*Finance Minister.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Nawabzada Major Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana—*Minister of Public Works.*

The Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye—*Minister of Education.*

Parliamentary Secretaries

Khan Bahadur Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana C.B.E.—*Political and Chief Official Whip.*

Mir Maqbool Mahmood—*General.*

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh, M.A.—*Home.*

Mrs. Jahanara Shah Nawaz, M.B.E.—*Education, Medical Relief and Public Health.*

Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan—*Revenue and Irrigation.*

Chaudhri Tika Ram, B.A., L.L.B., M.B.E. *Development.*

Thakur Ripudaman Singh, B.A.—*Finance*

Shaikh Faiz Muhammad, B.A., L.L.B., M.B.E.,—*Local Self-Government and Public Works*

Numerical Strength of Parties

Ministerial Party	111
Congress Party	39
Independents	20
Ahrar Party	2
Vacant (In Sept. 39)	2
	174

Govt. of Central Provinces

Governor

His Excellency Sir Francis Verner Wylie, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (from 28-5-1938).

Council of Ministers (Congress)

1. The Hon'ble Pandit R. S. Shukla, *Prime Minister & Minister of Home Affairs* (30-7-38).

2. The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. Mishra *Minister of L. S. G.* (30-7-38).

3. The Hon'ble Mr. D. K. Mehta *Minister of Finance & Law* (30-7-38).
4. The Hon'ble Mr. S. V. Gokhale *Minister of Revenue and Education* (30-7-38).
5. The Hon'ble Mr. C. J. Bharuka, *Minister of Industries and Public Works*, (30-7-38).

Numercial Strength of Parties

Congress	73
Independent	17
United	5
Muslim League	10
	105
Unattached	7
	112

Government of Orissa

Governor

Sir John Austen Hubback, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., (*Appointed April 1, 1937*).

Council of Ministers (Congress)

(1) The Hon'ble Sri Biswanath Das, B.A., B.L., (*Home & Finance*). *Prime Minister.*
(2) The Hon'ble Sri Nityananda Kanungo, B.A., B.L., (*Revenue, Public Works and Development*).
(3) The Hon'ble Sri Bodhram Dube, M.A., B.L., (*Education, Law, Commerce and Labour and Local Self Government*).

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Sri Jadumoni Mangaraj, B.SC. (Nal) (*Finance & Publicity*)
(2) Sri Jagannath Misra, B.A., B.L., (*Revenue & Public Works*)
(3) Sri Rajkishore Bose, (*Education, Local Self-Government and Law, Commerce & Labour*)

Numerical Strength of Parties

Congress	36*
Opposition	23†
Total	60

* This excludes the Speaker who was returned on Congress ticket.
† One of the members having died the present number is 22.
There are two party groups—the Congress party and the National party consisting of 35 and 13 members respectively and two other parties called the All Orissa United Party and the Independent party consisting of one member each in this Assembly.

Government of Sind

Governor

Sir Lancelot Graham, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Council of Ministers

1. The Hon'ble K. B. Allah Bakhsh Muhammad Umer, O.B.E., (*Finance, Excise and Industries Departments*).
2. The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, K.C.S.I., (*Home, General, Legal, Political and Miscellaneous Departments*).
3. The Hon'ble Mr. Nihchaldas C. Vazirani (*Public Works, Public Health and Medical Departments*).
4. The Hon'ble Mir Bundeh Ali Khan Tallur (*Revenue Department*).
5. The Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawazali, (*Education Department*).
6. The Hon'ble Mr. Dialmal Doulatram, (*Agriculture, Forest and Veterinary Departments*).

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Mr. Abdul Satar Pirzada
(2) Rao Saheb Gokaldas Mewaldas
(3) Khan Bahadur A. K. Gabol

Numerical Strength of Parties

IN ASSEMBLY

Government supporters :—

Independents	20
Hindu Independent Party	10
European Group	3
Independent Baluch Party	5
Total	38

Opposition :—

Congress	10
Muslim League	8
Independents	1
Total	19
No Party :—	2

N. W. Frontier Government

Governor

His Excellency Sir George Cunningham, K.C.S.I, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.

Council of Ministers

The Hon'ble Dr. Khan Sahib—*Chief Minister*—Law and Order, Medical, P. W. D., Irrigation.
The Hon'ble Quazi Ataullah Khan B.A., L.L.B.,—*Education Minister*—Education, Revenue, Local Self-Government.
The Hon'ble Khan Mohammad Abbas Khan—*Industries Minister*—Agriculture, Industries, Forests.
The Hon'ble Lala Bhanju Ram Gandhi, B.A., L.L.B.,—*Mintster for Finance*—Finance, Legislation.

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) IN ASSEMBLY

Congress	98
The Bihar Nationalist Coalition	26
The Muslim Independent	20
Muslim League	4
No Party	3
	151

(exclusive of the Hon'ble the Speaker.)

(b) IN COUNCIL

Congress Party	10
The Bihar Nationalist Coalition	11
Independent Party	3
No Party	5
	29

(exclusive of the Hon'ble the President.)

Government of Assam

1. Sir Robert Niel Reid, K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E.

Council of Ministers (CONGRESS—COALITION)

2. (i) The Hon'ble Srijut Gopinath Bardoloi, M.A., B.L., Prime Minister, in charge of Home and Education Departments.

(ii) The Hon'ble Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Barrister-at-Law, Minister in Charge of Finance and Revenue Departments.

(iii) The Hon'ble Babu Kamini Kumar Sen, B.L., Minister in charge of Legislative, L.S.G., Judicial and General Departments.

(iv) The Hon'ble Srijut Ramnath Das, B.L., Minister in charge of Medical, Public Health, Welfare of Labour, Boiler, Factories and Electricity Departments.

(v) The Hon'ble Babu Akshay Kumar Das, B.L., Minister in charge of Excise and Agriculture Departments.

(vi) The Hon'ble Maulvi Md. Ali Haidar Khan, Minister in charge of Public Works Department.

(vii) The Hon'ble Srijut Rupnath Brahma, B.L. Minister in charge of Forest and Registration Departments.

(viii) The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mahmud Ali, Minister in charge of Industries and Co-operative Departments.

Numerical strength of Parties

(a) IN ASSEMBLY

(1) Congress—Coalition (Ministerialist) Party	55
(2) Assam United Party	51
	106

Government of the Punjab

Governor

His Excellency Sir Henry Duffield Craik, Bart, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.

Council of Ministers

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Major Sirdar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, K.B.E. *Premier*

The Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Dr. Sardar Sir Sundar Singh Majithia, Kt. C.I.E, D.O.L., *Minister of Revenue.*

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram, B.A, L.L.B.,—*Minister of Development.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Manohar Lal, M A.—*Finance Minister.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Nawabzada Major Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana—*Minister of Public Works.*

The Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye—*Minister of Education.*

Parliamentary Secretaries

Khan Bahadur Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana C.B.E.—*Political and Chief Official Whip.*

Mir Maqbool Mahmood—*General.*

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Ujjal Singh, M.A.—*Home.*

Mrs. Jahanara Shah Nawaz, M.B.E.—*Education, Medical Relief and Public Health.*

Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan—*Revenue and Irrigation.*

Chaudhri Tika Ram, B.A., L.L.B., M.B.E. *Development.*

Thakur Ripudaman Singh, B.A.—*Finance*

Shaikh Faiz Muhammad, B.A., L.L.B., M.B.E.—*Local Self-Government and Public Works*

Numerical Strength of Parties

Ministerial Party	111
Congress Party	39
Independents	20
Ahrar Party	2
Vacant (In Sept. 39)	2
	174

Govt. of Central Provinces

Governor

His Excellency Sir Francis Verner Wylie, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (from 28-5-1938).

Council of Ministers (Congress)

1. The Hon'ble Pandit R. S. Shukla, *Prime Minister & Minister of Home Affairs* (30-7-38).

2. The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. Mishra *Minister of L. S. G.* (30-7-38).

3. The Hon'ble Mr. D. K. Mehta *Minister of Finance & Law* (30-7-38).
4. The Hon'ble Mr. S. V. Gokhale *Minister of Revenue and Education* (30-7-38).
5. The Hon'ble Mr. C. J. Bharuka, *Minister of Industries and Public Works*, (30-7-38).

Numerical Strength of Parties

Congress	73
Independent	17
United	5
Muslim League	10
	105
Unattached	7
	112

Government of Orissa

Governor

Sir John Austen Hubback, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., (*Appointed April 1, 1937*).

Council of Ministers (Congress)

(1) The Hon'ble Sri Biswanath Das, B.A., B.L., (*Home & Finance*). *Prime Minister.*
(2) The Hon'ble Sri Nityananda Kanungo, B.A., B.L., (*Revenue, Public Works and Development*).
(3) The Hon'ble Sri Bodhram Dube, M.A., B.L., (*Education, Law, Commerce and Labour and Local Self Government*).

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Sri Jadumoni Mangaraj, B.SC. (Nal) (*Finance & Publicity*)
(2) Sri Jagannath Misra, B.A., B.L., (*Revenue & Public Works*)
(3) Sri Rajkishore Bose, (*Education, Local Self-Government and Law, Commerce & Labour*)

Numerical Strength of Parties

Congress	36*
Opposition	23†
Total	60

* This excludes the Speaker who was returned on Congress ticket.
† One of the members having died the present number is 22.

There are two party groups—the Congress party and the National party consisting of 35 and 13 members respectively and two other parties called the All Orissa United Party and the Independent party consisting of one member each in this Assembly.

Government of Sind

Governor

Sir Lancelot Graham, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Council of Ministers

1. The Hon'ble K. B. Allah Bakhsh Muhammad Umer, O.B.E., (*Finance, Excise and Industries Departments*).
2. The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, K.C.S.I., (*Home, General, Legal, Political and Miscellaneous Departments*).
3. The Hon'ble Mr. Nihchaldas C. Vazirani (*Public Works, Public Health and Medical Departments*).
4. The Hon'ble Mir Bundeh Ali Khan Tallur (*Revenue Department*).
5. The Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawazali, (*Education Department*).
6. The Hon'ble Mr. Dialmal Doulatram, (*Agriculture, Forest and Veterinary Departments*).

Parliamentary Secretaries

(1) Mr. Abdul Satar Pirzada
(2) Rao Saheb Gokaldas Mewaldas
(3) Khan Bahadur A. K. Gabol

Numerical Strength of Parties

IN ASSEMBLY

Government supporters :—

Independents	20
Hindu Independent Party	10
European Group	3
Independent Baluch Party	5
Total	38

Opposition :—

Congress	10
Muslim League	8
Independents	1
Total	19
No Party :—	2

N. W. Frontier Government

Governor

His Excellency Sir George Cunningham, K.C.S.I, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.

Council of Ministers

The Hon'ble Dr. Khan Sahib—*Chief Minister*—Law and Order, Medical, P. W. D., Irrigation.

The Hon'ble Quazi Ataullah Khan B.A., L.L.B.,—*Education Minister*—Education, Revenue, Local Self-Government.

The Hon'ble Khan Mohammad Abbas Khan—*Industries Minister*—Agriculture, Industries, Forests.

The Hon'ble Lala Bhanju Ram Gandhi, B.A., L.L.B.,—*Mintster for Finance*—Finance, Legislation.

Parliamentary Secretaries

Khan Abdul Ghafur Khan, Bar-at-law—*Parliamentary Secretary* to the Hon'ble Chief Minister.

(ii) Rai Bahadur Lala Chiman Lal, B.A., L.L.B.—*Parliamentary Secretary* to the Hon'ble Minister for Education.

(iii) Khan Amir Mahammad Khan—*Parliamentary Secretary* to the Hon'ble Minister for Industries.

(iv) Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan—*Parliamentary Secretary* to the Hon'ble Minister for Finance.

Numerical Strength of Parties

1.	Congress	21
2.	Muslim League	10
3.	Frontier Nationalist Party	5
4.	Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party	4
	Total	40

Federal Court of India

Chief Justice of India—Sir Maurice Gwyer, K.C.S.I.

Judges—Mr. M. R. Jayakar
Sir Shah Sulaiman kt.
Sir A. Krishnaswami Iyer.

Advocate-General of India—Sir Brojendra Mitter, K.C.S.I.

Chief Justices (High Court)

Calcutta—Hon. Sir Harold Derbyshire, K.C.
Bombay—Hon. Sir John Beaumont, K.C.
Madras—Hon. Lionel Leach
Patna—Hon. A. T. Harries, K.C.
Allahabad—Sir John Thom, Kt.
Nagpur—Sir Gilbert Stone
Oudh (Chief Court)—Hon. G. H. Thomas
Panjab—Hon. Sir Douglas Young Kt.

Puisne Judges (High Court)

Calcutta

Hon. Sir Leonard J. Costello
" " J. Lort-Williams
" " R. E. Jack
Hon. Mr. S. K. Ghosh
" " H. R. Panckridge
" " D. C. Paterson
" " T. Amir Ali
" " C. Bartley
" " G. D. McNair
" " S. Nasim Ali
" " A. G. R. Henderson
" " R. C. Mitter
" " N. G. A. Edgely
" " B. B. Mukerjee
" " C. C. Biswas
" " N. A. Khundakar
" " A. N. Sen
" " F. R. Lodge

Bombay

Hon. Mr. C. P. Blackwell
" " S. S. Rangnekar
" " R. S. Bromfield
" " B. J. Wadia
" " H. J. Kania
" " N. J. Wadia
" " H. V. Divetia
" " A. S. R. Maclin
" " K. B. Wassoodew
" " K. C. Sen
" " N. G. Engineer
" " M. A. Somji
" " D. R. Norman
" " G. N. Thakore

Patna

Hon. Mr. A. W. E. Wort
" " S. Fazli Ali
" " J. F. W. James
" Sir Khaja M. Noor
" Mr. J. F. W. James
" " S. V. Dhavle
" " C. M. Agarwala
" " S. P. Varma
" " F. G. Rowland
" " F. Manoharlal
" " S. C. Chatterjee

Lahore

Hon. Sir J. Addison
Hon. Mr. Bakshi Tek Chand
" " Kanwar Dalip Singh
" " J. H. Monroe
" " F. W. Skemp
" " M. V. Bhide
" " Abdul Rashid
" " S. Din Mahomed
" " Blacker
" " Ramlal Dewan
" " Becket

Madras

Hon. Sir M. Venkatasubha Rao
" Mr. C. Madhavan Nair
" " S. Varadachar
" " V. Panduranga Rao
" " A. J. Burn
" " A. J. King
" " F. G. Gentle
" " K. P. Lakhsmana Rao
" " V. Mockett
" " S. Wordsworth
" " N. S. Menon
" " J. C. Stodard
" " P. Venkataramna Rao
" " F. W. Gentle
" " L. C. Horwill

Allahabad

Hon. Mr. E. Bennet
" " Iqbal Ahmed
" " Rachhpal Singh
" " U. S. Bajpai
" " H. J. Collister
" " J. J. Allsop
" " Ganganath
" " Muhammad Ismail
" " Kamalakanta Verma

Nagpur

Hon. Mr. L. Lewis
" " B. S. Niyogi
" " R. E. Pollock
" " Vivian Bose
" " H. G. Grener
" " N. Noble

Oudh Chief Court

Zia-ul-Hassan
A. Henry De Burgh Hamilton
R. L. Yorke

Ruling Princes & Chiefs

Salutes of 21 Guns

Baroda, The Maharaja (Gaekwar) of
Gwalior, The Maharaja (Sindhia) of
Hyderabad, The Nizam of
Jammu and Kashmir, The Maharaja of
Mysore, The Maharaja of

Salutes of 19 Guns

Bhopal, The Nawab of
Indore, The Maharaja (Holkar) of
Kalat, The Khan of
Travancore, The Maharaja of
Kolhapur, The Maharaja of
Udaipur, (Mewar), The Maharaja of

Salutes of 17 Guns

Bahawalpur, The Nawab of
Bharatpur, The Maharaja of
Bundi, The Maharao Raja of
Cochin, The Maharaja of
Cutch, The Maharao of
Jaipur, The Maharaja of
Karauli, The Maharaja of
Kotah, The Maharao of
Jodhpur (Marwar), The Maharaja of
Patiala, The Maharaja of
Rewa, The Maharaja of
Tonk, The Nawab of

Salutes of 15 Guns

Alwar, The Maharaja of
Bhutan, The Maharaja of
Ranswara, The Maharawal of
Datia, The Maharaja of
Dewas (Senior Branch), The Maharaja of
Dhar, The Maharaja of
Dholpur, The Maharaja-Rana of
Dungarpur, The Maharawal of
Idar, The Maharaja of
Jaisalmer, The Maharwal of
Khairpur, The Mir of
Kishangarh, The Maharaja of
Orchha, The Maharaja of
Partabargh, The Maharawal of
Rampur, The Nawab of
Sikkim, The Maharaja of
Sirohi, The Maharao of

Salutes of 13 Guns

Benares, The Maharaja of
Bhavnagar, The Maharaja of
Cooch Behar, The Maharaja of
Dhrangadhra, The Maharaja of
Jaora, The Nawab of
Jhalawar, The Maharaja Rana of
Jhind, The Maharaja of
Junagadh, The Nawab of
Kapurthala, The Maharaja of
Nabha, The Maharaja of
Nawanagar, The Maharaja of
Palanpur, The Nawab of
Porbandar, The Maharaja of
Rajpipla, The Maharaja of
Rutlam, The Maharaja of
Tripura, The Maharaja of

Salutes of 11 Guns

Ajaigarh, The Maharaja of
Alirajpur, Raja of
Baoni, Nawab of
Barwani, Rana of
Bijawar, Maharaja of
Bilaspur, Raja of
Cambay, Nawab of
Chamba, The Raja of
Charkhari, The Maharaja of
Chatarapur, The Maharaja of
Faridkot, The Raja of
Gondal, The Thakur Sahib of
Janjira, The Nawab of
Jhabua, The Raja of
Maler-Kotla, The Nawab of
Mandi, The Raja of
Manipur, The Maharaja of
Morvi, The Thakur Sahib of
Narsingarh, The Raja of
Panna, The Maharaja of
Puddukotta, The Raja of
Radhanpur, The Nawab of
Raigarh, The Raja of
Sailana, The Raja of
Samthar, The Raja of
Sirmur (Nahan), The Maharaja of
Sitamau, The Raja of
Suket, The Raja of
Tehri, The Raja of

Salutes of 9 Guns

Balasinor, Nawab of
Banganapalle, Nawab of
Bansda, Raja of

Baraundha, Raja of
Bariya, Raja of
Bhor, Pant Sachiv of
Chotta Udaipur, Raja of
Danta, Maharana of
Dharampur, Raja of
Dhrol, Thakur Saheb of
Jawhar, Raja of
Kalahandi, Raja of
Kenk Tung, Sawbawa of
Khilchipur, Rao Bahadur of
Kishan & Socotra, Sultan of
Lehaj, Sultan of
Limdi, Thakur Saheb of
Loharu, Nawab of
Lunawada, Raja of
Maihar, Raja of
Mayurbhanj, Maharaja of
Mong Nai, Sawbawa of
Mudhol, Raja of
Nagod, Raja of
Palitana, Thakur Saheb of
Patna, Maharaja of
Rajkot, Thakur Saheb of
Sachin, Nawab of
Sangli, Chief of
Sant, Raja of
Savantvadi, Sardeasi of
Sahapur, Raja of
Shehr & Mokalla, Sultan of
Sonpur, Maharaja of
Wadhwan, Thakur Saheb of
Wankaner, Raja Saheb of
Yawnghwe, Sawbwa of

Chronicle of Events

January—June 1939

Chronicle of Events

January 1939

Chief Events :—Unrest in Orissa States : Political Agent murdered—Reforms announced in Karpurthala, Bhopal, Talcher and Hindol States—Viceroy's Visits to Travancore, Mysore and Kolhapur—No-Confidence motion against Sind Premier defeated—Congress Working Committee deliberations at Bardoli—Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Report on the Bengali-Behari Controversy—Hitch at Rajkot between the Administration and the Proja Mandal : Mr Jamnalal Bajaj's entry banned—Congress Presidential election : Sj. Subhas Bose re-elected—Mahatma Gandhi's statement acknowledging his defeat at Bose'svictory.

1st. Under the auspices of the Madras and the Andhra District Congress Committees, Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayengar, presiding at a public meeting at Tilakghat, observed that by accepting the Federation as out-lined in the Government of India Act, "We will be putting a stop to the fight for Swaraj".

In the All-India Women's Conference, at New Delhi, an important change in the constitution was made by the conference, so as to permit discussion of political questions.

At Patna, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, referring to Mahatma Gandhi's observations on the League, in the *Harijan*, repeated in a statement that the Congress claim to be the "only body that can deliver the goods on behalf of the people of India" was preposterous.

2nd. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing the All-India Students' Conference in Calcutta, warned the students against resorting to strikes except for very grave reasons. He felt that students in India were pursuing a wrong path and getting entangled in wrong methods by their too frequent recourse to strikes.

His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab in opening the 26th. annual session of the Indian Science Congress at Lahore, dwelt on the need for India to produce "a band of workers eager to extend the boundaries of human knowledge, and to devote their lives to the quest of truth is greater to-day than ever before".

3rd. Mr. S. Satyamurthi made an appeal to the Bengal Scheduled Castes to join the Congress, at an informal conference of scheduled caste leaders in Calcutta. He said, the Congress was pledged to look after the interests of all Indians, irrespective of caste and creed. The backward communities formed the bulk of the population and the Congress would not neglect the cause of the minorities.

Death of Mr. K. Raman Menon, Minister for Courts and Prisons, Madras.

4th. In a letter to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, Mr. B. C. Chatterji suggested that the Congresss ideal of independence could be fulfilled if India become a partner in a federation of the British Empire.

5th. Mr. Jinnah, replying to Pandit Jawhar Lal Nehru's offer of inquiry into the complaints of the Moslem League against the Congress Governments, said in a statement, that if Pandit Nehru was really earnest about it he should communicate to him (Mr. Jinnah) what would be the sanction behind the proposed inquiry.

The Sind Assembly granted permission to Mr. G. M. Syed to move his motion of no-confidence against Khan Bahadur Alla Bux, the Premier.

Major R. L. Bazalgette, Political Agent, Orissa States was killed by a mob in Ranpur State, in Orissa.

At a Moslem meeting in Madras, whether the Congress and the Moslem League could unite was discussed at Triplicane held in connexion with "Mahomed Ali Day".

6th. In the U. P. Assembly, Mr. Hotilal Agarwal raised a question regarding the demonstrations organized by the Moslem League on the occasion of the tours of the two Moslem Ministers of the Congress Government.

On the recommendations of the Wedgwood Committee's report, the Railway Board made further decisions regarding the acceleration of passenger trains and advertising campaigns particularly in the vernacular press, to attract more third class passengers.

Mr. A. K. Chanda, presiding over the 17th. session of the All-Assam Ministerial officers' Conference, held at Habiganj, warned against "Communalism and various other similar narrow creeds that are eating into the vitals of our nation and hampering its full growth".

7th. The Madras Presidency Students' Conference was held at the All-India Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition grounds (Madras) under the presidency of Mr. N. G. Ranga.

The Working Committee of the All-India Students' Federation decided to declare a general strike in all schools and colleges in the country on January 26th., if that day were not declared a holiday, being Independence Day.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, wrote, "I must refuse to believe that the Germans, as a nation, have no heart. They will some day or other rebel against their own adored hero if he does not wake up betimes". He also wrote in the *Harijan*, "what Rajkot could do in three months every State can do if the people show the qualities that the people of Rajkot have shown".

8th. The Talcher Durbar (Orissa) issued a statement enumerating the various reforms effected in the administration of the State and the measures undertaken to improve the condition of the States' people.

In the Central Assembly, the revision of the Government's Frontier policy and the immediate withdrawal of India from the League of Nations were urged in two resolutions given notice of by the Congress Party, for the Budget Session.

Pandit Jawhar Lal Nehru, in a statement in Allahabad, replying to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, suggested the institution of an impartial inquiry by men, preferably not connected with Congress or Moslem League politics, into the specific charges against Congress Governments by the Moslem League.

9th. In New Delhi, for the first time there was a conference of the Presidents and Deputy Presidents of the provincial Legislative Councils opened by Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Marchioness of Linlithgow received an enthusiastic welcome at Travancore, where they arrived in state on the conclusion of their visit to Cochin.

Sir P. C. Roy addressed the first of a series of lectures organized by the Appointments and Information Board of the University of Calcutta with a view to drawing the attention of students towards industrial and commercial career.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, both the Opposition and the Treasury Benches seemed to agree on one point, though from a different standpoint, viz, that provincial autonomy in the hands of Indian Ministers was worse than the former bureaucratic regime. Stormy scenes marked the proceedings of the Assembly which met to consider the Argicultural Produce Marketing Bill.

10th. In the United Provinces Assembly, the question of the repeal of emergency laws enacted by the previous Government, was raised by Mr. Harish Chandra Bajpai (Congress).

Pandit Jawhar Lal Nehru, addressing a public meeting in Bombay, expressed his view that Spain could never be conquered in the real sense of the term. Reviewing the general political developments in Europe, Pandit Nehru believed that the rise of the Nazis and the Facists to power was mainly due to the tacit encouragement and passive support accorded by Great Britain.

11th. The Maharaja of Travancore, at the State Banquet given in honour of the Viceroy and Lady Linlighgow, reviewed the progress made by the State in recent years. His Highness dwelt especially on the case of the backward communities, agricultural indebtedness, Credit Bank and the rubber and tea industries.

Mr. J. H. S. Richardson, speaking at a meeting of students of the post Graduate classes of Calcutta University pointed out the opportunities offered by coal mining as a career.

Sir Mohamed Yakub in Bombay condemned the move of Mahatma Gandhi for the protection of the rights of minorities as a Fascist method.

The Sind Legislative Assembly devoted the whole day to the discussion of the no-confidence motion against the Premier.

The Nawab of Bhopal, on the occasion of the celebration of his birth day, announced certain reforms in his State re: the Legislative Council and the Municipal Board of Bhopal.

The Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli and considered Mahatma Gandhi's new draft on the minorities' question.

The International Council of the World Student Association in Paris acknowledged in the course of a letter to the All-India Students' Federation that the work of the said Federation rank amongst some of the finest achievements of the students of the world—the letter was signed by 37 members of the International Council. India was represented on the Council by Mr. S. M. Kumaramangalam.

12th. The Congress Working Committee discussed Mahatma Gandhi's plan of protecting the rights of minorities, at Bardoli, and considered election petitions.

Seven persons were known to have been killed and 52 injured when the Calcutta-Dehra Dun Express train, proceeding from Howrah met with an accident between the Chichaki and Hazaribagh Road Stations (about 210 miles from Calcutta) on the East Indian Railway.

In the Sind Assembly, the motion of "no-confidence" against the Premier was defeated by 32 votes to 7. The Congress Party remained neutral.

The report of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bihar to inquire into the extent of corruption in the public services of the province, was published. The Committee pointed out that such practices were not confined to the Ministerial and other subordinate staff but that some members of the Provincial and even of the All-India Services had descended to taking bribes.

13th. Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Marchioness of Linlithgow arrived in Mysore.

At the annual dinner of the Mining, Geological and Metallurgical Institute of India, at Calcutta, various problems affecting the mining industry were discussed, laying particular stress on the need for elementary education among the mine workers.

At the Faridpur Scheduled Castes' Conference, under the presidency of Dr. Bhagabati Prosanna Thakur, the need for organization was mainly aimed at.

The Congress Working Committee concluded its deliberations at Bardoli after adopting a resolution on the Bihari Bengali dispute. The Committee also decided that they must discuss with some leading Hindu and Muslim leaders their tentative conclusions on the issues arising out of the differences between the two great communities.

14th. His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a State Banquet in Mysore, paid a tribute to the Ruler on his work for the advancement of the State; His Excellency laid special stress on the development of agriculture and industry and the improvement of public health.

The Government of Bombay, in a Press Note issued in reply to the report of a committee, set up by the Moslem League, setting forth alleged grievances of Moslems in the Province, described the steps which the Government took, since their assumption of office, in the interests of Moslems.

The General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee stated that the Congress Working Committee did not propose to make any further declaration on the communal problem.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, that he was neither interested in the Dewan of Travancore, nor was he partial in advising the withdrawal of the State Congress charges against the Dewan.

15th. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, president of the Jaipur Praja Mandal, issued a statement to the Press giving his views on the State's ban against him. He said that it appeared to him that the ban on his entry into Jaipur State was but the precursor of a deliberate attempt to crush the Praja Mandal and to prevent it from educating the public to desire responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja.

According to the Geological survey of India, the production of petroleum in India (including Burma) increased from 334, 811, 624 gallons in 1936, to 350, 322, 222 gallons in 1937, the highest figure in the history of the industry.

The Ruler of Hindol (Orissa States) announced a number of political reforms to be enforced in his State from the 1st. of April. The Ruler said, "I declare that the goal of my Government shall be to establish full responsible Government in the State."

The Bihar Assembly passed a Bill seeking to repeal the Public Safety Act of 1933.

The conference of the All-Punjab Muslim Students' was held at Lahore, Dr. Kitchlew presided. The conference opposed the imposition of the proposed federal scheme and appealed to the Muslims and anti-imperialist forces in India to resist it tooth and nail.

The All-Cochin Youth Conference, which met at Trichur under the presidentship of Mr. K. A. Damodara Menon, concluded after passing a number of resolutions.—The conference urged the introduction of full responsible Government in Cochin and expressed its opposition to the federal scheme.

16th. In the Punjab Assembly, the sitting was suspended twice by the Deputy Speaker and scenes of unprecedented disorderliness were witnessed when the chair named two members and the members refused to leave the house—the members named were, Choudhry Kartar Singh and Mr. Munilal Kalia (Congress). The confusion arose out of the Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, drawing the attention of the chair, to a leading article in the *Pratap*, a local vernacular newspaper, and saying that the paper had exceeded the limit of fair comment.

17th. Dr. Rajendra Prasad's report on the Bengali-Behari controversy was published. In accordance with a resolution of the Working Committee he was "authorized to go into the Bihar-Bengali controversy relating to the questions of (1) Domicile (2) Public Services (3) Education and (4) Trade and Commerce and settle it finally."

In the Punjab Assembly, Mr. Manoharlal, the Finance Minister, made an important statement bearing on the rupee sterling ratio. He remarked, "It is far from certain that the currencies of the world have been so stabilized as to justify the proposed step."

In the Madras Assembly, a resolution expressing sorrow at the death of Mr. K. R. Menon was passed. The House proceeded with the discussion of the Public Health Bill.

In the Bihar Assembly, Mr. Anugraha Narayana Sinha moved the Money lenders (Regulation of Transactions) Bill, seeking to repeal those sections of the Bihar Money-lenders Act which had been declared null and void by the Patna High Court—The Bill was passed.

18th. His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow and party arrived at Kolhapur. Speaking at a State banquet given by the Maharaja in His Excellency's honour, Lord Linlithgow referred to the steps contemplated by the Kolhapur State to create a Legislative Assembly and to Federation.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala announced the appointment of a Committee to report on the reconstitution of the State Assembly in accordance with his declared "intention to review the State Assembly with the object of associating my poeple more intimately with the State administration."

In the Sind Assembly, there was an exciting debate over a rule prohibiting treasonable speeches in the House ;—the purport of the word 'treason' was the subject of a sally between the Premier, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Dr. Choitram Gidwani.

19th. The Sind Assembly was faced with the difficult question of deciding whether Dr. Choitram, a Congress member, who had stated when he took the Oath of allegiance that he did so "with mental reservations", should be allowed to be a member of the House.

Sir Edward Benthall, President of the European Association, addressing a general meeting in Calcutta, stressed on the necessity of the European Association having a clear-cut policy on all important subjects, both of Central and provincial concern.

There was again a hitch at Rajkot between the Administration and the Proja Mandal over the choice of the personnel of the Reforms Enquiry Committee. The renewal of Satyagraha was threatened by the latter.

In the Bihar Assembly, the necessity for the appointment of an impartial tribunal consisting of officials and non-officials to enquire into the causes of the train disaster near Hazaribagh Road on January 12, was unanimously urged.

20th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, whose name was among the three proposed for presidentship of the Tripuri Session of the Congress, withdrew from the contest,

thereby leaving the field to St. Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

The election of delegates to the Congress session at Tripuri engrossed the attention of the Congressmen of Bengal. Although on the surface, there were no clear cut party divisions, four distinct groups appeared to be actually contesting the elections. First, there were the adherents of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, then the Khadi Group (consisting of the orthodox followers of Mahatma Gandhi, led by Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose), next those known as the Kiron Sankar Roy Group, and last, the young Congress Socialists, headed by Dr. Suresh Chandra Bannerjee.

In the Sind Assembly, Mr. Vazirani, Finance Minister, speaking on the question of members and the Oath of Allegiance, said that it was not incompatible with the Congress pledge of independence.

21st. The ban on the entry of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj into Jaipur State was commented upon by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan*. He wrote, "I can only hope against hope that the Jaipur authorities will shrink from precipitating an All-India crisis."

At Asansol town, stray assaults and stabbing took place, as a result of which one Hindu was killed and 18 persons belonging to both communities, Hindus and Moslems, were injured.

The Travancore State Congress decided to resort to direct action if certain conditions were not satisfied within 6 weeks.

A resolution urging the "complete scrapping" of the present constitution and the immediate introduction of full responsible Government based on adult franchise, was passed.

22nd. As a sequel to a "Hyderabad Day" demonstration, nearly 40 persons were injured, in a Hindu-Moslem clash at Delhi.

23rd. The Indian Industries Conference was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy in Bombay. He laid stress on the need for coordination of industrial effort.

In the Sind Assembly, the Speaker entered into an elaborate explanation of what was meant by the Congress goal of Purna Swaraj. He was asked, whether the declaration by the leader of the Congress Party, Dr. Choitram Gidwani, that he had taken the oath of allegiance with a "mental reservation" affected his right to sit in the House. The Speaker ruled that the declaration did not affect Mr. Gidwani's position as a member of the House.

The statements re: election of Congress President, issued by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose gave rise to considerable speculation in political circles on the result of the election of the next President of the Indian National Congress. In his statement, Sj. Bose remarked, "It is widely believed that there is a prospect of a compromise on the Federation scheme between the Right Wing of the Congress and the British Government during the coming year."

A statement was issued over the signature of 7 members of the Working Committee of the Congress appealing to Sj. Bose to withdraw from the contest.

His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to an address presented by a deputation of the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Government House (Bombay) touched upon the Rupee Ratio, Protection, the Ottawa Agreement and the Indianisation of the Defence and other services—His Excellency rejected the plea of the deputationists for the reduction of the Rupee Ratio.

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at the Orient Club, Bombay stressed on the supreme urgency and importance of the inauguration of Federation in India without any delay.

24th. At a meeting of the members of the Calcutta branch of the European Association, problems relating to the defence of India, Federation, the Budget of the Government of India and Commercial relations between Great Britain and India were discussed.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a Press interview at Bardoli, said that the Congress would be neglecting its duty if, having the power, it shrank from using it and allowed the spirit of the Jaipur State to be "crushed" for want of support from the Congress.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, replying to the statement of seven members of the Working Committee, said, "The Presidential election is wholly an affair of the delegates and should be left to them. Let the Right Wing who are in a

decided majority in the Congress, make a gesture to the Left Wing by accepting a Leftist candidate even at this late hour."

25th. His Excellency the Viceroy, in reply to an address presented to him by a deputation of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce at Government House, declared that he was determined to do all that lay in his power to bring about the inauguration of an All-India Federation with the minimum of delay.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya announced, in a statement issued from Bardoli, that he would contest the Presidential election, in which the other candidate was Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose. "I cannot", said he, "withdraw in favour of Mr. Bose, because I must not resist the will of valued colleagues."

Sardar Patel, in a statement, replied to the "amazing statement" by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, and revealed that at an informal consultation at Bardoli (at which Sj. Bose was not present, but Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru were) "we were clearly of the opinion that it was unnecessary to re-elect Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, in a statement, disapproved of the step taken by the seven members of the Working Committee in issuing the statement, asking Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose to withdraw from the contest of Presidential election.

The Chota Nagpur Separation League passed a resolution demanding the creation of a separate Governor's province for Chota Nagpur.

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, the proceedings were marked by a stormy passage at arms between the Premier and the Congress group, when Khan Bahadur Allah Bux opened his defence of the Government's assessment orders with a strong criticism of the Congress Party, members of which, he stated, were occupying benches not by virtue of individual merit, but because they had contested the elections on the Congress ticket.

26th. His Excellency the Viceroy, in his reply to an address from the committee of the European Association, Bombay, expressed the view that the scheme of Federation outlined in the Government of India Act, 1935 afforded the only possible solution of the numerous problems of India.

In the Council of State, the Income Tax Bill came up for consideration. The Bill ran to 50 pages covering about 90 clauses : the main clauses dealt with the prevention of fraudulent evasion of tax and the legal avoidance of payment, to increase penalties for tax dodgers and make the tax more equitable.

Pandit Jawhar Lal Nehru issued a statement from Almora, on the Congress Presidential contest and said that Federation could not be an issue in the election, as it seemed to him to be "monstrous" for any Congressman to think in terms of a compromise on that subject. He was not opposed to an election contest provided definite programmes and policies were in conflict.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in a statement, repeated his fears regarding Federation, and said that it was generally believed that a prospective list of Ministers for the Federal Cabinet had already been drawn up. He also repeated his offer to withdraw, if a "genuine" anti-Federationist were accepted as Congress President.

27th. Mr. M. N. Mookerjee, (Bihar) addressing a gathering of students of the Calcutta University discussed the possibilities of employment which the coal industry and trade offered to educated and commercially minded youths.

Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose issued another statement giving his version of the issues involved in the Congress Presidential election. He also said that in order to maintain the unity and the solidarity of the Congress it was essential that the President should command the confidence of both the Right and Left wings of the Congress as Pandit Nehru did in a magnificent manner.

Babu Rajendra Prasad issued a statement recalling a past declaration on Federation by Sj. Bose and after complaining against its lack of clarity ended by saying, "I wonder if any of the so called Right wing members of the Congress Working Committee has said anything approaching to this."

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati and Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, the Kisan and Socialist leaders, respectively, issued a joint statement on the Congress Presidential election. The statement said, "We do not think that even those who do not agree with his views believe that Sj. Bose would not be an asset to the Congress Presidentship at the present juncture."

Acharya Narendra Dev, in a statement to the Press, said, "There is no question of Right or Left in this matter. Every delegate should consult only the best interests of the country and cast his vote in an unbiassed manner".

28th. Mahatma Gandhi, in an article, in the *Harijan* drew attention to the increasing indiscipline of Congressmen. He also said, "My time and that of co-workers is largely taken up in wading through complaints about corruption among Congressmen." In another article in the *Harijan*, on "The States" Mahatma Gandhi remarked "the movement for liberty within the States is entering a new stage."

At the annual meeting of the Bengal Mill Owners' Asseciation, the President discussed various problems affecting the cotton industry in Bengal.

The Maharaja of Bikanir, at a State banquet given by the Maharaja of Travancore, said, "Our States are at present going through a most critical period and there are various problems of great moment which demand our attention. The need therefore, for perfect concord and joint deliberations and concerted action is greater to-day than it was at any other time."

29th. Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose polled a majority of votes at the Congress Presidential election held simultaneously in all the 21 linguistic Congress provinces excluding Mohakoshal (C. P. Hindi). Sj. Bose led by 204 votes.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in a statement on the Gaya communal clash, appealed for harmony specially in view of the Bakrid festival.

Professor Humayun Kabir, presiding at the Faridpur District Teachers' Conference, urged the need for the reorganization of the system of education in this country.

At the Moslem League Political Conference at Lucknow, the speech of Maulana Zafar Ali, the Punjab Moslem leader, was conciliatory in regard to the Hindu people not challenging to the Congress and the Hindu Sabha leaders.

A meeting of the Sub-Committee of the All-India Moslem league was held at Lahore, for organizing deputations to foreign countries and to Provinces in India.

30th. The Council of State, New Delhi, passed the Bill to amend the Indian Cotton Cess Act, as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

The election of Bengali quota of 68 members to the All-India Congress Committee concluded: Dr. B. C. Roy polled the largest number of votes. Among those who were unsuccessful in the elections were Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose and Mr. J. C. Gupta, Leader and Chief whip respectively of the Congress Party in the Bengal Assembly.

31st. The threatened crisis in Jaipur State drew dangerously near. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Treasurer of the Indian National Congress was evidently determined to defy the ban imposed by the Jaipur Durbar on his entry into the State.

A Calcutta Gazette extraordinary published the provisions of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1939.—It was proposed to have separate electorates for Muslims.

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement on the re-election of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose as President of the Congress. He said, "Mr. Subhas Bose has achieved a decisive victory over his opponent Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. I must confess that from the very beginning I was decidedly against his re-election for reasons into which I need not go. I do not subscribe to his facts or the argument in his manifestos. I think that his references to his colleagues were unjustified and unworthy. Nevertheless I am glad of his victory and since I was instrumental in including Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name as a candidate when Maulana Azad withdrew, the defeat is more mine than his.....

February 1939

Chief Events :—The Durbar-Praja Mandal clash at Jaipur continued : Seth Bajaj arrested three times—Satyagraha at Rajkot : Mrs. Gandhi and Miss Maniben Patel arrested—Communal Riot at Cawnpur—Assemblage of Eastern States Agency Rulers at Calcutta—Budget introduced in several Provincial Assemblies—*Om Mandali* affairs in Sind : Ministerial tangle—Resignation of eleven out of 13 Congress Working Committee Members, issue being difference with Sj. Bose over the policy of the Congress—Death of His Excellency Lord Brabourne, the Bengal Governor.

1st. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, leader of the Proja Mondal of Jaipur reached Jaipur to defy the ban on his entry into the State. He was arrested by the Inspector-General of police.

The Jaipur Durbar issued a statement in reply to Mahatma Gandhi's criticism of its policy re : Praja Mondal : the communique stated *inter alia*, "Mr. Gandhi attempts to place the whole responsibility in this connexion on the 'British Prime Minister' (of the State). He apparently is not aware that the Jaipur Government is His Highness the Maharaja-in-Council and not a single individual. Any allegation to the contrary is not according to facts."

The Executive Committee of the Congress Nationalist Party of Bengal issued a statement in connexion with M. Gandhi's statement on the Congress Presidential election. "Mr. Gandhi's statement.....has come upon the country as an extremely unpleasant surprise. Although it has not come too soon, people in general least expected it. Mr. Gandhi appears to have taken a too personal view of things, for at no stage of the election, did he publicly appear on the scene."

2nd. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose met Pandit Jawharlal Nehru at Santiniketan (Viswabharati-Tagore University) and discussed with him the implication of the Congress Presidential election.

At Jaipur, the Praja Mandalists were rather bewildered but not discouraged by the abrupt end to the wholly unsatisfactory manner in which the first stage of the campaign ended.

Mr. Rama Rau, Agent to the Governor-General of India in South Africa, submitted a memorandum to the Asiatic Land Laws Commission which was inquiring into the evasion by the Indian community of laws restricting them from acquiring ownership of land.

A resolution was adopted by the Maldah District Political Conference (Rengal) embodying "India's National Demand". Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

The Jaipur Durbar in reply to Mahatma Gandhi's statement on Rajkot and Jaipur, denied the fact that the Jaipur Prime Minister was wholly to blame.

3rd. Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi, wife of Mahatma Gandhi and Miss Maniben Patel were arrested at Rajkot on their entering the State to offer Satyagraha.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in an interview with a representative of the Associated Press re : Congress Presidential election, observed, "It will always be my aim and object to try and win M. Gandhi's confidence for the simple reason that it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man."

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement to the Press in reply to the Government of India's communique on the affairs of the Rajkot State. He said, "The communiques issued by the Government of India and the Jaipur Government on my statements on Rajkot and Jaipur are remarkable for sins of omission and suppression."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Budget session opened. Sir N. N. Sarcar, Law Member, introduced the Bill to amend the Insurance Act and Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie, Defence Secretary, introduced the Bill to provide for the creation of four new naval reserve forces in India.

4th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Delhi, a resolution recommending that immediate steps should be taken to give notice of India's intention to withdraw from the League of Nations, was discussed. Mr. T. S. A. Chettiar moved the resolution on the League. The House passed without a division an adjournment motion to discuss the recrudescene of anti-Indian riots in Burma.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, in the course of his presidential speech at the Bengal Provincial Political Conference, at Jaipaiguri, observed, "There is no doubt that some attempt to impose the unwanted Federal scheme is imminent. The pronouncements of the Viceroy and other high officials are pointers in this direction. It is a mistake to assume that, so far as the Congress is concerned, Federation is a dead issue."

Mr. N. R. Sarcar, Finance Minister, Government of Bengal, performed the opening ceremony of the industrial syndicate organised by ex-detenus, and replied to an address of welcome.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution at New Delhi, advising the Hindus not to join the Congress but to join the Mahasabha. Mr. V. D. Savarkar was in the chair.

His Excellency Sir John Hubback, Governor of Orissa, replying to an address of welcome by the members of the Balasore District Islam Association, paid a compliment to the Orissa Ministers in respect of their attitude towards the Moslem community.

5th. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj was arrested at the railway station of Tikri Banri between Reengus and Sikar.

The Bengal Provincial Political Conference, at Jalpaiguri, passed a resolution on Federation calling upon the British Government "to concede the principle of self-determination to India and recognize in its entirety the constitution which the Congress will submit in accordance with popular will. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, addressing the conference, emphasized the need for unity among all classes and communities in India in her fight for freedom. Sj. Bose said, "we want Swaraj for every community and creed."

Mr. B. J. Kher, Premier, Government of Bombay, in a statement on the liberty of the Press said, "While the Government fully recognize the need of preserving full freedom to the Press, it cannot permit deliberate attempts made by newspapers and individuals to embitter relations between the sister communities, or to incite the communities to act in a way which is bound to result in a breach of the peace."

6th. His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda died at Bombay at 8-45 P. M.

In the Bihar Assembly, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister, replying to an allegation of favouritism in appointments, made a statement that competency was the criterion which the Government applied specially in the case of technical appointments and that they were not influenced by provincial or communal considerations.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad addressed the Congress Constructive Workers' Conference at Suri (Birbhum). He said that Swaraj could not be bargained for. They must strive for it through the Congress constructive programme and by including a spirit of self-help.

7th. The Governor-General disallowed an adjournment motion in the Central Assembly to discuss the Government of India's "failure to secure representation for Indian Moslems at the Palestine Conference." The Central Assembly also rejected the Naval Reserve Forces Discipline Bill by 56 votes to 45.

In the U. P. Assembly, Mr. Surendra Bahadur Singh asked the Government for a list of persons whose properties were confiscated after the 'Mutiny', and also a list of those who had been granted properties for loyalty to a "foreign power". Mr. Hukum Sing, replying to the question, said that the Government had no information. If the members had any suggestion to make Government would be glad to receive it.

Mr. Ram Dayalu Singh, Speaker of the Bihar Assembly, raised the question of the dignity and integrity of the chair, which, he said, was challenged by Mr. M. Yunus, leader of the Moslem Independent Party by casting aspersions in the integrity of the chair by a letter relating to the re-allotment of seats in the Chamber.

Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj was released at the frontier of Bharatpur State, close to the United Provinces boundary.

8th. At the conference in Calcutta, of Congressmen from different parts of India, who supported the re-election of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the unanimous opinion was expressed that the Congress should stiffen its attitude of hostility towards the all-India Federation scheme.

A demonstration was staged by Moslems in Calcutta in support of the Arabs' demands in Palestine, in connextion with the "All-India Palestine Day."

In the U. P. Assembly, statistics regarding communal disturbances were placed on the table in answer to a question by Mr. Shokatali Khan; the statement showed that since the Congress Ministry assumed office 24 communal disturbances had occurred in 17 districts up to October 1938.

9th. The Central Assembly passed the first reading of Mr. M. A. Kazimi's Bill to consolidate and classify the provisions of Moslem law and to remove doubts as to the effect of the renunciation of Islam by a marriage tie.

Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of a statement issued to the Press observed, "The more I think of what is happening in States in India, I see nothing but a dark future for this unhappy land if the Paramount Power remain a helpless witness to the tragedy that is being enacted in the Princes' India for, what is happening

in Rajkot and Jaipur, is but a sample of what is going to happen presently in other States."

10th. The Central Assembly started with a division, which the opposition won, on Mr. T. S. A. Chettiar's resolution asking for India's withdrawal from the League of Nations. A resolution urging the termination of the Indo-Burma Trade Regulation order was passed without a division.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in a letter to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose on behalf of himself and 11 other colleagues on the Working Committee, intimated that with a view to avoiding any embarrassment to Sj. Bose in striking his own tune of policy at the Tripuri session of the Congress, he and others of his way of thinking would like to be relieved of the membership of the committee within a month, which would give Sj. Bose sufficient time to choose his colleagues. It was stated that the decision was taken "after due deliberation and mutual consultation among the members".

11th. Mahatma Gandhi writing on Jaipur in the *Harijan* stated, "The reader should know the distinction between the Jaipur struggle and the Rajkot one The Rajkot struggle is frankly for responsible Government within the State and is now for redeeming the Ruler's promise to his people The Jaipur struggle is on a very small and narrow issue. The one political association of Jaipur has been virtually declared illegal for the offence of pleading for responsible Government."

A communal clash occurred at Cawnpore, following an attack on a Hindu marriage party which was proceeding with music along Meston Road, near a mosque. Curfew order was enforced.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir announced a further stage in the constitutional advance of Jammu and Kashmir State at Jammu, in the form of a proclamation.

12th. The communal riot at Cawnpore assumed alarming proportion : 19 persons were killed and 146 injured.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj was arrested on his third attempt to enter Jaipur State.

His Excellency Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam, tentatively agreed to the proposal put forward by his Council of Ministers for the abolition of the remaining Commissionership in the Province.

In the annual report of the Department of Industries, Bengal, for 1938-39, there was a reference as to the growing industrial consciousness among the educated classes in Bengal.

13th. The communal riot at Cawnpore showed signs of abating : 29 persons were believed to have been killed and about 220 injured as the result of the riot.

In the United Provinces Assembly, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Premier, in his statement on the riots, sounded a warning that stern action would be taken not only against the actual offenders but against those who by their action caused panic or disorder.

Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister, Bengal, replying to an adjournment motion in the Bengal Legislative Council, made a statement denying that there were any communal riots in the Noakhali District.

In the Council of State (New Delhi) Sir Jagadish Prasad replying to a question by Mr. Brijlal Biyani, said that as far as the Government of India were aware, there were no statutory social restrictions on Indians resident in the various colonies and dominions.

14th. 15 Rulers and 20 Ministers met in conference in Calcutta to take stock of the position in the Eastern States Agency The Raja Sahib of Saraikella said, "We are here to-day, to discuss the details of a possible form of constitution, which will meet the needs of the situation and will be workable in the peculiar circumstances of the States."

The Central Assembly passed Mr. K. M. Kazmi's Bill to consolidate the law relating to divorce for Moslem women.

In the Orissa Assembly, the plight of the co-operative movement in North Orissa was voiced, when the Orissa Moneylenders' Bill was discussed.

In the Bombay Assembly, Mr. A. B. Latthe, Finance Minister, in presenting the Budget announced that complete prohibition would be introduced in Bombay City and suburbs from August 1, 1939 ; this would result in a loss of Rs. 120 lakhs (in revenue).

The Bihar Assembly adopted the Finance Minister's motion for circulating the Municipal Amendment Bill for eliciting public opinion.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in his presidential address to the All-India States' Peoples Conference at Ludhiana said that the States were setting the face for India, and said that "the Congress will certainly intervene in the State if the India Government intervene to crush the people."

15th. His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., was appointed to be the Governor of the United Provinces from December, 1939 and the Hon. Sir F. A. Stewart, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., to be Governor of Bihar from December, 1939.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Finance Minister, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, in introducing the Budget Estimates for 1939-40, announced that he would introduce two taxation measures during the session of the Assembly, calculated to yield additional revenue of Rs. 12 lakhs a year: (1) a betting tax on dog-racing and (2) an ungraduated tax of Rs. 30 a year on professions, trades and callings and employments, exempting those who do not pay income-tax.

The Central Assembly passed a non-official resolution urging encouragement of the manufacture of matches as a cottage industry by increasing the rebate on hand-made matches and reducing the license fees on the producing concerns.

16th. In the Central Assembly, there was a general debate on the Railway Budget, a variety of questions ranging from major policy, finances, rates and construction, to insignificant detail of organisation made the proceedings rather lively.

In the Indian Roads Congress, in Calcutta, interesting information about roads in India was revealed ; the first two papers were : "Soils in relation to roads" by Mr. G. W. D. Breadar, District Engineer, Gurdaspur and "The use of soil stabilization in unmetalled and metalled roads in India" by Mr. S. R. Mehra. The fact that only one third of India's roads were metalled was stressed in another paper.

The agrarian dispute in the Burdwan District (Bengal) against the payment of Canal dues culminated in the arrest of 18 volunteers including the leaders of a group of Satyagrahis.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad issued a firman containing an appeal for unity and public co-operation with the Government of Hyderabad.

17th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, addressing the Hindu Sabha Conference at Khulna, strongly criticized the policy of the Congress Governments of placating Mahomedans at the cost of Hindus, in the provinces where the latter were in a majority.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal accepted the resignation of the Hon. Shamsuddin Ahmed as a member of the Council of Ministers. There was a redistribution of portfolios.

At the All-India States Peoples' Conference, at Ludhiana, the affairs in various States, particularly Rajkot, Jaipur and Hyderabad were discussed at length. The conference concluded its session.

Leading members ot the Praja Mandal, Jaipur State, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Om Mandli Affairs : The High Court consisting of Justices C. M. Lobo and E. Weston, delivering judgment at Karachi, held that on the material before them, there was nothing to show that the *Om Mandli* was being run for any wrongful purposes. They, however, remarked that as the present application (of *Om Radhe*) was not served on the parents of the girls, they could not do anything in the matter, and dismissed the same. (It may be recalled that in a recent case, where two parents served Lekhraj for the restoration of their daughters, the girls made sensational allegations in the court against Lekhraj. The Hindus in the Province held numerous protest meetings urging the Government to ban the *Om Mandli* and denounced it as "subversive of the sanctity of family life.")

18th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote two articles in the *Harijan*, one on Travancore and the other on Hyderabad State, advising that the Hyderabad State Congress should continue the suspension of the Satyagraha movement.

The Sind Budget revealed a surplus of Rs. 6,68,000.

In the Council of State, the Railway Budget was discussed ; **Mr. Hosain Imam urged that the Railway Department should make all efforts to increase revenue and reduce expenditure.**

In the U. P. Assembly, the Premier gave the official estimate of the casualties at Cawnpore, as 42 killed and about 200 injured. Some 800 persons had been arrested.

19th. The Bengal Hindu Sabha Conference at Khulna concluded its session after several resolutions aiming at the achievement of solidarity among Hindus were passed. Mr. Savarkar presided.

Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Haque, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, in opening the Nadia district primary school teachers' conference laid stress on the importance of primary education in the building up of a nation.

His Highness the Aga Khan said at Karachi, that he held the view that the advent of Federation was certain, though it may not be thrust on an unwilling India. There would be substantial modifications. His Highness also said that he had been working for Hindu Muslim unity.

20th. In the Bihar Assembly, the Budget revealed "just balanced" estimates, only a surplus of Rs. 75,000 being expected.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru had a long talk with Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha, during which they reviewed the situation arising from the re-election of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose as the President.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda issued a proclamation announcing Reforms in the State—the creation of an enlarged Dhara Sabha with an elected majority based on a wide territorial franchise.

21st. In the Central Assembly, Sir G. S. Bajpai, in reply to Mr. T. S. Avanashilingam Chettiar, stated that the Central Advisory Board of Education had generally approved the principle of the Wardha scheme which was one of education through activity.

22nd. Thirteen of the fifteen members of the All-India Congress Working Committee resigned from the Committee following an informal conference with Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha. They were : Sardar Vallabbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prosad, Mrs. Sorojini Naidu, Mr. B. Desai, Dr. P. Sitaramayya, Mr. S. Deo, Mr. H. Mehtab, Mr. Kripalani, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Mr. J. Daulatram, Mr. Bajaj and Pandit Nehru. The principal reasons for the resignations were differences with Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose over the policy of the Congress and the feeling that Sj. Bose should be free to choose a Cabinet that represented his views. Sardar Patel and his colleagues stressed in their communication to Sj. Bose that the time had come for the Congress to have a clear cut policy, not based on a compromise between differing groups in the party.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Budget was discussed critically, the European Group accorded its support to the Finance Minister.

In the Central Assembly, the cut motion moved to discuss the "inadequate representation of Moslems in the railway services" was passed without a division.

23rd. The death occurred in Calcutta of His Excellency Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal. Many tributes were paid to His Excellency in both Houses of the Central Legislature. Following the death of Lord Brabourne, the King approved of the appointment of Sir R. N. Reid, Governor of Assam, to act as Governor of Bengal and Mr. Henry Joseph Twyanham, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to act as Governor of Assam.

In the Bihar Assembly Mr. Jamuna Karji (Congress) speaking on the Budget, reiterated the charge that the Ministry was bent upon appointing non-Biharis.

In the U. P. Assembly, the Premier indicated that one of the interesting features of his Budget would be the revision of the scale of pay and of the conditions of service of all low paid employees of the Government and not merely of police constables.

Mr. M. N. Roy, presiding over the Surma Valley Youth Conference at Sylhet, observed, "The field of political activity of all the radicals and revolutionaries is the Congress. It has grave defects, and radicals inside it experience great difficulties in working according to their will and conscience. But the Congress is a mighty instrument created by the masses. It must be utilized for the liberation of the masses. If that task is neglected by the radicals, it may be utilized by others as an instrument againt the masses."

24th. Sir Robert Reid assumed charge as Governor of Bengal.

In the United Provinces Assembly, the Budget showed a deficit of Rs. 45 lakhs.

In the Central Assembly, Sir G. S. Bajpai (Secretary, Education, Health and Lands Department) made a statemeut on the situation in South Africa with regard to the proposed land legislation in South Africa affecting Indians resident in the Union.

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement announcing his decision to go to Rajkot on a "mission of peace"; the Satyagraha in Rajkot State was suspended.

In the Orissa Assembly, the Budget revealed a deficit of Rs. 18,35,000.

In the Bombay Legislative Council, the Budget proposals were discussed. Prof. C. Mahajani, while welcoming the rural uplift and educational policies of the Government, criticized their taxation proposals, which, he thought, would lead to economic financial disaster.

Mahatma Gandhi contributed three articles in the *Harijan* on events in three States, Travancore, Limbdi and Jaipur ; the first advised the Travancore State Congressmen to ensure complete non-violence before embarking on a Satyagraha.

26th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, accepted the resignation tendered by 13 members of the Congress Working Committee. In view of the acceptance of the above resignations, the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee stood dissolved. Mr. J. B. Kripalani's appointment as General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee also terminated with the acceptance of his resignation. As a result of the dissolution of the Congress Parliamentary sub-Committee the Power of the Committee were vested in the remaining two members of the Working Committee. Provisional arrangement were being made to appoint a Congress leader to take charge from Mr. Kripalani.

27th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in his letter accepting the resignations of the 13 members of the Congress Working Committee, hoped that the leaders would give him co-operation and assistance in the discharge of his duties as the Congress President.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, there was an atmosphere of excitement and lively debate when the House met to consider the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Budget Estimates for 1939-40 revealed a surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs.

The Assam Political Conference at Golaghat adopted a resolution opposing the proposed Federal scheme contained in the Government of India Act.

28th. His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a State banquet at Jaipur, said that the maintenance of good relations between a Ruler and his subjects was more important to-day than ever.

In the Central Assembly, Sir James Grigg, Finance Member presented his last Budget. He announced only a single measure of fresh taxation—the doubling of the Customs duty on imported raw cotton.

March 1939

Chief Events :—Mahatma Gandhi's fast on Rajkot issue—Communal clashes in a number of U. P. Towns and near Calcutta—52nd. Session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri : the Pant Resolution on Congress Leadership discussed : Sj. Bose's 'aspersion' on old Working Committee members regretted : President's plan of an Ultimatum to the British Government rejected—Annual session of the Chamber of Princes at New Delhi—Satyagraha in Travancore State.

1st. His Excellency Sir George Lumley, Governor of Bombay, inaugurating the Inter-Universities Conference in Bombay, emphasized "the important and decisive part" which Indian Universities would have to play at this "most interesting and vital period of Indian history."

His Excellency the Viceroy, in his speech at the State banquet in Jodhpur, said, "The decision as to the accession to the Federation of India is one for your Highness to take, and neither in the case of Jodhpur nor in the case of any other State will any pressure in regard to that decision be brought to bear upon a ruler."

Registration of foreigners in British India was proposed in a Bill published in a Gazette of India Extraordinary.

Mr. Biswanath Das, the Orissa Premier, in replying to the Budget discussion in the Assembly, pointed out the need for sacrifices by the rich in favour of the poor.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saxena, Mr. Satyanarain Sinha, Pandit K. D. Palliwal and seven other members of the Central Assembly and also members of the All-India Congress Committee sent a letter from New Delhi to Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, urging him to withdraw, or substantiate, the charges made by him against the members of the Working Committee before the next meeting of the A. I. C. C.

The Madras Andhra District Congress Working Committee passed a resolution, expressing complete confidence and implicit faith in Mahatma Gandhi's leadership appealing to him to continue to lead the country in its fight for freedom in the same manner as before.

2nd. Mahatma Gandhi decided to undertake a fast if the demands submitted to the Rajkot administration were not considered—Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to the Durbar embodying his final proposals for a compromise.

The Conference of Indian Universities held in Bombay, resolved that it was not desirable to shorten the length of the Degree Course. The conference also discussed the possibility of greater co-operation between the University and the broadcasting authorities for organizing educational programmes.

Several problems of great magnitude with which the Government of India was confronted in India, were referred to in a speech by Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, speaking at the dinner of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. He said there was at present a little trouble going on in India, but it concerned the India of the Princes ,rather than the provinces of British India. There had been some trouble between the Princes and their subjects.

Mahatma Gandhi started his fast at Rajkot.

At Cawnpore, in the course of a clash, five persons were killed and ten injured.

Sir George Campbell, in his presidential address at the annual general meeting (in Calcutta) of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dealt with various matters relating to trade, commerce and industry in India.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, issued a statement replying to the various charges made against him after the Presidential election by several members of the Congress Working Committee. Sj. Bose repeated his appeal to Pandit Nehru to shake off his vacillation and give a bold and correct lead to all the Radical and Progressive forces in the country and assured Pandit Nehru of his loyal and ardent support.

At the Conference of Indian Universities in Bombay, it was resolved that the medium of instruction at the different stages of education up to and including the Degree Course should, as far as possible, be the mother tongue of the student.

At the annual session of the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind Conference, which opened at New Delhi, Dr. Shaukatullah Shah Ansari, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address drew the attention of the ulemas to the "critical situation" through which the Muslims of India were passing in the struggle for freedom.

4th. Mahatma Gandhi continued his fast at Rajkot. The Prime Ministers of the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, the Central Provinces and Sind sent telegrams to the Viceroy requesting the Crown representative to intervene in Rajkot in view of the situation created by the Mahatma's fast.

The Advisory Council of Rajkot in a statement to the Press expressed the view that Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Thakur Saheb "is tantamount to an ultimatum and contains unreasonable demands, the acceptance of which practically mean surrender by the Thakore Saheb of his rights as the Ruler of the State in obedience to outside dictation.

The illness of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose took a serious turn : his temperature shot up to 104 degrees, with all the former painful depressing symptoms.

In a number of towns in the United Provinces, there were several instances of Hindu Moslem clashes ; the situation was particularly serious in Benares

where the police had to open fire on riotous mobs. Curfew was enforced in the City. In Cawnpore there were 4 stray assaults resulting in two deaths.

The visit of the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow to Jodhpur was concluded. His Excellency then visited Udaipur and speaking at the State banquet stated that the development of a particular form of constitution for a State was a matter for the Ruler himself.

Mahatma Gandhi commented in the *Harijan* upon the settlement arrived at between the Ramdurg Praja Sangh and the Ruler of Ramdurg, a small State in the Bombay Karnatak area—there was an opposition to this settlement by certain extremist sections.

5th. Mahatma Gandhi continued his fast at Rajkot: numerous messages not only from individuals but from some of the Provincial Governments were sent to the Viceroy to intervene. The Provincial Ministries of Bombay, Bihar, the Central Provinces and of some others threatened to resign, if action was not taken to prevent the continuation of the fast by the Mahatma.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, ignoring medical advice and looking extremely weak, left Howrah station for Tripuri, to preside over the Congress.

A serious Hindu Moslem fracas broke out at Cossipore, near Calcutta: a group of Hindus were celebrating holi at the junction of Cossipore Road and Gun and Shell Factory Road with band and music. When an altercation arose between the members of this party and Moslems, stone throwing followed and soon a fracas was in progress which was promptly checked by the police.

There was further grave communal rioting at Benares; the police and troops had to open fire on several occasions to disperse riotous mobs.

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, President, All India Kishan Sabha addressing several meetings at Jubbulpore suggested to peasants to organize a march to Tripuri to place their grievances before the delegates and leaders of the Congress.

6th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, arrived at Tripuri: he had earlier detrained at Jubbulpore and from thence he travelled in an ambulance car.

The fourth day of Mahatma Gandhi's fast. His Excellency the Viceroy returned to New Delhi, having curtailed his Rajputana tour in view of the situation created by the Mahatma's fast. The Viceroy received a telegram from Mahatma Gandhi in his reply to His Excellency's message.

In a series of communal clashes in mill districts near Calcutta, comprising Naihati, Tittagarh, Khardah, Kamarhati, in the Barrackpore sub-division, and Matiabruz, near Garden Reach, one man was killed and nearly 215 people were injured.

The Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education, Bengal, dealt with a number of important questions at their meeting at Writers' Building, Calcutta.

The Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill was in the end referred to a select committee without division, despite renewed attempts by the Congress to hold up the proceedings of the Bengal Assembly.

The Assam Provincial Moslem Students' Conference was held at Sylhet. Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhuri (ex-Minister) presided.

7th. Mahatma Gandhi broke his fast on the receipt of an assurance from the Viceroy that the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot would carry out the promises contained in his notification and that His Excellency would exert his influence to see that he did so. Mahatma Gandhi said that his heart was at Tripuri, but he had work to do at Rajkot, the problem of the State brooked no delay. It would not do to tinker with it. The Princes must take heroic measures.

The All India Congress Committee met at Tripuri. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, as the seniormost ex-President, occupied the chair in the absence of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, who could not attend owing to the state of his health; moves were afoot to patch up the differences which divided the Congress during the presidential election. Acharya J. B. Kripalani presented the annual report. The Leftists submitted to Pandit Nehru the draft of a resolution on Federation, eliminating the suggestions of an ultimatum to the British Government, and demanding the original resolution of anything savouring of censure on Congress policy so far pursued.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarcar, Finance Minister, introduced the Finance Bill seeking to raise additional revenue by imposing an ungraduated tax of Rs. 30 per annum on trades, professions, callings and employments, leaving out of its scope those who do not pay income

tax. The measure met with strong opposition from Congress and Krisak Proja members who sought delaying its consideration by motions for circulation and reference to a select Committee.

In the Central Assembly, the Rajkot crisis and Tripuri Congress Committee attracted most of the Congress members. The President admitted Mr. Abdul Quaiyum's adjournment motion on Kenya. The motion sought to discuss the failure of the Government of India to secure the amendment of the existing practice with regard to the alienation and transfer of lands in the Kenya highlands to Indians and the disquieting fact that non-British European subjects will receive preferential treatment as against Indians.

8th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose presided over the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Tripuri—he lay on an invalid's chair carried by Congress volunteers. Main interest centred round the discussion of a resolution sponsored by Pandit G. B. Pant, which expressed confidence in the old Working Committee and urged Sj. Bose to nominate the new Working Committee according to Mahatma Gandhi's wishes.

In the Central Assembly, Sir James Grigg, Finance Member made a spirited reply to his critics, when the House resumed general discussion on the Budget.....Mr. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhuri felt that the budget of this country were entirely subservient to the two "Ls", namely London and Lancashire, whose interest it was to see that no substantial changes were introduced in the Budget.

9th. The A. I. C. C. at Tripuri again discussed the resolution which expressed confidence in the old Working Committee, and urged Sj. Bose to nominate the new Working Committee according to Mahatma Gandhi's wishes. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose said that if the mover of the resolution had in mind that he (Sj. Bose) had cast any aspersions, he would like to repeat what he had said in an early statement that he had never cast any aspersions against any member of the Working Committee, aud that he had never doubted the bonafides of any member of that Committee.

Mahatma Gandhi conferred for two hours with representatives of the Praja Parishad at Rajkot, on their future work. He wrote a letter to Mr. G. C. Gibson, President, Western India States urging the withdrawal of the emergency regulations and lifting of the ban on newspapers.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, the Budget Estimates for 1939-40 revealed a deficit of Rs. 17,39,000.

10th. The 52nd. session of the Indian National Congress opened in a tense atmosphere, following a adverse vote against the President's group in the Subjects Committee earlier in the day.....The President Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose did not attend the opening session, in view of the state of his health and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, as the seniormost ex-President, took the chair. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose could not preside over the meeting of the Subjects Committee,.....Maulana Azad presided : the agenda before the Committee included Pandit Govinda Ballabh Pant's reply to the debate on his resolution, which regretted the 'aspersions' cast against the members of the old Working Committee, reiterated faith in the policy and programme hitherto pursued under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, and recommended that the president should nominate the Working Committee for the year, in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's wishes.....All amendments were rejected and Pandit Pant's resolution was accepted by 218 votes to 133. Sj. Bose, in his presidential address, referred to the events leading to the resignation of the Working Committee, and said that his speech had to be brief under extraordinary circumstances. The main issue he touched on was Federation. He said : "I must give clear and unequivocal expression to what I have been feeling for some time past. The time has come to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit our national demands to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum."

Mahatma Gandhi in an appeal to the Rajkot public recapitulated the history of the States' notifications and the correspondence between the Viceroy and himself and the happy termination of his fast. He emphasized that he had intentionally omitted the publishing of other materials known to him. He urged the need of truth and non-violence in the administration and in individual dealings.

In the Bengal Legislative Council the Home Minister introduced the Calcutta and Subarban Police (Amendment) Bill. Opposition speakers launched a strong

attack against the measure and accused the Government of interfering with the fundamental rights and liberties of the people.

11th. The Congress programme was altered in view of a grave turn in Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's illness. Sj. Bose remarked to Pandit Nehru, "I have not come here to go to hospital in Jubbulpore ; I would much rather die here than be removed elsewhere before the session is over." Immediately after the Subjects Committee meeting, and before the open session of the Congress all Gandhian leaders visited Sj. Bose, and informed him that they had decided to delete from Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's resolution, passed in the Subjects Committee meeting on the 10th., the portion relating to the expression of regret at the "aspersions" cast on certain past members of the Congress executive. The leaders also decided not to put the resolution before the plenary session of the Congress but to refer it to the All-India Committee, to be taken up at a future convenient date. The business of major importance in the Subjects Committee was the discussion of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru's "national demand". It was an anti-Federation resolution reiterating uncompromising opposition to the Federal part of the Government of India Act and determination to resist its imposition.

Dr. Pattavi Sitaramayya, President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee received an information that 50 women were arrested following a lathi charge on women Satyagrahis at Kalipatnam village, in the West Godavari District.

Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Vice-Chancellor Calcutta University in course of his address at the annual convocation, made a spirited defence of the achievements and gifts of the Calcutta University against uninformed critics.

The Princes held a private meeting (at New Delhi), at which the situation arising out of the agitation against the Indian States was thoroughly discussed ; the meeting considered certain proposals regarding internal reforms in the States.

In the Assam Legislative Council (Upper House), there was a full debate on the Budget. The dominant note in various speeches was the want of adequate provision made in the Budget for tackling the serious unemployment existing in the province.

Mr. R. N. Nicolls, Chairman, Darjeeling Branch of the European Association, outlined at the annual general meeting at Darjeeling, the principal matters that the Committee had worked on during the past year.

12th. The 52nd. session of the Indian National Congress concluded. Pandit Pant's resolution on Congress leadership was passed by an overwhelming majority. The resolution regretted the "aspersions" cast against the members of the old Working Committee, reiterated faith in the policy and programme hitherto pursued under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and recommended that the President should nominate the Working Committee for the year, in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's wishes : voting was by show of hands. The Socialists remained neutral. The session rejected half a dozen amendments (including Mr. K. F. Nariman's motion that in view of the alarming state of the President's health the consideration of Pandit Pant's resolution be postponed till the President was in a fit condition to attend the meeting).

The decision of the greatest import was the rejection of the Congress President's plan of an ultimatum to the British Government, in order to ensure that the Congress demand, common to both groups, was met within a prescribed time-limit.—Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose suggested a time limit of six months, but Pandit Jawharlal Nehru said that they would be deceiving themselves if they thought that they could win their freedom from the British Government by using high sounding phrases and words. What was required was an enunciation in clear terms of the "national demand", and preparation for the struggle through purifying and strengthening the Congress organization. This view was accepted by the Congress in the form of a long resolution, defining the Congress demand.

13th. His Excellency the Viceroy opened the session of the Chamber of Princes at New Delhi. Over 50 Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present.

In the Central Assembly, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed moved the first of the Moslem League Party's cut motions, in order to discuss the inadequate representation of Moslems in the Central services, other than the Railways.

14th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose on his way back to Calcutta from Tripuri was detained at Dhanbad owing to his ill-health.

The Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, Chancellor, Chamber of Princes in thanking His Excellency the Viceroy for presiding at the annual session of the Chamber of Princes, stated, "The Indian Princes are not averse to progress in their States with due regard to local condition and resources but we deny the right of any party from outside to dictate to us or to coerce us in the matter of constitutional reforms in our States."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Premier made an emphatic denial that the Government were without a policy or programme in the matter of primary education, in reply to Dr. Syama Prosad Mukherji, ex-Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University.

At Faridpur, resolutions urging the establishment of branches of the Hindu Sabha in every union of Faridpur district and the organization of gymnasiums in every village, were passed at a public meeting of Hindus under the presidency of Rai Bahadur Tarak Chandra Chatterjee.

The Bengal Government sustained a defeat in the Bengal Legislative Council, in connexion with the Calcutta Police and Subarban Amendment Bill, 1939, which sought to give power to the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to depute one or more police officers to attend any public meeting for the purpose of reporting the proceedings of such meetings.—There was a tie over an opposition amendment and the President, Mr. S. Mitra cast his vote in favour of the amendment.—The amendment was moved by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji (Congress) aud sought to delete the explanation defining a public meeting.

15th. His Excellency the Viceroy received Mahatma Gandhi at New Delhi—the interview lasted for about 2 hours.

The Central Assembly resumed discussion of cut motions on the general Budget. Mr. S. Satymurthi moved the first of the Congress party cuts to censure the Government for their defence policy and administration.

The C. P. Budget Estimates for 1939-40 revealed a surplus of Rs. 126 lakhs.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed the Calcutta and Subarban Police (Amendment) Bill as modified by the House.

16th. The Committee of seven formed by Mahatma Gandhi before his departure for Delhi for undertaking work in the Rajkot State and to launch a drive to liquidate illiteracy in the State, began its work.

Twenty-four persons were committed to the sessions in connexion with the murder of Major R. L. Bazalgette, Political Agent, Eastern States Agency, at Ranpur.

In the Central Assembly, when discussion on cut motions was resumed on general Budget, Mr. T. S. A. Chettiar moved the second of the Congress cuts to discuss the conditions of Indians overseas.

In the Punjab Assembly, the Premier, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, replying to the general debate on the Budget, made a fervent appeal to the Opposition party to lend him their full co-operation and assistance in effacing communalism and the preaching of violence in the province.

A deputation of Arya Samajists including Lala Deshbandhu Gupta and Professor Sadhikar waited on Mahatma Gandhi with regard to Arya Samaj Satyagraha in Hyderabad State.

17th. The Assam Assembly continued discussion of the principles of the Goalpara Tenancy Amendment Bill, which was moved for reference to a Select Committee by the Revenue Minister.

Mr. R. B. Whitehead, Chairman of the Indian Mining Association, presiding at the annual general meeting of the Association at the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, surveyed the position of the coal industry.

In the Bihar Legislative Assembly, the establishment of an Agricultural College in the province was urged by a "cut" motion, moved against the demand under the head, "Agriculture".

His Excellency Sir George Cunningham, Governor of the N. W. F. P., in the course of his address, declaring open the New Assembly Chamber, made a survey of the various problems facing the Frontier Province.

The Sind Assembly resumed its Budget session. The Hindu Independent Party held out, due to the alleged failure of the Government to comply with their demands, the number of which increased to eleven. The demands included the banning of the *Om Mandali*, the implementry of the premier's assurance regarding the assessment proposals and opposition to the expansion of the Ministry.

18th. In the Bengal Assembly, in reply to a question by Mr. Manu Subedar, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, stated that the Government were alive to the danger of subversive propaganda in this country financed from abroad but regretted thas they were unable to divulge publicly the information in their possession.

In the Orissa Assembly, Talcher refugees and Burma riot figured prominently in the course of discussion.

Mr. Pattom A. T. Pillai, President, Travancore State Congress and Mr. G. Ramchandran, member of the State Congress Working Committee and member of the All-India Congress Committee, were arrested under sec. 40 of the Travancore Criminal Procedure Code.

The Assam Assembly passed the demand for grants under the head "General Administration" but refused the Budget provision of Rs. 44, 239 under the head, "Commissioners" on a cut motion moved by Maulavi Muhammed Amjad Ali (Goalpara). The Government agreed with this motion.

19th. Mahatma Gandhi had a prolonged talk with a number of former members of the Working Committee of the Congress at New Delhi. Those present were Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. A telegram was received from Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, cancelling his proposed visit.....The absence of emergency provisions in the Congress constitution to deal with an interrugnum during which no Working Committee was in existense, formed the subject of comment and there was a hardening of the oppinion which was expressed by some at Tripuri towards the close of the Congress session that the All India Congress Committee should be summoned early to deal with the situation.

On the advise of Mahatma Gandhi the Jaipur Satyagraha was suspended.

Seventeen persons were injured as the result of a communal clash at Dacca.

In the Bihar Assembly, speaking on the Budget motion for the introduction of Khadi Uniforms for the police, Mr. Krishna Ballabh Sahay, Parliamentary Secretary, declared that Government were prepared to purchase as much Khadi as could be supplied by the All-India Spinners' Association for police uniforms.

20th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister, in moving for a grant of Rs. Rs. 2,14,55,000 for the Police Department gave a warning that there was a class of people in Bengal who were out to bring about revolution in the province and to upset the existing order of society.

21st. The Assam Legislative Ascembly passed the demands for grants under the heads "Land Revenue", "Administration of Justice" and "Provincial Excise" for sums not exceeding Rs. 27,97,600 ; Rs. 6,96,400 and Rs. 3,51,800. But the provision in the Budget for the appointment of an Advocate-General for Assam was subject to strong criticism in the Assembly. The Government, however, defeated the Opposition.

In the Bihar Assembly, discussion on two cut motions against the demand in respect of "General Administration" occupied the entire day's sitting.

The Madras Legislative Assembly voted the grant for Ministers and General Administration. The Budget grants for District Administration, Jails, Administration of Justice and Police were voted.

22nd. In the Central Assembly, the urgency of a Hindu Moslem understanding was emphasized by the leaders of both the Moslem League and Congress Party. Mr. M. A. Jinnah declared that real victory would not come to the Congress until they had removed the barriers between the two people, while Mr. Bhulabhai Desai believed that the differences were more psychological than real and confidently hoped that they would march together "to that liberty which is ours." The Moslem League party remained neutral on the voting in the Divorce Bill debate.

Tbe Government sustained a defeat in the Central Assembly by 55 votes to 38, when Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar moved a resolution to reduce a salt duty of Rs. 1-4 per maund by four annas.

In the Bihar Legislative Assembly, Dr. Saiyid Mahmud, Minister, replying to a cut motion, said, "The Government are alive to the seriousness of rural indebtedness and are contemplating relief measures more important and more far reaching than a conciliation Bill."

In the Punjab Assembly, after a two-days' lively debate, the House rejected by 90 votes to 35, the cut motion of the Congress Party to censure the general policy of the Government in regard to jail administrtion in the Punjab.

23rd. In the Central Assembly, Sir H. P. Mody's amendment to omit the provision in the Finance Bill to double the import duty on raw cotton was passed in the Assembly by 59 votes to 44. The Moslem League party remained neutral.

Dr. J. N. Morgan, K. C. explained what the position of Indian States would be under Federation, when he delivered his Tagore Lecture in the University of Calcutta on "Federalism and the Government of India Act."

In Lahore, over a hundred Kishan demonstrators were arrested. A party of about 2000 Kishans from various villages of the Lahore District collected at the Municipal Gardens with the intention of marching to the Assembly Chamber to record their protest against the increase of land tax.

Om Mandali :—Following the failure of Dada Lekhraj to carry out the Government's request for the segregation of the males from the premises of the *Om Mandali*, the Government served him with an order under sec. 144, Cr. P. C., to be in force for a period of 14 days, to abstain from admitting female inmates of the said institution to any place wherein he may be for the time being. "*Om Radhe*", President of the Mandali, was directed by another order to abstain from admitting male members to the institution.

24th. His Highness the Maharaja of Holkar issued an order appointing a Constitution Committee, with Rai Bahadur Rangilal, Judicial Minister, as convenor, to report on what lines local self-Government should be developed in the State and in what manner the constitution of the Legislative Council should be revised and reformed so as to ensure increasing association of the people with the administrative machinery, due regard being paid to local conditions and the requirements and circumstances of the State.—The Committee consisted of four officials and seven non-officials, the latter including the president of the Indore Praja Mandal.

Om Mandali affairs : Sadhu Vaswani, the leader of the Satyagraha movement against the Om Mandali, and 36 volunteers including 12 ladies were taken into custody by the police when they attempted to march in a procession to the Secretariat in defiance of the Government order. The District Magistrate served an order under sec. 144 Cr. P. C. on Sadhu Vaswani and others.

In the Sind Assembly Rao Sahib Gokuldas moved an adjournment in connexion with Sadhu Vaswani's arrest.—Supporters of the motion vehemently opposed the promulgation of an order under Sec. 144 against the Satyagrahis, who they said were observing absolute non-violence. They insisted that the "Om Mandali" should be banned. Sheikh Abdul Majid (Muslim League) suggested the bringing in of necessary legislation to ban the institution, if there was no legal provision at present. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Minister for Law and Order, opposing the motion said : The Government had to protect the civil liberties of all. The Hindu Independents had been showing the pistols at the two Hindu Ministers. The Government had done every thing in their power. They would, however, try to find out if there was any law whereby they could close the Mandali. He added that cases were pending in the Court. The Premier, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux gave an account of the genesis of the trouble. The motion was talked out.

The Travancore Satyagraha :—The first President of the Travancore State Congress, Mr. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, and two members of the State Congress Council of Action, Messrs G. Ram Chandra and P. J. Sebastian were sentenced by the District Magistrate of Kottayam to one year's simple imprisonment each.

25th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, in a statement to the Press, set forth the reasons for the delay in announcing the new Congress Working Committee. Sj. Bose said that specific matters like the appointment of the Working Committee etc., could not be dealt with until and unless the general issues arising out of the adoption by the Congress of Pandit G. B. Pant's resolution had been fully discussed and decided upon after consultation with Mahatma Gandhi. Sj. Bose said that he would like to ascertain from Mahatma Gandhi the latter's interpretation of Pandit Pant's resolution, namely whether he took it as a vote of no-confidence on Sj. Bose and desired him to resign the Presidentship or whether he took it as an attempt at rapprochment between Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress President, although Sj. Bose believed that there never had been any break with Mahatma Gandhi on his side.

The Central Assembly rejected by 50 votes to 42 the Finance Bill which was returned to the House with the Governor-General's recommendation that it be passed.

At the annual meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, the new Indo-British Trade Agreement was strongly criticized by Sir Hari Sankar Paul.

Om Mandali: In the Sind Assembly, the Hindu Independent Party decided at its meeting at Karachi to table a "no-confidence" motion and were obtaining the necessary signatures of the members of the Assembly. They sent telegrams to the Hindu members of the Assembly who were out of station then to come to Karachi.

26th. At Meerut, a decision to appoint a Committee to examine and report on the various draft schemes put forward as being more likely than the present constitution to secure the rights and interests of the Moslems in India, was taken at a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League at the residence of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, President of the U. P. Provincial Moslem League. The meeting passed another resolution advising Moslems in the States to organize themselves effectively and assuring them of its fullest support.

At the annual session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference which began at Monghyr, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, Hindu Mahasabha, observed, "It is a happy sign that Hindus have become alive to the idea of national unity and are organizing themselves. That is why, although I am a Maratha, I am presiding at a conference in Bihar." The Hindu Sabha stood for Hindutma which embraced Hindu Society, culture, language etc., and need not be looked upon with needless suspicion.

At a public meeting in Calcutta, strong speeches were made when the Tripuri session of the Congress was reviewed and a resolution passed criticizing Pandit Pant's resolution as a serious departure from the Congress constitution.—The meeting was convened by a section of Congressmen.

27th. Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, Commerce Member, made a notably clear explanation of the intricacies of the new Indo-British Trade Agreement, when he moved its approval in the Central Assembly. He stressed the value of the arrangement with a country which was India's best customer, and with which India's trade had been steadily increasing since pre-Ottawa days.

In the Sind Assembly, a no-confidence motion in the Ministry was moved by Dr. Hemandas Wadhwani.

His Excellency the Governor of Sind accepted the resignations of the two Hindu Ministers, Mr. Nichaldas Vizirani and Mr. Dialmal Daulatram.

At the Chittagong District Youth Conference held under the presidentship of Mr. M. N. Roy at Chittagong, reference to the leaders of the Chittagong armoury raid and deprecation of Mahatma Gandhi's act were uttered. The conference concluded after adopting a series of resolutions demanding refund of the punitive tax and the collective fines realized from Chittagong during the terrorist movement, urging formation of a nationalist militia and between all left forces in the Congress to build a national front in the fight for freedom.

The Committee set up by His Highness the Ruler of Mandi State to revise the constitution of the Mandi State Legislative Council, with a view to enlarging its powers, submitted its report.

28th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, made an appeal to the Congressmen in the Punjab to join hands in furthering the Congress cause in the province and uphold the honour of the province and of the country as a whole.

An important constitutional point involving the rights and privileges of the Bengal Legislative Assembly was raised by the Speaker (Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque) when a non-official Bill called "The Rural Poor and Unemployed Relief Bill" as passed by the Upper House came up for consideration. The question was whether a Bill which, when originally introduced in the Upper House, contained provisions having financial obligations by the Government, and had subsequently been changed and passed by that House, could be sent to the Lower House in that changed form for consideration.

In the Central Assembly, Sir Aubrey Metcalfe (Secretary for External Affairs) informed Mr. T. S. A. Chettiar that the Government of India were corresponding with the Afghan Government through His Majesty's Minister on the subject of Indians in Afghanistan, and they were endeavouring to obtain an improvement of condition with regard to trade and other matters.

The Central Assembly rejected by 59 votes to 47 the Commerce Member's motion that the Indo-British Trade Agreement be approved. Before the division

Mr. M. A. Jinnah announced that the Moslem League Party would remain neutral.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, the demands under the heads "Industries", Jails and Convict Settlements, Civil Works (excluding establishment) Loans and Advances bearing and not bearing interest were granted.

29th. A riot broke out at a meeting at the Baradari Hall, Lucknow, convened by non-Congressmen to protest against the financial policy of the United Provinces Government.

30th. The Council of State adopted the motion on Indo-British Trade Agreement by 28 votes to 10.

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed demands for grants under "Veterinary", "Co-operation", "Miscellaneous Departments" and under "Miscellaneous" heads, but the increased number of Ministers and their tours came in for severe criticism by an Opposition cut motion when voting on demands for supplementary grants was taken up.

In the Sind Assembly, Dr. Wadhwani moved his no-confidence motion against the Allah Bux Ministry.

31st. The Central Assembly passed without a division, Sir Reginald Maxwell's Bill for the Registration of Foreigners with an amendment seeking to include in the definition, residents of the Dominions.

Sir Bijay Chand Mahatab, Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, in Calcutta, made an appeal to landlords to unite to stem the tide of "anti-landlordism" that was spreading over Bengal,

At Lucknow, the Madhe Sahaba agitation took a serious turn when hundreds of Shias and Sunnis clashed. The police opened fire. Over a dozen constables and three officers, besides a number of rioters were injured. A confew order was promulgated.

In the Sind Assembly, the no-confidence motion against the Ministry was withdrawn following a conference between the Ministers and the Hindu Independent Party. The Premier agreed to meet the demands of the Hindus to some extent and promised to deal with the Om Mandali suitably.

April 1939

Chief Events :—Federal Court Award on the Rajkot Dispute : Sir Maurice Gwyer's findings : Moslem agitation in the State : Mahatma acknowledges defeat to Durbar Virawalla—*Om Mandali* agitations continued—Muslim League meetings held in different parts of the country—Tabarra agitation at Lucknow—All India Landholders' and All-India Kisan Conferences held simultaneously at Lucknow and Gaya—All India Congress Committee at Calcutta : Sj, Subhas Bose tenders resignation of Presidentship on his failure to form a Working Committee : Babu Rajendra Prosad elected President.

1st. The Maharaja of Santosh died in Calcutta,—he was the President of the former Bengal Legislative Council.

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed the following taxation Bills moved by the Government : Assam Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Bill, Assam Sales Tax Bill, Assam Amusements and Betting Tax Bill and Assam Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill.

In an article in the *Harijan*, Mahatma Gandhi wrote, "Those who lightly talk of freedom in the States and hope to attain it through civil resistance do not know what they are talking about."

In the Sind Assembly Messrs Nichaldas Vazirani and Diamal Daulatram were sworn in as Ministers.

2nd. His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Henry Craik, performed the opening ceremony of the Emerson Barrage, which marked the completion of the Haveli project.

Under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in Calcutta, a public meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu,

an ex-Mayor of Calcutta, to protest against the Calcutta Municipal Act (Amendment) Bill, engaging the attention of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

3rd. Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, gave his verdict on the Rajkot dispute.—Referring to the documents under dispute Sir Maurice Gwyer declared that according to them the Thakore Sahib undertook to appoint the persons recommended by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and that he did not reserve to himself any discretion to reject those of whom he disapproved. The Thakore Sahib, the Chief Justice said, was entitled to criticize the recommendations and to urge their reconsideration but unless it could be shown that any of the persons were neither servants nor subjects of the State, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was entitled to have the last word. The Chief Justice also remarked, "I am constrained to observe that opinions may be strongly held without being dishonestly held, and I permit myself to hope that the Committee, when constituted, may enter upon its difficult task in an atmosphere free from accusations and recriminations. The interests of parties are of importance, but I conceive that of no less importance are the interests of the general body of the inhabitants of Rajkot."

The Bihar Assembly passed an official resolution urging the abolition of the excluded areas and bringing them under the regular administration of the Government.

4th. His Excellency the Viceroy granted a long interview to Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi which lasted 1½ hours—the interview was generally regarded as a natural sequel to the publication of the Gwyer Award.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly, after a protracted debate, agreed to proceed with the consideration of the Moneylenders' Bill, as reported by the Select Committee. Incidentally, the Speaker (Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque) gave a ruling that the provincial legislature was quite competent to legislate on moneylending.

The Satyagraha campaign in the Mewar State was suspended on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi.

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, a motion protesting against the communique fixing the hours for the stoppage of music before mosques was defeated by 54 votes to 42.

The death occurred of His Highness Maharaja Sir Aditya Narayan Singh of Benares, at Ramnagar fort, in Benares State.

5th. In the Sind Assembly, the Select Committee on the Sind Anti-Dowry Bill recommended that dowries should be limited to a maximum Rs. 500/-

6th. The Central Assembly passed the Tariff Amendment Bill relating to broken rice, silk, paper, and pulp and magnesium chloride.

Dr. S. C. Law, presiding at the annual general meeting of the Sunderban Landholders' Association, in Calcutta, made an appreciative reference to the work of the Land Revenue Commission, presided over by Sir Francis Floud.

The Assam Assembly carried by 57 votes to 28 the Agricultural Income-Tax Bill.

The Opposition in the Bengal Assembly walked out as a protest against a certain remark made by Mr. Mozammal Huq (Coalition Party) during discussion of the Amusement Tax (Amendment) Bill.

Om Mandali : The order under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. putting a ban on male members entering the Om Mandali and Om Nivas institutions, was extended by a further period of 14 days.

The Princes of Kathiawar States and their Ministers met in a conference in Jamnagar House, Rajkot, under the presidentship of the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar. The discussions centred round the recent proposals of the Resident for the Western India States for a common Police force and a common High Court for the smaller States.

7th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose issued a statement to the Press regarding the award of Sir Maurice Gwyer on the Rajkot affair. He said, "I have just finished reading Sir Maurice Gwyer's Award on the Rajkot affair. The Thakore Sahib's refusal to implement the agreement entered into with Sardar Patel had been a rude and painful shock to every body and most of all to Mahatma Gandhi. Now that the award has fully vindicated the stand taken by Mahatmaji and Sardar Vallabhbhai, I hope the Thakore Sahib will have no hesitation in accepting the award in the proper spirit and that he will take steps to implement it without delay. I hope further that the Reforms Committee will prepare a charter of the people's rights and that it will be adopted by the State."

At Lucknow, Six hundred Shias were arrested for publicly reciting Tabarra. Those arrested included some of the members of the old Royal family.

Dr. Khan Sahib, the Premier, N. W. Frontier Province, in an interview re: certain provisions of the North-West Frontier Province Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, observed, "The Congress has always stood for the just protection of rights of every community, and I, as an ordinary soldier of the Congress army, must carry out the Congress policy.

8th. The Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, addressing the All-India Landholders' Association at Lucknow, declared that in the event of war, Indian landlords would place their entire resources at the disposal of His Majesty the King.

Mr. J. N. R. Mehta, presiding over the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, in Delhi, urged separate trade agreements with several European countries for developing India's trade.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, presiding over a meeting of the Council of the Moslem League, at New Delhi, made a statement that the Moslem League was not pledged to any particular scheme of Federation and that a final scheme would be drawn up by the Working Committee after close examination of the whole question.

In his speech as President of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League in Calcutta, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, observed, "The Congress is at the present moment an organization of political hypocrites."

9th. Mahatma Gandhi issued an article entitled "Have I erred," which was in reply to those critics who asserted that his fast in Rajkot to the neglect of Tripuri was out of proportion, that he should not have been "dancing attendance on the Viceroy and that his action in accepting the verdict of the chief justice of the Federal Court was at variance with Congress Opposition to Federation.

At the meeting of the General Committee of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League, in Calcutta, resolutions were passed urging the Government not to recognize the claim of the Indian National Congress, to be a "national" organization ; condemning the Italian invasion of Albani, "the only Moslem Kingdom in Europe" and calling upon Moslems to counteract the evil effects of the Communist movment in Bengal.

In his presidential speech at the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference at Daulatpur, Mr. Pramatha Nath Bannerjee, Principal of the University Law College, Calcutta, criticized the Bengal Government's monetary aid to Hindu schools and colleges in the province. He pointed out that though the Government had in the current year made considerable provision for the grant of stipends and scholarships, the grants would be on the basis that 60 p. c. would go to the Moslem Community, 20 percent to the scheduled castes and 20 p. c. to 'others' —including 65·5 percent of the Hindu students in the affiliated institutions.

Acharya Narendra Dev, in his presidential address to the All-India Kisan Conference, at Gaya, declared, "A revolutionary change has come over the peasants' way of thinking. There is a new urge for knowledge. He has begun to criticize his surroundings and those whom he had rendered unquestioning obedience in the past. The old sadness is giving way to buoyancy. A new spirit is abroad in the villages, and if we make proper use of the new favourable situation and give a proper direction to peasant activities we can make them an irresistible force in the country. The virtue of discipline has to be brought home to them."

The Mahrajadhiraj Bahadur of Darbhanga, presiding over the All-India Landholders' Conference at Lucknow, appealed to the landholders to take note of the democratic tendencies in the modern world, re-establish contact with the villagers and think in terms of the villagers' welfare.

The All-India Landholders' Conference elected the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga as the President of the Federation and adopted the constitution drafted by the constitution Sub-committee under the Maharaja of Mymensingh with the recommendation that the amendments which were moved should be referred to a sub-committee.

The Committee of the Moslem League, presided over by the Raja of Pirpur maintained in its report on the Wardha Scheme of Education that the scheme aimed at facilitating the conversion of the youth to the ideal of the Congress.

The All-India Women's Conference made an appeal for supporting the proposed inquiry into the rights of Indian Women, re. Mr. Jinaraja Hedge's resolution in the Central Assembly regarding the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry into the legal rights and disabilities of women in India.

10th. The Sunni leaders of Lucknow decided to seek legal relief with regard to the recitation of Tabarra by Shias and they approached the Local Government for sanction to launch prosecution against Shias.

Attempts to solve the problem of refugees from Talcher in Angul reached a deadlock following the stand taken by the Ruler of Talcher that the agreement arrived at an official conference in Angul on March 22nd, was not binding on him.

On the advice of Mahatma Gandhi Satyagraha was dropped in Rajnandgaon and Chhuikhadan States in the Chattisgarh division.

At the open session of the Provincial Muslim League, New Delhi, Mr. Hussain Imam, member of the Council of State, presided. The conference appealed to the Muslims, in view of their economic and financial condition, to use swadeshi cloth and other articles, and especially to give preference to goods produced by Muslims. Finally, it was resolved that "the Government of India Act is incomplete" and that the All India Muslim League should be asked to prepare a preferable constitution, which would safeguard the rights of Muslims.

The General Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League expressed the opinion, in Calcutta, "under no circumstances should the Government recognize the Congress as a national organization representing the various communities of India." The Committee declared that in matters concerning the Muslims, the Government should always be guided by the opinion of the Muslim League "as the sole and acknowledged representative of the Muslim Community."

11th. Mahatma Gandhi had a 75 minutes' talk with Mr. E. C. Gibson, President, Western India States, on Rajkot affairs. The problem of deciding upon the personnel of the Reforms Committee in accordance with the notifications issued by the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot State on December 26, 1938, encountered a fresh hitch.

In the Central Assembly, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Divorce Bill was discussed ; Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member admitted that the question raised by Dr. Deshmukh's Bill was one of great importance and deserved every sympathy, but Dr. Deshmukh had done no service to Hindu Women whose cause he championed by his present Bill.

In the C. P. Assembly, the Moslem League members walked out in protest against the refusal of the Deputy Speaker, Mrs. Anusuyabai Kale, to give provisional consent to the adjournment motion (re : arrest of 145 Moslems of Biswa village, in Buldana district) tabled by Mr. M. M. Haq and Mr. Hidayat Ali.

His Highness the Nawab of Tonk, at his birthday Durbar, announced the institution of partially elected administrative bodies, both local and central.

12th. The Central Assembly passed Mr. D. M. Hedge's resolution recommending the appointment of a Committee to examine and report on the present position of Women under the existing laws with special reference to rights and disabilities in regard to ownership and disposal of property, rights of guardianship over children, rights to maintenance, rights in respect of joint family property, rights of inheritance and succession and marital rights.

The Federal Court gave a ruling on the bringing of cases against public servants in a case arising out of an appeal.—"It will be open to His Excellency (the Governor) after considering the facts of the case to give consent to a fresh prosecution under 477 A. (of the code) if he should think fit."

13th. Mahatma Gandhi decided to submit to the Thakore Sahib the names of seven persons for membership of the Reforms Committee in the light of his negotiations with the Moslems and Bhayyats.

Dr. Pattavi Sitaramayya, in the course of an interview at Bangalore suggested the possibility of a Royal Commission shortly coming to investigate the position of various States in India.

14th. The conversations between Mahatma Gandhi and the Moslem deputation at Rajkot did not result in any definite agreement regarding representation on the Reforms Committee.—A Bhayyat's deputation waited on the Thakore Sahib.

The Central Assembly passed without a division Sir M. Zafrullah Khan's Tariff Bill to reduce the protective duty on sugar from Rs. 7-4 to Rs. 6-12 and to continue it until 1941.

In the Bombay Assembly, Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Home Minister made an important announcement regarding the question of the unification of the Bar and the abolition of the dual system on the original side of the Bombay High Court; he supported the first reading of a Bill to prevent an unqualified person from acting as advocate, attorney or pleader.

15th. The negotiations with Moslems at Rajkot, in regard to the personnel of the Reforms Committee, having failed, Mahatma Gandhi, on behalf of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, sent a letter to the Thakore Sahib submitting a list of seven names for the Committee.

A proclamation announcing the introduction of constitutional reforms in Tripura State was read at the New Year Durbar at Agartala.

16th. At Rajkot, about 500 Bhayats and Moslems staged an angry demonstration against Mahatma Gandhi during evening prayers at the Rashtriyashala.

At Lucknow, a vigorous indictment of the United Provinces Congress Ministry's administrative policy, specially in regard to prohibition, and various other taxation measures was made at a conference representative of all non-Congress elements in the province.—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presided.

The majority of the Hindu shopkeepers in Calcutta observed hartal as a protest against the Calcutta Municipal Act Amendment Bill.

17th. The Dacca Mail collided with the 16 Down Passenger at Majdia, 65 miles from Calcutta, on the Eastern Bengal Railway. 32 persons were believed to have been killed and more than 40 were thought to have been injured.

The question of representation of Bhayats and Girasias on the Rajkot Reforms Committee took a new turn following correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the president of the Griasias' Association.

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, General Secretary, All-India Congress Socialist Party and Mr. P. C. Joshi in a joint statement stressed the need for the formation of the Working Committee of the Congress prior to the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

Eighteen taluqdars, headed by Raja Maheswar Dayal, walked out of the general meeting of the British India Association as a protest against the passing of a resolution seeking the intervention of Mahatma Gandhi in the dispute between taluqdars and the U. P. Government over the Tenancy Bill.

The Kishan Satyagraha in Lahore, which was started as a protest against the new land assessment rates in Lahore took a new turn, when a jatha of seven women Satyagrahis entered the prohibited area.

18th. Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore and Sir P. C. Roy sent telegrams to Mahatma Gandhi and Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose requesting that Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress President should meet before the Congress meeting with a view to putting an end to the present state of affairs.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Moslem League, in a Press statement, criticized Mahatma Gandhi's attitude regarding Moslem representation on the Rajkot Reforms Committee, and advised Moslems in the State to boycott the Committee.

A fresh hitch occurred over the personnel of the Rajkot Reforms Committee. The Thakore Saheb replied to Mahatma Gandhi's letter of April 15, stating that six of the seven names mentioned in Sardar Patel's list did not appear to be subjects of Rajkot State. He also referred to the non-inclusion of representatives of Moslem Bhayyats and the depressed classes on the Committee.

A situation resembling a "siege" developed at Digboi as a result of the strained atmosphere caused by the continuance since April 2, of the strike of the labourers of the Assam oil company.

19th. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who went to Rajkot at the invitation of the Rajkot Durbar, had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi and stressed the need of including a Depressed classes' representative on the Reforms Committee.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru paid a visit to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose at Dhanbad; they were engaged in deep conversation for about 3½ hours in the afternoon and had further conversations after dinner, after which Pandit Nehru left for Allahabad.

A conference of States' Ministers was inaugurated at Gwalior by the Maharaja Scindia.

20th. Mahatma Gandhi had a discussion with the members of the Praja Parishad at Rajkot and had an interview with Mr. Gibson, the Resident.

His Majesty the King approved the appointment of Sir John Woodhead, K. C. S. I., I. C. S., as Governor of Bengal with effect from June 11, in consequence of the grant of leave to His Excellency Sir Robert Reid K. C. S. I., K. C. I, E., Governor of Assam and at present acting Governor of Bengal.

In Bengal Legislative Assembly, exciting scenes were witnessed during a discussion regarding the admissibility of an adjournment motion submitted by Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal (Congress) to discuss a speech delivered by the Premier, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq at a recent meeting of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League in Calcutta.

The Secretary of the Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education in Bengal at the twenty second meeting of the Board in Calcutta expressed the view that schools for Europeans and Anglo Indians in the province were adapting themselves to the new conditions in a promising manner.

Sir Henry Gidney, M. L. A. (Central) and president-in-chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, speaking at the annual meeting of the Punjab branch of the Association held in Lahore, said, "Cultivate friendship with our Indian brethren. Treat them on an equality with yourself. You have much to learn from them and they from you."

21st. Mahatma Gandhi received a reply to his letter from Mr. G. C. Gibson, President, Western States Agency, but no solution was reached on the constitution of the Reforms Committee at Rajkot.

Mr. M. M. S. Ispahani, Honorary Secretary, Bombay Presidency Moslem League in a statement said that Mahatma Gandhi was trying to back out of a definite and unconditional promise which he gave to Moslems of Rajkot to include their representatives on the Reforms Committee.

Mr. H. G. Dennehy, Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam issued a communique on the Digboi labour strike, which stated, among other things, "the Finance Minister has already proceeded to Digboi and will study the whole situation on the spot. In the belief that the quarrel is susceptible of settlement the Government have authorized him to announce their willingness to set up a Conciliation Board. The Government hope that the parties to the dispute will accept this and work in co-operation to make a settlement possible and peaceful relationship between the parties will soon be restored."

There was a clash between Kishans and Zemindars near the village of Nehra in Darbhanga district—a number of Kishans were injured.

22nd. Mahatma Gandhi visited Durbar Virawala and had a prolonged discussion with him, on the subject of his reported offer regarding the appointment of the Committee on Rajkot reforms.

In the Punjab Assembly, the motion of "full confidence" in the Ministry moved by Sheikh Karamat Ali (Unionist) was adopted by the House. The Opposition stayed away as a protest during the debate against the Speaker's ruling which gave priority to the full confidence motion in preference to the no-confidence motion.

23rd. The talks at Rajkot between Mahatma Gandhi and Darbar Virawala in connexion with the personnel of the Rajkot Reforms Committee broke down. Mr. Mahadev Desai, the Mahatma's Secretary, put forward a strong plea for intervention by the Crown Representative in the Rajkot dispute.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was re-elected President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting of that body in Calcutta.

24th. Mahatma Gandhi in a letter to Durbar Virawala declined to have the Rajkot Reforms Committee appointed on basis suggested by Mr. Virawala. Mahatma Gandhi pointed out that if four out of the seven seats were reserved for certain communities and interests then the vast majority would be converted into a majority. In a written statement to the news agency, Mahatma Gandhi said: "Rajkot to me has been a priceless laboratory. My patience has been sorely tried by the tortuous politics of Kathiawar. I have told Mr. Virawala, 'I am defeated, may you win'."

A resolution condemning the Calcutta Municipal Bill and suggesting steps to combat it, was passed at the meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, held in Calcutta.

A resolution reiterating the Congress policy of non-participation in an "Imperialist War" was passed at a meeting held in connexion with the observance of an "anti-war day" in Calcutta.—Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose presided.

25th. Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement on the situation in Rajkot—"Rajkot seems to have robbed me of my youth. I never knew that I was old. Now I am weighed down by the knowledge of decrepitude. I never knew what it was to lose hope. But it seems to have been cremated in Rajkot. My *ahimsa* has been put to a test as it has never been subjected to before."

26th. Mr. Nishit Chandra Sen and Prince Yusuf Mirza, Congress nominees were unanimously elected Mayor and Deputy Mayor, respectively, of Calcutta. The election was held in the Calcutta Corporation building.

Mr. K. F. Nariman, presiding at the South Calcutta Political Conference, made vehement condemnation of Fascist methods and "group power" politics in the Congress. The speaker appealed for unity among Congressmen.

The executive committee of the All-India Congress Socialist Party, which met at Patna, devoted most of its time in discussing the attitude of the country in the event of deterioration of the international situation and adopted two resolutions in that connexion.

The Tribunal appointed by the Sind Government to inquire into the *Om Mandali* affairs, unanimously came to the conclusion that the Om Mandali was an unhealthy institution, whose doctrines were not conclusive to sound moral life among its young inmates.

27th. Mahatma Gandhi had a long discussion with the Congress President, Sj. Subhas Bose at Sodepur Ashram, near Calcutta, regarding the personnel of the Congress Working Committee and various other matters connected with the future programme of the Congress. Pandit Nehru was also present and took part in the discussion.

In the course of an interview Gandhiji stated that his messsage to India and the world was : "I am fighting for peace, I shall die for peace. peace in the Congress, peace in the States, peace on earth and good-will amongst men. To set the seal upon that—if I feel the power—I am quite capable of fasting unto death to prevent western humanity, which is getting ready to embark upon suicide on a scale hitherto unknown to the history of this world." When he was asked if he had come to Calcutta on a peace mission seeing that he had advised Sardar Patel not to come to Calcutta, Mahatma Gandhi replied that the reason for Sardar Patel's not coming was that it was in the best interests of the country to absent himself from Calcutta.

The twenty-first general session of the Assam Students' Conference was held at Jorhat—Prof. Humayun Kabir, M. L. C. (Bengal) presided.

28th. The talks in Calcutta between Mahatmaji, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and other Congress leaders were adjourned, no definite result having been reached. Seven members of the All-India Committee joined in the discussions at one time or other. They were Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kripalani, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Pattavi Sitaramyya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Sanker Deo.

It was reported from Cuttack that a large number of people were killed and injured when police and troops opened fire on a mob in Gangpur State, Orissa.

Swami Shahajananha Saraswati, the Kisan leader of Bihar presided over a meeting in Calcutta, to urge the release of political prisoners. Among other speakers were Mr. Jayprakash Narain and Prof. N. G. Ranga.

29th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, tendered his resignation when the All India Congress Committee met at Wellington Square, Calcutta, for the first time since Tripuri. Mahatma Gandhi was not present at the meeting. Sj. Bose reported his failure to form a Working Committee, read out a letter which he had received from Mahatma Gandhi and made a statement giving reasons for his decision.—The development, which caused a sensation, was a sequel to the differences between the Congress President and other members of the old Working Committee on matters of principle and programme and also to the Tripuri resolution which directed that the Working Committee would be formed in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's wishes.—Mahatma Gandhi's letter said : "knowing your own views and knowing how you and most of the members (of the old Working Committee) differ in fundamentals, it seems to me that if I gave you names it would be an imposition on you. Such being the case you are free to chose your own Committee."

Sj. Bose in his statement referred to the Tripuri mandate and said if, as suggested by Gandhiji, he were to form a working committee of his own choice, he

would not be able to report to the A. I. C. C. that such a Committee commanded the implicit confidence of Gandhiji. Sj. Bose felt that his presence as President at this juncture might possibly be a sort of an obstacle or handicap to the A. I. C. C.—"for instance the A. I. C. C. may feel inclined to appoint a Working Committee in which I shall be a misfit."

Pandit Nehru made moving appeal to Sj. Bose to withdraw his resignation,—he suggested that the old Working Committee should be reappointed *en bloc* but that new blood might be infused by the inclusion of two members in place of Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj (in prison) and Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram (who had been ill) who were not in a position to discharge thir duties as members of the Working Committee. During the debate Mr. Jai Prokash Narain, General Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, referred to a suggestion that Pandit Nehru should be appointed General Secretary of the Congress and expressed the hope that the Pandit would accept the office.

Some Socialist leaders met Sj. Subhas Bose after the A. I. C. C. meeting and discussed with him Pandit Nehru's resolution.

The Thakore Sahib of Rajkot sent a telegram to Mahatma Gandhi thanking the latter for his advice to the leaders of the agitation to approach the Ruler to settle their differences.

30th. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected President of the Indian National Congress in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose at the resumed meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

Pandit Nehru sought permission of Mrs. Naidu (who was in the chair) to make a statement. He said that the formula he had suggested previously in the form of a resolution depended on the fact whether Sj. Bose was willing to withdraw his resignation. It was not meant for debate and he would, therefore, like to have Sj. Bose's views on the subject. If the resolution would not meet with the approval of Sj. Bose, he would withdraw it. Pandit Nehru also said that his resolution did not mean imposing a Working Committee on the President, but that in the new Committee there would be room for more than two members.

Sj. Bose emphasized the necessity of forming a homogeneous Working Committee, and said that he had hoped that some consideration would be shown to his view-point. If the House felt otherwise, then the House would relieve him of the responsibilities of the office. He would willingly continue to serve the Congress as a loyal worker.

Mrs. Naidu appealed to the President to reconsider his decision in the light of assurances contained in Pandit Nehru's statement, and her own speech was an appeal for unity. She invited Sj. Bose to give his final reply. Sj. Bose said he had nothing to add to his previous statement and that his reply could only be given after he had known the decision of the House.

At Baroda, impressive scenes of great magnificence marked the accession to the gadi of His Highness Maharaja Pratap Singh Gaekwar.

May 1939

Chief Events :—Formation of a new bloc within the Congress called the "Forward Bloc" announced by Sj. Subhas Bose—Shia-Sunni tension continued : Disturbances at several places—Moslem League Conferences held in different parts of the country criticised Congress and Federation—Peaceful end of the Rajkot dispute.

1st. The All-India Congress Committee concluded its three-day session. The names of the members of the new Working Committee were announced by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President. They were : Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mr. J. B. Kripalani, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Shankarrao Deo, Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose. Sj. Subhas Bose and Pandit Nehru declined to serve but offered to give their co-operation in every way. Dr. Rajendra Prasad informed the house that the personnel of the new Working Committee had the approval of Gandhiji.

The Gangpur Durbar issued a statement that a judicial enquiry into the incident in Gangpur State (Orissa), in which police opened fire, was ordered to be held.

2nd. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, stressed on the need for unity and for cultivating an All-India outlook ; he also gave reasons for not serving on the Congress Working Committee. He said that, by remaining outside it, he would unite the new forces that were abroad in the country.

An appeal was sent to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Moslem League, and Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and a few others, by the Raja of Mahmudabad, the Raja of Pirpur and Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, to exert their influence with both sections of the Moslem community to come to a settlement on the question of tabarra and madhe sahaba at Lucknow.

A complete stay-in strike occurred in the New Victoria Mills, Cawnpore : about 4000 workers were affected.

An order under Sec. 144. Cr. P. C. was issued in Lucknow by the District Magistrate in view of the Shia Sunni tension.

3rd. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose announced in Calcutta, the formation of a new bloc within the Congress, to be called the "Forward Bloc".—The object was to "rally all radical and anti-Imperialist progressive elements in the country on the basis of a minimum programme, representing the greatest common measure of agreement among radicals of all shades of opinion". The "Forward Bloc", Sj. Bose said, would function as an integral part of the Congress.

The 5th. session of the All-India Gandhi Seva Sangh commenced at Brindaban (Champaran) and was opened by Mahatma Gandhi. Dr Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, unfurled the Congress flag. He observed that many persons in Congress ranks did not firmly observe the principle of non-violence. It was also held in certain sections that these principles were not applicable in all cases. He would declare emphatically that truth and non-violence were applicable universally.

The Sunni celebration passed off peacefully at Lucknow. Over 3000 Sunnis assembled at the Idgah (Lucknow). For the first time the Sunnis were granted the right of reciting Madhe Saheba publicly and moved out in procession singing praises of the four Khalifas.

Twenty-one men were injured in a clash between Ahrar and Moslem League volunteers during the Barawafat celebrations near Jumma Masjid, Agra. A similar trouble was averted at Bareilly.

Om Mandali :—The period of operation of the prohibitory order (under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C, served on Dada Lekhraj) segregating males and girl inmates of the Om Mandali at Karachi was further extended for two weeks.

4th. The Ruler of Talcher State (Orissa) made an important announcement making certain concessions in order to induce the refugees to return to the State.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, in opening a basic education camp organized by the Bihar Government, which was a prominent feature of the All-India Seva Sangh at Brindaban, explained the potentialities of the Wardha scheme of education in bringing about a regeneration of the country.

The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar announced that Kathiawar Princes would hold joint deliberations each month to discuss problems of common interest and for making a united stand.

5th. A meeting of Shia leaders at Lucknow decided to continue unabated their civil disobedience campaign in reciting the Tabarra till a reasonable compromise was reached. The total number of arrests amounted to 8,200.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier opened the All-Bengal Moslem Literary Conference in Calcutta. It was observed that the field of Bengali literature offered a platform on which Hindus and Moslems of the province could work together unitedly.

The Raja of Bamra State (Orissa) granted reforms to his subjects consistent with the education and political enlightenment of his people with a view to associating them with the administration of the State.

Mahatma Gandhi, in course of a telegram to Mr. Virawala at Rajkot, advised him not to slight the accredited representatives of the people, and maintained that Mr. Dhebar was not an outsider.

A government of India resolution announced further special reservation of posts for Anglo-Indians in certain sections of the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs

and Customs departments, and also the fixing of Rs. 55 as the minimum remuneration for the community in the Railway and the Posts and Telegraphs Departments.

6th. Sj. Subhas Bose, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, referred to the events that had taken place since his re-election as Congress President in February. Sj. Bose gave an account of what had transpired at the meetings between himself, Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders at Sodepur and Calcutta on the question of formation of the Working Committee on the eve of the A. I. C. C. meeting. He said, "Self-respect, honour and duty towards my country demanded that I should resign, after having made all possible attempts to reach an honourable compromise and to avert a conflict within the Congress."

Mr. U. N. Dhebar, the leader of the Praja Parishad, Rajkot, sent a message to Gandhiji giving the maximum concessions which Darbar Virawala was prepared to grant.

The Bombay Presidency Moslem League resumed its session at Sholapur under the presidency of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier. Inaugurating the conference, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League said that the British Government would be making a great mistake if it thought it could settle the Federation issue with the Congress, leaving out the Moslem League. In such a case, he declared the League would fight Federation alone and make it impossible.

7th. The communal rioting which broke out at Gaya resulted in 11 persons being killed and over 90 injured. The situation continued to be extremly delicate. A curfew order was imposed and strong police patrols were established.

Sardar Patel, addressing the concluding meeting of the general session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Brindaban, explained his position regarding the recent events in the Congress and replied to the various criticisms levelled at him.

8th. Dr. Rajendra Prasad in a statement explained why he and his collegues in the Working Committee of the Congress could not agree with Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose.

Sj. Subhas Bose described his plans at a meeting held at Howrah. He referred to the formation of a new party within the Congress and said that the differences between the 'Forward Bloc' and the official bloc within the Congress were two fold. First, the Forward bloc desired to work the existing programme of the Congress not with a reformist or moderate mentality but with a "revolutionary mentality". Secondly, it had an advanced programme of its own. This programme would have as objective, the early attainment of independence.

Sardar Patel, addressing the Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference at Brindaban, clarified the position regarding the recent events and the split in the Congress. The need for unity and discipline was stressed by him.

The Bombay Moslem League Conference adopted a resolution appealing to the Lucknow Moslems to end the Shia Sunni dispute.

Mahatma Gandhi wired to Mr. Virawala that he intended to visit Rajkot again.

The report on the Working of the All-India Spinners' Association recorded remarkable progress and expansion of the Association in all directions.

9th. The Assam Legislative Council rejected by 11 votes to 9, the Finance Minister's motion for consideration of the Agricultural Income Tax Bill which had been passed by the Lower House.

10th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Speaker, Khan Bahadur Azizul Huq, presented the Assembly Powers and Privileges Bill.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the President (Mr. S. C. Mitra) gave his ruling on the point of order raised by the Raja Bahadur of Nashipur, questioning the competence of the Provincial Legislature to pass a measure which sought to raise revenue by levying an ungraduated tax on trades, professions, callings and employments, exempting persons who did not pay income tax,—the chair's direction was that the Bill was to be proceeded with.

11th. Gandhiji gave an indication in Bombay of the next step he proposed to take on reaching Rajkot. He explained in an interview to the Press that as soon as he reached Rajkot he would resume the threads of the negotiations.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill was passed by 128 votes to 65. Members of the Proja Party, numbering 15,

did not participate in the voting. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose described the Bill as "pernicious and iniquitous" and attacked the provisions relating to separate electorates for Moslems, allocation of seats and nomination.

The Primary and Secondary Education Re-organization Committee presided over by Acharya Narendra Dev, which was appointed by the U. P. Government, recommended thorough overhaul of the present day system of primary and secondary education to suit the changed needs of the country, by co-ordinating the hand, the eye and the brain of youthful aspirants.

12th. The Government of Bihar issued a Press communique, explaining the Government's difficulty in arriving at a suitable definition of political prisoners which formed the ground for the recent hunger-strike by Rahul Sankirtayyayana, a Buddhist monk, who had been convicted, but now released, in connexion with the Amwai agrarian agitation.

Mahatma Gandhi, after his arrival at Rajkot, discussed with the local Parishad workers the future line of action. Darbar Virawala paid a visit to Mahatma Gandhi.

13th. The correspondence that passed between Mahatma Gandhi and Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was released for publication ; the letters described how the Congress was divided on fundamental issues of policy and how personalities widened the gulf between the Gandhian Group and the "Forward Bloc" under the leadership of Sj. Subhas Chanda Bose.

Sj. Bose wanted a reversal of the policy of the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership, he wanted to force the issue in the form of an "ultimatum" to the British Government. Mahatma disagreed and wrote back : "I have the firm belief that the Congress as it is today cannot 'deliver the goods', cannot offer civil disobedience, worth the name. I smell violence in the air I breathe". Sj. Bose dissented. "Speaking for Bengal", he said, "I can say with full authority that the Province was never more non-violent during the last 30 years than today,"

Durbar Virawala met Mahatma Gandhi at Rajkot regarding Rajkot reforms. Mr. Kalidas Parekh, representing the moderate group, had also a prolonged interview with Mahatma Gandhi.

14th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, circulated a note on the question of fixing percentages for the different communities in the public services of the province, in which he replied to agruments advanced by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker in an earlier note already published in the Press. Mr. Huq, in his note, attempted to make out a case for an all round reservation of 55 p. c. for Muslims and 15 p. c. for the scheduled castes.

An informal conference of Hindu leaders discussed the question of fixing a quota of communal percentages in public services in Bengal, at the residence of Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee in Calcutta. The Conference strongly felt the necessity of making a representation or leading a deputation to His Excellency the Governor at Darjeeling for requesting him not to give his assent to the Ministry's proposal for fixing the communal ratio disregarding the opinion of the Hindu leaders.

Sardar Patel in his presidential address to the fifth session of the Bhavnagar Praja Parishad said, "The Princes should become the real protector of the people ; they should follow in the footsteps of the King Emperor and devise means to avert forever a clash between the Ruler and the ruled, which was inevitable if early steps were not taken."

15th. Mr. H. G. Dennehy, Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam issued a communique on Digboi, stating that a deadlock had reached in the dispute there and announced that the Government would maintain an attitude of neutrality.

In the Bihar Council, the riot situation at Gaya was the subject of an adiournment motion notice. Dr. Rajendra Prasad addressing a public meeting at Gaya appealed for communal harmony ; he was followed by Mr. Sayed Abdul Aziz, President, Bihar Moslem League.

The time of one week allowed by the Sind Government to the authorities of the Om Mandali to show cause why their institution should not be banned, expired without any reply having been received.

Gandhiji had a long discussion with the group of Moderates at Rajkot. Mahatmaji asked them to obtain from Mr. Virawala a draft of the scheme of reforms which the State was prepared to concede.

16th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose addressing the delegates of the Youth League Conference at Unao, explained the policy of his "Forward Bloc" in relation to Gandhian policy. He said he would follow the Congress programme but would not necessarily submit to the Gandhian policy. He felt that if the Congress Socialist Party did not join his 'Bloc' it should give permission to its members to join it, otherwise the Socialist Party would be weakened, for some of its members must come over to his 'bloc'.

Darbar Virawala had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatmaji tried to ascertain whether it was possible to evolve an acceptable scheme of settlement without the intervention of a third party. Earlier, Darbar Virawala paid a visit to Mr. G. C. Gibson.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, in a statement to the Press from Conoor, referred to the proposed racial legislation in South Africa and how this would seriously injure future relations between the two countries. The ultimate policy was, he said, to exclude as many Indians as possible from Africa and then to treat those who could not be driven out as aliens and racial inferiors.

A meeting of Moslem women of Calcutta was held under the auspices of the All-India Moslem Women's Conference (Bengal Provincial branch) and the Majma-ul Banat to express their disapproval of the Shia Sunni dispute at Lucknow.

17th. Mahatma Gandhi, in a statement from Rajkot, renounced the advantages accruing from the award of the Chief Justice of India in the matter of Rajkot reforms.

The joint session of both Houses of the U. P. Legislature, the second in the history of the present legislature, passed the Motor Spirits Taxation Bill as amended by a Government motion.

The simultaneous opening of over 1500 schools throughout the province marked the launching of the literacy campaign in Sind. Over a thousand volunteers enrolled themselves.

18th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, addressing a public meeting of journalists at Cawnpore, reiterated his reasons for forming the "Forward Bloc" and outlined the programme of the party.

Mahatma Gandhi renounced the award of the Chief Justice of India in the matter of Rajkot Reforms Committee.

At a public meeting in Calcutta, the Hindus of Bengal passed a resolution recording their protest against the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill.

Strong criticism levelled against Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress in the course of a speech by Dr. N. B. Khare, formerly Premier of the Central Provinces, led to scenes of rowdyism at a meeting held at Nagpur.

The *Om Mandali* and the *Om Nivas* were declared unlawful associations by the Governor of Sind in exercise of the powers conferred on him by Sec. 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.

20th. Mahatma Gandhi, commenting on a statement by Mr. Harekrishna Mehtab on the situation at Talcher, in the *Harijan*, remarked, "Talcher promises to be much worse than Rajkot."

Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, M. L. A. (Central), in a statement to the Press, said that Sj. Subhas Bose's observation that the Congress Ministries had ceased to think in terms of Swaraj, was nothing "short of a libel, coming as it does from one who laid down the charges of the highest office of the Congress only a few weeks ago,"

21st. At Rajkot a proclamation announcing the appointment of a Committee to recommend reforms and the restoration of fines, confiscated property and civil liberties was made by the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot at a ceremonial Durbar. Mahatma Gandhi accompained by Mrs. Kasturibai Gandhi attended the function.

In connexion with the "All-India Political Prisoners' Day", a resolution urging the immediate release of political prisoners was passed at a meeting in Sradhananda Park, Calcutta. The meeting was one of a series held in different parts of the city in accordance with the wishes of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President. Mr. J. C. Gupta M. L. A. presided.

In a Hindu Moslem clash at Sholapur, 4 persons were injured, two fatally, following an attack on a batch of six newly arrived Arya Samaj Satyagrahi Volunteers.

22nd. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, addressing the Bogra District Political Conference at Dhupcharshia, reiterated his faith in "non-violent non-co-operation" as the

best weapon for fighting the country's cause, and added that if the people took up this method on a wider scale than hitherto, they would attain freedom in a very short time.

Mr. S. S. Batliwala, Bombay Socialist, was arrested in Bombay on a warrant issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, on a charge of sedition.

23rd. Mahatma Gandhi, addressing a public meeting at Rajkot, said, "I believe I have opened a new page in the history of Rajkot by my repentance and by the frank admission of my failure. In this I require your help. I cannot go on single handed. If the Ruler and ruled both join hands and do their duty, this apparent failure would turn into a victory. This necessitates unity among the people."

Mr. S. Satyamurthi, deputy leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, addressing a public meeting in Madras, strongly deprecated the formation of the "Forward Bloc" within the Congress by Sj. Subhas Bose. He appealed to Congressmen not to support the "Bloc". He also said that he would never accept the Federation, and would play his part in resisting it. He strongly advocated that the Congress should endeavour to capture all elected seats in the Federal legislature by preventing any Federal ministry from functioning and by refusing to accept office. This fight would, of course, be strengthened by the fight outside".

24th. A Press Note issued by the District Magistrate of Sholapur on the communal riot in the city on the 21st. gave the casualties at two persons killed and 26 injured. The disturbances lasted for about half an hour : the situation was under control.

Dr. Ram Monohar Lohia, formerly Secretary of the Foreign Department of the All-India Congress Committee was arrested in Calcutta, under Sec. 124-A. I. P. C. (Seditition).

26th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, on the motion of the Finance Minister, Mr. N. R. Sarker, the Finance Bill 1939, as amended by the Legislative Council, was passed.

27th. The Hindu leaders' deputation from Calcutta waited on His Excellency the Governor of Bengal at the Government House, Darjeeling, to represent the Hindu viewpoint on the question of a revision of the communal ratio in the Public Services. The deputation was led by the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan. Other members of the deputation were : Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee, Mr. N. K. Basu, Mr. S. N. Bannerjee, Sir H. S. Paul, the Maharaja of Mymensingh and Mr. N. C. Chatterjee.

Presiding over the Provincial Khilafat Conference in Bombay, Begum Mohammed Ali made a fervent appeal to Moslems to sink their differences and work unitedly to protect their rights.

28th. An appeal to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal to protect the rights of Hindus, who were a minority community in the province, was contained in the memorandum submitted by the deputation of Hindu leaders, which waited on His Excellency at Darjeeling to represent the community's view point on the question of fixing a communal ratio in the Public Services. The deputation contended that it was a fit cause for involving the special responsibilites of the Governor under the Government of India Act and the Instrument of Instructions. Hindus, the memorandum stated, asked for no special privileges, "but demanded fair and equitable treatment. They claim that no arbitrary restrictions should be imposed on them and the field should be left open to free and fair competition."

Meanwhile, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, replied to the letter of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly refuting several charges, which he characterized as unfounded, against himself, the Bengal Government and the Coalition Party and sought Sj. Bose's co-operation in solving the problem of fixing a communal ratio for the services.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, writing in the *National Herald* on the "Al-India Congress Committee and After", stated, "The High Command, as it is called, may have erred often enough, and it has certainly acted in an authoritarian way, but to suggest that it tends towards Fascist methods is to exhibit ignorance." He dealt with the growing schism in the Congress and criticized the formation of the "Forward Bloc."

Mr. Obeidullah Sindhi, speaking at the Agra Provincial Jamait-Ul-Ulema Conference at Moradabad stressed the need for Hindu Muslim unity to attain India's freedom. He advised Muslims to join the Congress.

The District Magistrate of Lucknow renewed the curfew order for a further period of three weeks in view of the continued strained relations between Shias and Sunnis.

29th. The Conference of Ministers at Simla suggested a plan of action against communal propaganda, in a communique, which contained among other things, "It is recommended that provincial Governments supply one another with details of their riot schemes so far as these have been prepared for areas where communal or other disturbances are likely.

30th. At Rajkot, the case of Sunnis in connexion with the Tabarra agitation at Lucknow was placed before Mahatma Gandhi by Junab Zafar-ul-Mulk. A Shia deputation had seen Mahatma Gandhi before.

The Government of Assam issued a communique drawing attention to the activities of certain persons misleading tenants in the permanently settled areas regarding payment of rents, and removing misunderstandings with regard to this question.

The Working Committee of the Kathiawar Political Conference met Mahatma Gandhi, at Rajkot, when Mahatmaji explained to them his new policy towards the States. He also listened to the accounts of the state of affairs in the various parts of Kathiawar.

31st. The All-India Congress Executive decided to intervene in the labour strike at Digboi. Dr. Rajendra Prasad sent a telegram to Mr. Sudhin Paramanik, a labour leader, to come and see him. Mr. Paramanik met Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

The Aryan League at New Delhi passed resolutions regarding the Hyderabad Satyagraha. One resolution regretted the "unfortunate incident" at Sholapur, "leading to the loss of some lives", while another regretted that the order of the District Magistrate of Sholapur ordering all Arya Satyagrahis to quit Sholapur within 12 hours was drastic and unjust.

Mr. J. D. Tyson, in the memorandum submitted by him to the Royal Commission on the West Indies, stressed on the urgent need of Indian settlers in Jamaica, British Guiana and Trinidad in the matter of housing, education, land settlement and employment.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an article on "Federation" in the *National Herald*, said, "Federation cannot come. It is dead and there is no magic potion that will give it life."

June 1939

1st. The Hindu leaders' deputation that waited on the Governor of Bengal (May 27th) in connexion with the question of the communal ratio in the public services, issued a statement, in reply to the Bengal Premier, to the effect that the statement of the Chief Minister on the memorandum of the Hindu delegation had not come to them as a surprise. It also said, "It is interesting to find Mr. Fazlul Huq, of all persons, posing as the champion of 'real Hindu-Moslem unity' after all his aggressive and unjustifiable anti-Hindu outbursts during the last two years, and specially after his Calcutta Municipal Bill and his anti-Hindu proposals with regard to the public services".

Mr. J. G. Shearer, Special Sessions Judge, Ranpur, sentenced three men to death, eight to transportation for life and five others to various terms of imprisonment : the case arising out of the murder of Major R. L. Bazalgette, Political Agent, Orissa States Agency, on January 5, at Ranpur during mob violence.

The Bombay Chamber of Commerce strongly protested against the introduction of prohibition in Bombay.

Moulana Habibur Rahaman, the Ahrar leader, speaking at the U. P. Ahrar Political Conference at Meerut, asserted that the cry of Islam in danger raised by the Muslim League was baseless and was intended to mislead the ignorant Moslem masses for the selfish end of those who claimed to be the leaders of the community.

2nd. 22 influential Moslem leaders, including the Premiers of Bengal and the Punjab, suggested voluntary renunciation by Shias and Sunnis of the right claimed by them to public recitation of the Tabarra and the Madhe Sahaba, respectively. Such renunciation, the leaders urged, would offer a reasonable basis for an honourable settlement.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad issued an appeal to Shias to suspend Civil Disobedience pending an amicable settlement he proposed to undertake in the Shia Sunni dispute at Lucknow.

3rd. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's announcement of the list of office bearers and members of the executive council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, gave rise to considerable resentment among members of the groups in the B. P. C. C. in opposition to Sj. Bose.

The Jamait-ul-Ulema Conference, Bengal, was held in Calcutta : some excitement marked the proceedings, the political creed of the body being identical with that of the Congress : it aroused the opposition of Moslem League sympathisers.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Assembly, in his presidential address at the Pabna District Political Conference, made a strong criticism of the policy of the Bengal Ministry and urged that the Congress should give up its conservatism and cultivate a "revolutionary psychology."

4th. Mahatma Gandhi enunciated his new technique in Bombay, regarding the Indian States problem according to his new light in a statement on Travancore. He said, "The Rajkot agitation teaches me that it is not enough to have withdrawn the charges against Sir C. P. Ramaswami. But it is necessary to recognize that the Travancoreans have not only to reckon with the Maharaja, but also with his Diwan."

Mr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, referred to the dissensions in the Congress ranks. He said, "In a vast country and in a big organisation as the Congress, differences of opinion were bound to exist. No body should be alarmed : they were all one and the same with regard to the ultimate objective, namely, the attainment of Purna Swaraj." In this connexion he also mentioned the constitution committee, which was meeting in Bombay, and added that numerous snggestions were under consideration for amending the constitution of the Congress.

Mr. B. G. Kher, the Bombay Premier, in opening the Western and Central India Harijan Sevak Conference at Poona, expressed the view that 'untouchability' as a recognized part of Hindu custom would disappear in the next few years, at least from the Bombay Presidency.

The Ulema Conference which was holding its second day's session in Calcutta, was dissolved by the police, following continuous uproar for about an hour and half.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, addressing the Pabna District Political Conference, at Hetampur, said, "The 'Forward Bloc' is the product of historical necessity and it has been born at the right time and in the proper manner." He added, "If this task had been postponed or delayed, the internal crisis might have appeared at a time when the external crisis was overtaking us."

Rulers and Ministers of the States in the Eastern States Agency met in Calcutta to discuss problems attaching to 'Federation'.

Mr. Baijnath Bajoria, M. L. A. (Central) presiding at the annual general meeting of the Marwari Association, in Calcutta, strongly condemned the policy of present day labour leaders id fomenting strikes for personal reasons.

5th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, presiding over the Mahakoshal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Jubbulpore, observed, "The Hindu Mahasabha wants to defend the just rights of Hindus without encroaching upon those of other communities. It does not want any weightage or privileges such as other communities are claiming."

6th. The Constitution Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting in Calcutta, suggested several important and far reaching amendments to the Congress Constitution, in Bombay : the Committee suggested continuous membership and a permanent Congress register in order to avoid bogus membership. No person should be a Congress delegate or an office bearer whose name had not appeared on the Congress register for the last three years. The Committee also recommended fixed constituencies, instead of changing constituencies.

In the Serampore subdivision in Bengal, about 15,000 operatives went on strike in three jute mills. The mills affected were the Victoria Jute Mill, the the North Shamnugger Jute Mill and the Angus Jute Mill.

7th. The Rulers' Council, Estern States Agency, concluded their deliberations in Calcutta ; they considered the report of the Committee of Ministers and agreed with its views to support generally the Hydari Committee recommendations on Federal matters.

The Calcutta High Court held the opinion that the Ministry of a province did not form part of the Executive Government of the Province in the sense employed by Sec. 17, I. P. C. on two references made by two Presidency Magistrates of Calcutta arising out of two sedition cases pending against the Basumati, a vernacular daily.

8th. The official birth day of His Majesty the King Emperor was celebrated throughout India.

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, the Congress Socialist leader, criticized in Patna the aims of Sj. Subhas Bose's new party, the Forward Bloc. In the course of a statement suggesting the consolidation of all left forces in the Congress, he declared, "The Congress is not a parliament where opposing parties must try to oust one another from power. It is a 'front' the unity of which must not be impaired."

The proposed changes in the Congress constitution suggested by the Congress Constitution Committee in Bombay, evoked a great deal of interest among Congress circles in Calcutta who welcomed the proposals as an improvement on the old constitution and which might check "corruption and malpractices". The suggestion of the Committee regarding continuous membership and maintenance of a permanent Congress register, was particularly appreciated.

The National Planning Committee in Bombay favoured a system of licensing of new factories and also the regulation of the existing factories.

9th. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, visited Calcutta and resumed the discussion of the situation at Digboi, where the workers of the Assam Oil Company went on strike for some time. Those who participated in the talks included Mr. G. N. Bardoloi, the Assam Premier, Mr. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed, the Finance Minister, Assam, Mr. Lingeman, acting general manager of the oil company, Mr. Sudhindra Paramanik, strikers' representative, Dr. B. C. Roy and Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose.

An informal investiture was held following a State banquet at the Darjeeling Government House, when the Governor of Bengal presented sanads and badges to several persons.

The Sind Assembly passsed the Anti-Dowry Bill.

10th. His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, presiding over a joint conference of Indian Princes, representatives of certain Rulers and States' Ministers in Bombay, stressed on the importance of joint action on the part of the Princely Order both in regard to Federation and other reforms in the States. The general and political aspects of the revised draft of the Instrument of Accession were also discussed in the above conference. Sir Akbar Hydari, Mr. Madhab Rao of Mysore, Mr. Zaidi of Rampore and Mr. Zutshi of Rewa expressed their views.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, M. L. A. (Central) in his presidential address at the Nagpur Divisional Moslem Political Conference, at Nagpur, made a fervent appeal for unity in Moslem ranks under the Moslem League banner.

Raja Saheb Aditya Pratap Singh Deo of Seraikella, (Orissa) at a largely attended Durbar, announced some important political concessions, such as the establishment of Village panchayats, Pir panchayats (local bodies for specified areas) and a Praja Parishad (Central representative body) and the major portion of the States' revenue for administrative expenditure.

12th. A Bengal Government communique announced the decisions of the Bengal Ministry on the question of revision of the communal ratio in the Public Services. It said, "The basic percentage of reservation for Moslems in direct recruitment will be 50 percent. Government have further accepted the principle that provided that qualified candidates are available, 15 percent of appointments by direct recruitments shall be reserved for the scheduled castes, but such reservation shall not exceed 30 percent of Non-Moslem direct appointments."

The conference of the Indian Princes and their Ministers concluded in Bombay, after adopting a resolution disapproving certain terms of the Federal scheme provided in the revised draft of the Instrument of Accession, circulated among the Princes. The Conference recorded its belief that "it could not be the intention of His Majesty's Government to close the door on an All-India Federation."

The Hydari Committee on Federation which met in Bombay under the chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari, Prime Minister, Hyderabad State, came to the

conclusion that the terms of the draft Instrument of Accession were unsatisfactory from the point of view of treaty rights, rights of internal administration, and the economic rights of the States. The Committee suggested modifications in the draft on the above points.

14th. His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior issued a proclamation announcing a scheme of constitutional reforms for the State.

15th. His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, in the course of a speech in Bombay elucidated the objection of the Indian Princes to the Federal scheme; incidentally he traced the origin of the Federal scheme.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, in an interview at Patna, on the Princes' rejection of the revised draft of the Instrument of Accession, said, "If things are left where they are, one may take it that Federation is dead." "The decision of the Princes must have come as a great shock to ardent advocates of Federation, although it must have been known to many that they (the Princes) were not as favourably inclined towards it as they were supposed to be."

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in a Press interview at Lahore, said, "The problem before India is no longer how to resist Federation. The problem really is as to what we shall do if Federation is quietly shelved. On this point my mind is perfectly clear that times are so opportune that we shall be committing political suicide if we do not avail ourselves of the opportunities by taking the the initiative and forcing the issue of Purna Swaraj."

17th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote an article in the *Harijan* and inserted a letter from the Most Rev. Dr. Thomas D. Roberts, S. J., Archbishop of Bombay, elucidating certain moral issues raised by the inauguration of prohibition in the Bombay Presidency.

The Director of the Information Bureau, Punjab, issued a communique containing a warning that firm action, including the enforcement of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, would be taken, if necessary, against the organizers of the Kisan Satyagraha in Lahore.

The All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Moradabad planned to strengthen its movement in the United Provinces: the Mahasabha expressed the view that the United Provinces Congress and the U. P. Government failed to protect the interests of the Hindus in the provinces.

18th. Sj. Subhas Bose was accorded a great welcome on his arrival at the Peshawar City railway station. He was taken in procession to the Cantonment. Sj. Bose narrated the circumstances leading to the formation of the 'Forward Bloc' and said that the present Working Committee of the Congress was composed mainly of "Gandhiites" and did not enjoy the confidence of the Congress as a whole.

Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel met the Mysore State Congress Delegation at Bombay, re: reforms in Indian States. Pandit Nehru emphasized that it was not desirable to lower the immediate demand of the States' people, namely, full responsible Government and explained that non-acceptance of the reforms by the States' people, if found unsatisfactory at any stage, need not necessarily mean immediate mass civil disobedience. The question of mass action was after all entirely dependent upon the inherent strength of the States' people themselves.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, in a signed article in the Bengal Government journal, quoted figures of service qualifications of Hindus and Moslems in the Bengal Secretariat. He said, "In the case of non-Moslems, the percentage of officers possessing maximum qualification is 33 percent; but in the case of Moslem officers those possessing maximum qualifications are 40 percent. Regarding minimum qualifications it will be found that of the non-Moslems, 24 percent possess only the base minimum qualification and even less; but, in the case of Moslems, only 16 percent possess minimum qualifications."

19th. At Cawnpore, the police had to open fire to deal with the situation following communal rioting over the Rathjatra festival. There was a fracas near the Moolganj mosque when brickbats were thrown at the Rathjatra procession.

Sardar Patel advised the Mysore State Congress deputation that they should once again approach the Mysore State authorities with their demand for full

responsible Government before taking a final decision as to their future course of action.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the course of a statement appealed to Shia leaders in Lucknow to suspend Satyagraha.

20th. At Cawnpore, where communal rioting had broken out over the Rathjatra procession, the situation was rather calm. The procession, which broke up in disorder the previous day, was taken out, a record crowd accompanying the Rath (Car).

The Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Socialist Party at a meeting in Calcutta, adopted a resolution welcoming the formation of the Forward Bloc by Sj. Subhas Bose, the programme of which "can serve as the basis of a common programme on which the entire Left can combine."

22nd. The Congress Working Committee decided to postpone till the next Congress, consideration of the amendment to clause 5 (C) of the Congress Constitution, suggested by the Constitution Sub-Committee. The amendment sought to exclude such Congressmen who were office bearers of communal bodies or any other organizations whose programmes and policies were opposed to those of the Congress, from holding any executive position in Congress organizations. The Committee considered the Digboi strike situation.

Sj. Subhas Bose, presiding over the first All-India Forward Bloc Radical Conference, in Bombay, explained the aims and objects of the Forward Bloc and the necessity for its creation.

The Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples' Conference met in Bombay. Pandit Nehru presided. A Sub-Committee was appointed to collect material for the compilation of an authoritative book on the conditions prevailing in Indian States.

23rd. The Congress Working Committee (in Bombay) discussed the position of Indians abroad, the relation between the Congress Committees in the provinces and the Congress Ministries and Mahatma Gandhi's new "technique" regarding the agitation in Indian States. The Working Committee decided that the provincial Congress Committees should not expect to direct or dominate the Ministers, but the latter should keep in touch with the provincial Congress Committees and inform them of all their important moves. In the case of acute difference the matter should be referred to the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee whose decision shall be final.

The programme of the Forward Bloc was adopted by the All India Forward Bloc Radical Conference in Bombay ; the Conference approved the formation of a "Left Consolidation Committee" consisting of the representatives of the left wing and the Forward Bloc, or giving effect to a common and agreed programme and also to bring about complete consolidation and unity of the entire left wing of the Congress.

24th. Mr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, addressing the All India Congress Committee which met in Bombay for its three day session made an appeal for unity and discipline among Congressmen to meet the situation facing the country in various spheres. Mr. Prasad referred to the international situation, particularly India's attitude to war and Federation, and deplored "the forces of disintegration that were at work in the country and the domestic faction and internal conflict" in the Congress.

The All India Congress Committee discussed the position of Indians overseas, and accepted an amendment to the Congress constitution seeking to extend the "probation" period of a member enabling him to exercise the right of franchise from 3 months to a year. The Committee also passed resolutions protesting against the Ceylon Government's action in trying to eject Indian settlers and another condemning the South African Government's segregation proposals. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya moved the resolution on Ceylon ; Mr. Bhulabhai Desai moved the resolution on the South African question.

Gandhiji wrote in the *Harijan* under the caption "Its implications" dealing with statements made by him with regard to Indian States. He said, "The positive implication of the Rajkot chapter in my life is the discovery that the non-violence claimed for the movement since 1920, marvellous though it was, was not unadulterated. The results though brilliant would have been far richer if our non-violence had been complete".

25th. The Digboi strike situation was considered bn the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, the Premier of Assam, was present ; he acquainted the members of the Working Committee with details of the dispute between the workers and their employers, and the attitude of the management of the Oil Company to the demands of the strikers. The Committee framed a tentative resolution to be placed before the All India Congress Committee.

The All India Congresss Committee passed practically all the amendments to the Congress Constitution suggested by the Sub-Committee with a view to purging the organization of 'Corruption'. There was a lively discussion on the clauses regarding eligibility for election to Provincial or District Congress Committees, the exclusion of members of communal organizations from office in the Congress, and the appointment of election Tribunals.

26th. The All India Congress Committee in Bombay passed by 130 votes to 60, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's resolution prohibiting the launching of civil disobedience by Congressmen without the previous sanction of the provincial Congress Committee concerned. The resolution was strongly opposed by Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, leader of the All India Kisan Organization, who said the motion, if accepted, would have the effect of driving out of the Congress those who took part in the peasant movement.

The Congress Working Committee circulated among the members of the All India Congress Committee its resolution on the Digboi strike situation.

The Raja of Dhenkanal, Orissa, at a special Darbar in the Rang Mahal, announced a number of reforms, which were on the lines on the reforms announced by the Raja of Seraikella. There was an introduction for the first time of an elective element in the administration of the civil welfare of the people.

27th. The All-India Congress Committee concluded its four-day session in Bombay after passing the Working Committee's resolution on the Digboi labour dispute, and a non-official motion for the formation of a separate Andhra Province. The Digboi resolution appealed to the Company to accept the suggestion of the Congress President for the settlement of the dispute, failing which the Congress advised the Assam Government to undertake legislation for making acceptance for the decision of conciliation boards obligatory and to take steps to stop the renewal of the base to the Company on its termination.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the Moneylenders Bill, without any opposition.

The Congress Premiers, who met in conference in Bombay, decided on concerted action to fight the evil of communalism.

General administrative problems confronting the various Provincial Congress Committees, especially in view of the new changes in the Congress constitution, were discussed at a conference of the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees, in Bombay. Babu Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, presided and over 20 Secretaties, who were in Bombay in connexion with the All-India Congress Committee, attended.

The All-India Conference of the League of Radical Congressmen was held in Poona, Mr. M. N. Roy presided.

28th. The Bengal Legislative Council passed the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1939. The Council adopted an amendment reducing the number of nominated seats by four, including the three reserved for scheduled castes.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in the course of a speech in Bombay, declared that he believed, contrary to what many prominent leaders of the Congress believed, that the time was now ripe for India to embark upon an active struggle for independence. A splendid opportunity for demanding independence from Britain would be lost if not availed of now.

The Maharaja of Dhenkanal, at a special Darbar, announced certain reforms in his State including remission of 6 months to all prisoners undergoing imprisonment in the jails of the State, the resuscitation of the old village panchayat, the setting up of a Praja Parishad with 26 nominated members from all over the State and the improvement of the organization and the personnel of the High Court.

Notes on Indian History

and

India In Home Polity

Notes on Indian History

It has truly been said that a history of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millenia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shape and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Budhism and Jainism in India in the sixth century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulæ" have probably, a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millenia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulæ beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period, we are furnished, sometimes in abundance, with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, heresay and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. In has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian History. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, phylologist and anthropologist.

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific lines the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, tables etc., we can built a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, war and conquest) is of course important as necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as an organic process of evolution. So we have to distiguish between structural or morphological history and organic, "physiological" history.

Now, India has been so far poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Budha and Mahavira in the sixth century B. C. Recently, however, a very old and, apparently, a high order of civilisation has been unearthed in the Indus Valley in the Panjab and in Sind, which, according to current official beliefs, is of the Sumerian pattern. The buried cities now discovered bring to light not only very interesting features of a civilisation thriving in the western part of India in so remote a past (when the indo-Aryans had not, according to the common view, yet migrated into India), but they even put into our hands interesting clues that may eventually help us to unravel many of the riddles of our Vedic and post-Vedic history. The Tantrik cult, for instance, may have older and deeper roots in the soil of India than have so far been granted or suspected. Nothing contemporaneous with or earlier than the Indus Valley civilisation has yet been unearthed in other parts of the subcontinent. So the present trend of speculation is to regard the Indus Valley civilisation as a sort of wedge driven into Western India—the whole of which was still at the low level of aboriginal darkness (with the possible exception of some parts that might have risen to the Dravidian 'light' level)—probably by the races and civilisation of Sumer.

We are still in the duskland of probabilities or even less than probabilities as to the dates, origins, early habitats and earlier forms not only of the Indus Valley but also of the Dravidians and Indo-Aryan people. We do not know for certainty when and from where the Indo-Aryans came into India. The fact of Aryan immigration into India itself, though generally accepted, is still disputed. And if immigration be admitted, we have, probably, to admit not one but several successive streams of immigration. Such theory, apparently called for to account for some of the critical turnings and "sudden mutations" in our ancient historical evolution, will lead to many unexplored avenues of enquiry as to ages and dates, origins and characteristics.

The Rigveda

The Rigveda—the earliest and the most informing and instructive "documentary" evidence that we possess—appears to set the stage amidst scenes which show the Aboriginal, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan factors fighting for supremacy first in the land of "Five Rivers" and in the Ganges Valley, and then gradually, beyond the Vindhya Range which with its impenetrable forest mantle, stood as a barrier between Northern India (Aryyavatta) and Deccan. Gradually we find the aborigines cornered and driven to the hills and forest where their descendants, more or less Aryanised, still continue to live. In considerable parts they were also absorbed into the fold of Aryan society and culture. And in being absorbed they did not fail to impart some little part of their own character of the Aryan complex. There was not so much of racial or even linguistic fusion as of cultural assimilation. The process of Aryanisation in language, culture etc. has been a process admitting, naturally, of different shades and degrees, leaving at the one end aboriginal races that have almost kept aloof from Aryan influence and having at the other others that have become part and parcel of the Aryan system. The Aryanisation of the Dravidian peoples, especially in religion, culture and civilisation, has been a much more perfected process. But on the other hand, the Dravidian impress on the Aryan system is also in many places, deep and unmistakable. The Dravidian is co-ordinated or even subordinated to the Aryan but not lost in the latter. This power of assimilation of alien races and cultures without losing the individuality of its own essential Type or Pattern and without at the same time making the diverse elements assimilated lose whatever is essential in them—has been a special characteristic of the Indo-Aryan race and culture-complex. This has meant organic unity or unity in diversity of a more fundamental and abiding nature than can, perhaps, be claimed for the political or national unity with which histories are commonly familiar. Historians, accordingly, commonly miss the unity which lies deep and sees only the diversity which lies on the surface. India to them is thus a veritable chaos of jarring elements of races, languages, religions, castes, sects and culture which have never known unity before the days of the unitary political rule of the British. Of course, the introduction, in later times, of the Semitic religions—Muhammedanism and Christianity—disturbed to some extent the ages-long unity and balance of the Aryo-Dravidian culture and social system in India. But even these elements were in the process of being slowly drawn into the sphere of influence of what we may call the genius of India. In other words, a slow but sure process of cultural assimilation even of this "militant" factors was going apace. Buddhism, which had risen as a "revolt" against orthodox Hinduism—but yet as a revolt from within—and which dominated the situation in India for several centuries, ended in the land of its birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or latter "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many an old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of Mahmud of Gazni which ever swept away Indian armies and Kingdoms like cobweb or a house of gards. Before her final subjugation by the Mahammadan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time

during the reign of the great Mogul Emperors—India had been, it should be borne in mind, a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at least three thousand years. And it should be remembered further that when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts not only with Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South but mainly the Maharatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mahammedan Power in India.

Unitary Indian Empire

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operated against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation, except occasionally like, for instance, the Great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Puranas speak. But as far as appearances go, an unitary, centralised, Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-laid cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fought bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred religion and tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiment. But she has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with many forms of centralised State control. The all-controlling and co-ordinating Principle was Dharma (the Principle of human Values and Conduct) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of Dharma and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communities continued to live though kingdoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accidents and exigencies of politics.

Again, the spirit of Dharma (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all-living values and tendencies and a cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant, aggressive "predatory", nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values; and the Dharmashastras (or Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Budhism and Jainism and other "reforming" movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living being. These forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consolidation of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (Samhitas, Brahmins, Aranyakas and Upanishadas), the various Sutras (or Digests), Philosophies, Epics (the Ramayana and Mahavarata), Puranas and Tantras (our statement here is not anything like full), we possess (unless one is prepared to grant the claim of the Puranas recently put forth in their behalf that they do contain materials for reconstructing a fairly connected chronological history beginning with the very earliest times) very little precise and connected information for the purpose of writing a political history both copious and correct as to facts and their chronological order. But of the ideals and ideas, practices and institutions of the times we do possess a very full, informing and instructive presentation. And, after all, what is real history but this? Scholars have been busy with their sketches and drawings of the ancient orders and specimens of ideas, beliefs and practices that existed in India. But oftener than not their reviews and retrospects have been made from modern standpoints, with modern notions, criteria and standards of testing facts and appraising values. This has not enabled us, in any just measure, to understand much less appreciate a civilisation (not confined to India but, possibly, reaching some of its greatest heights in this country) which was essentially of a different kind, and cannot, therefore, be represented as only the first uncertain and timid steps taken on the road which has, through a long, long march, at last brought us to our present advanced stage. The ideology, plan and methods of that ancient civilisation we have yet not seriously studied and rightly understood. Much of that civilisation we still regard, without understanding, as consisting of "savage" magic, meaningless ritualism, "theological twaddle" and crude superstition. Side by side with all this we find, however, the highest philosophy, deepest mysticism and pure ethics. There is also

much that is of original and genuine value from the point of view of human material and mundane progress. This seems to us a curious medley of what is nearly the highest and what is about the lowest. But let us pass on.

Coming to "historical" times we find that the invasion by Alexander the Great of India proved in the result to be little more than a brilliant raid. His victorious armies could only cut off a small slice of North-Western India, and this little slice the Macedonian would ingest, but could not digest. His steam-roller of conquest speedily developed "war-weariness" on the plains of the Panjab, and he had to go back only adding a bit of India to his vast Empire. He had won some of his battles in India, but it had not been an "easy walk-over" with him.

Chandragupta and Asoka

After his death shortly afterwards, the vast Macedonian Empire practically went to pieces. Chandragupta, who became the king of Magadha, proved himself too powerful for the Greek invaders who had violated the sanctity and integrity of the sacred Land of the Five Rivers. As the result of the formidable opposition by the armies of Chandragupta, a treaty was concluded between him and the Greek which made him the supreme, undisputed lord and sovereign of the Indian Empire. Megasthenes, who was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, left a very valuable record of the times, of the customs and morals of the people, and of the administration, which, though unfortunately fragmentary, bears an eloquent and admiring testimony to the high order of material and moral civilisation attained by the Hindus centuries before the Christian era. And this high civilisation was evolved in India not in isolation but in commerce with other civilisations that flourished in ancient times such as the Babylonian, Greek, Persian and Chinese. Chandragupta's son was Bindusara who was succeeded by Asoka (269-231 B. C.), who was undoubtedly, one of the greatest rulers of men holding their sway for the material and spiritual good of mankind. Numerous edicts and inscriptions record the noble and glorious achievements of his reign which, in its later stages left the bloody path of war and conquest and devoted itself to the much more noble and fruitful task of the moral and spiritual conquest and redemption of ourselves and our fellow-being. With commendable catholicity and tolerance, not seeking to impose it upon others by his great imperial authority and power, he exercised that authority and power for the purpose of transforming Budhism, which had been more or less a local sect in the Ganges Valley, into one of the greatest and most potent living world religions. Asoka's reign is therefore rightly held to be an epoch in the history of the world. His edicts also show the man, his ideals and his methods. But all this had not allowed or favoured the cement of the great Maurya Empire setting into the requisite hardness. Independent kingdoms like Bacteria and Parthia took their rise in the border land, and the Greeks renewed their incursions. New races (the Yuen-chi) came in a surge of migration which swept all before them, and in the first centuary A. D. a considerable portion of North-west India came under their influence.

Gupta Dynasty

Kaniska, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Budhistic religion. Under him the Kushan branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of its power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would, some time, rise and shine in the midst of the moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the fith century—when the White Huns from Central India began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmanical culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Purnas; but this reviving process was, very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation). More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical times—Asoka, Emperor

Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook. An account of his times has been left by a Chinese, Huen Tsiang by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

Mediaeval India

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediæval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed. Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage ; but such events were few and far between. In the South of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Ballavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmere in the north, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interest. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste Kshatrias (the warrior and ruling caste) fell, and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mohamedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th century had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Guzrat, Malwa, Ajmer, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendency—a drama so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrifice for the sacred cause of religion and liberty that they have ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero, the last of the Hindu emperors, though not the last of the Hindu rulers, had held sway. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of his proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mohamedans, it should be noted, the great prize was not very easily or quickly won ; that the first Mahammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mohammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th century. Even this did not mean either a complete or final subjugation of India. And there is another thing to be noted. Hindu power fell not because its resistance was weak and its bravery and heroism in the field was not backed by adequate tact, strategy and discipline in diplomacy, planning and preparation.

The centuries of the mediæval age in India were marked by a conspicuous lack of political unity and solidarity. But they were by no means unimportant and barren. It was not a "dark" Age. In the Gupta period and in the centuries before and after a marvellous process of social, cultural and religious reconstruction was going apace. The old Vedic scheme of social economy (involving as it did the four Varnas or "castes" and the four Ashrams or "stages" of life) was being transformed through a process of adaptation, assimilation and multiplication which made society more comprehensive and at the same time more complex. The influence of Buddhism, Hellenism and that of Mongoloid races also led to adaptations and assimilations, in many important directions in the older order of Indian customs and institutions. The gradual assimilation of Budhism itself was a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The Vedic religion survived but it was transformed. The Puranas and Tantras renewed and gave a new expression to the Sanatana Dharma. In the domain of literature, art (both useful and fine), science and mathematics, philosophy and metaphysics, these centuries were also productive of fruits that were and still are of the greatest interest and value. Great poets like Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, and great philosophers like Shankaracharyya and Ramanuja and also other pioneers and masters in other fields formed a galaxy of men of genius and talents which showed that an age of political dis-equilibrium aud confusion in India was yet not necessarily an age of cultural depression and darkness and social disruption. The soul of India could, apparently, function to its best advantage inspite of her troubled politics.

But whilst this was true for some time it could not be true for all time. Her politics at last began to tell on her constitution. We do not, however, propose to continue the story through the Mohammedan and British periods. The history of these periods is more settled and definite in features, and these are, generally, well-known, One special feature, which is not always clearly recognised and to which we should like to draw attention is this. From the twelfth century right up to the eighteenth, or even for some time later, the Hindu power of revival and regeneration, of initiation and execution, was never like dead or even dying. Independent and often powerful kingdoms like Vijayanagar in the South, those of Pratap, Shivaji and the Peshwas in the west (we do not mention some others e. g. those in Bengal) would, now and then, proudly lift their heads ann challenge the authority of the great Moslem emperors. Under that authority, too, there flourished many great Hindu administrators, Ministers, governors, generals and financiers. In short, during the Mohamedan era, the Hindu genius was not at its best but it was not quite decadent.

The Mohammedan Rule

The Mohammedan conquerors, again, from Mahomed Ghori whe wrested the sceptre of the kingdom of Delhi from Prithviraj after a first unsuccessful attempt, came to India as foreigners but they did not remain here as foreigners. India was the land of their adoption. Raids like those by Chengis Khan or Nadir Shah were rare and they did not represent the normal course of events. India suffered, and sometimes badly, no doubt, from the effects of the conquering ardour and proselytising zeal of some of the Mohammedan rulers. But the great Moghuls were as much "children of the soil" as the humblest of the Hindu "heathen". And this sharing together by the Hindus and Mussalmans of a common "hearth and home" naturally tended to breed a consciousness of community of interests in both as India's offspring. There was a steady assimilation of the semitic and Indo-Aryan cultures also and even a growing understanding and appreciation of one religion by the other. The religions touched and even blended with each other at their highest points—e. g. in Sufism and Vedantic mysticism. They also met and evolved a broad common "shrine" to which folk beliefs, practices and institutions would bring their united homage. Even a common dialect (Urdu or Hindusthani) was evolved between the two in Northern India which gradually blossomed into a fine literature. The patronage extended by the Mohammedan emperors to Music, Architecture etc. was also fruitful of very fine result. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market. British, French, Dutch and Portuguese traders all came and scrambled for market, and eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzeb, the government of the country was in the main, decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy—down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West—never unlearnt the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability, like Shivaji for example, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local automony and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Marhatta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder Ali and the Nizam in the south. And British Power in India in its rise to paramountcy found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies" which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time, however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India, in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land, it established military garrison of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions, and with the active or passive support of the

generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal. It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, alliance and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny, one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last Great War. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was from time to time modified by acts of Parliament (1773, 1784; and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in-Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and henceforth the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India. The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the Great War were great, but "reward" that come in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her a "progressive realisation of responsible government", the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone. was not comforting to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were "transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislatures), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved". In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers (who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to, the Governor) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became, in consequence, more cumbrous and expensive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non-official majorities, but this placed little power, for construction or even for obstruction in the hands of the popular parties. Whilst the liberals proceeded to work the scheme, the main body of nationalist forces, as represented by the Indian National Congress, would not first even look at it. But some time later, under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, a Swaraj Party, analogous to the present Congress Parliamentary Party, was formed which entered the legislatures, both provincial and central, in telling numbers and by its obstructionist tactics caused not a little embarrassment to those entrusted with the work of day to day administration. In some provinces it was even able to "wreck" dyarchy for a time. Generally, however, the system has worked, though not satisfactorily even according to official appreciation. We need not in particular refer to the unwelcome labours of the All-White Statutory Simon Commission, to which even the habitually co-operating liberals refused to lend their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resolution setting as the goal of India complete Independence or Purna Swaraj. A campaign of civil disobedience followed to create "sanctions under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been really at the helm of Congress affairs since the early twenties. The Round Table idea was broached rather too late; but Mahatma Gandhi after concluding, what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact joined the Conference subsequently. The result of the deliberations of that body fell short of the Congress demand. And the Congress again withdrew its offer of co-operation.

India in Home Polity

Introduction

We began our study of the events and developments in India that had happened during the last six months of 1938 with deploring the controversy that followed the Ministerial Crisis in the Central Provinces and Berar. Living at a distance from the scene of conflict, we made an attempt to take a detached view of things as far as it was humanly possible for us. We explained how in the absence of traditions of joint responsibility in Ministries under modern conditions yet to be developed in the country, three Ministers of the province were found refusing to tender resignation when called upon to do so by the Premier, Dr. Narayan Vashkar Khare ; we explained how Dr. Khare had been led by the Instrument of Instruction issued by the Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, Sardar Vallavbhai Patel, and by the letter of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, member of the Working Committee and one of the three members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, that he was free to make and un-make his Ministry, and how acting on his belief he resigned his first Ministry and reconstituted his second with three new members ; we gave expression to the feeling shared by public opinion that takes interest in political happenings that we failed to understand why the Working Committee of the Congress should have taken such a serious view of this provincial bickering, should have taken sides in it. By those opinions we still stand, though we were not prepared for the bitterness of controversy that followed this Ministerial re-shuffle. Personal and sectional and linguistic feelings have been roused by the steps taken to solve the problems that have been corroding the unity of Indian life, that have been disrupting forces of cohesion in areas wider than those confined within the frontiers of that particular province. These developments have created in the public mind doubts about the leadership of the Congress, have generated a cynicism in the country that is not shocked by any weakness or injustice made manifest in the public life, in the leadership of public life in India. In our study of these events we have more than once conceded that the claims made by the Congress Working Committee to discipline in Congress ranks are justifiable at all times ; at the present phase of India's struggle for political rights they are a pre-condition of success. In the C. P. and Berar Ministerial affair we have deplored and criticised the latter developments that showed a failure of nerves, an excitability of temper in the controversialists, and in the case of Dr. Khare and his supporters the absence of that spirit of dignified acceptance of an unjust decision that retrieves political reputation and regains public sympathy. In modern India's public life the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, founder of the Servant of India Society, showed by his example how a public man could outlive unpopularity and public calumny.

A Fore-runner of Congress Presidential Controversy

When we commented on the happenings relating to the C. P. and Berar Ministerial imbroglio, we could not imagine—none in India could —that over the India which owed allegiance to the Indian National Congress would burst another controversy with the beginning of the new year of 1939, that angry lightning would throw a lurid glare on a wide section of political life, confusing the mind of the people, creating dissensions among

Personal Equation in the Controversy

the rank and file of Congressmen, exposing the spirit of disunity in the leadership of the organisation, holding in abeyance almost all Congress activities for about six months. This storm of controversy covered the whole face of the country ; fellow-workers, comrades in work and sacrifice, were separated from one another ; doubts were thrown on one another's honesty ; the well of associated work was defiled and poisoned. Without taking a tragic view of things, conceding that such outbursts of temper are a part and lot of modern democratic arrangements of political work, we are constrained to say that judging by the known facts of the whole controversy Sri Subhas Chandra Basu has emerged out of it with dignity. Perhaps, his sudden illness rendered him incapable of joining in the exchange of angry courtesies that marked the controversy ; his temperament also helped him to bear up against the assaults that are part of such controversies. This characteristic of his came out in the following words uttered when he, as President of the Working Committee of the Congress, had to carry out the drastic judgment on Dr. Khare :

"I may point out that a leader has to pay the price of leadership. In the event of success, he often gets more praise and credit than he probably deserves, and in the event of failure, he frequently gets all the blame or at least much of it. No leader should, therefore, grudge if on occasions he seems to be judged harshly by his followers or by his countrymen. If a battle is won, the general becomes the Hero; if things go wrong he is punished severely."

This test of leadership was laid down in the last week of July, 1938 or the first week of August. Before six months were out the man who had laid it was called upon to face it, to pass through this cruel process of judgment. And he came out of it cool and collected before the watching public.

Election of Tripuri Congress President

The controversy arose out of the election of the President to the Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress, its annual session. The Press was publishing and featuring speculations with regard to it, with regard to the persons who might be set up for this post of honour, of responsibility. The names of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu were prominently mentioned ; it was hoped that two of them would retire, leaving the election to be unanimous. The election was to be held on the 29th of January, 1939. On the 20th January a statement by Moulana Sahib was sent to the Press that for reasons of health he could not agree to shoulder the burdens of the position, recommending at the same time the name of Dr. Pattabhi to the delegates. On the 21st Sri Subhas Chandra Basu sent a statement which gave the people an idea that the Presidential Election would be fought over. He gave his reasons for preferring this method of choosing the head of the supreme executive of the national organisation. With "the progressive sharpening of the anti-Imperialist struggle in India", there had emerged "new ideas and ideologies, and problems and programmes". And a feeling, an opinion, was growing in the country that "as in other free countries the presidential election in India should be fought on the basis of different problems and programmes". Such contests would help in the clarification of the issues, and "give a clear indication of the public mind" ; as such they may not be "undesirable" things. In view of the increasing international tension and the prospective fight over Federation in India, the year (1939) will be "a momentous one in our national history" ; he was prepared to put this

question to the test whether or not the majority of the delegates demanded his services in the office. Specially when "up till now I have not received any suggestion or advice from a single delegate asking me to withdraw from the contest," emphasised Subhas Babu. This statement also did not excite any curiosity in the mind of the general public.

Six Working Committee members Startle the Public

But the matter took a new complexion, an exciting complexion, when six members of the Congress Working Committee—Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Sri Jayaramdas Daulatram, Sri Shankar Rao Deo, Sri Bhulabhai Desai and Prof. Kripalani (General Secretary of the Congress)—issued a statement on the 24th of January from Bardoli questioning the validity of the reasons for a contest given in the statement of their President. The name of the place from which the statement was issued was significant, though the general public did not understand its significance till two weeks thence. It was at this place that the Working Committee of the Congress had held its sittings a little over a week back; Gandhiji was still there in residence at the Swaraj Ashram having advised and guided the deliberations of that meeting of the Congress Executive. The statement of the six members doubted the wisdom of setting up a precedent of contested elections for the position of the President of the Indian National Congress. "So far as we know hitherto the presidential elections have been unanimous," said the signatories to the statement; they would have preferred to wait "for greater consolidation of the Congress ranks, greater toleration and greater respect for one another's opinions before making the Congress presidential election a matter of contest". The crux of their argument, however, lay in the following words:

".....We hold strong views about the forthcoming election."

".....When he (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad) had finally decided to withdraw he had advocated Dr. Pattabhi's election in consultation with certain of us. This decision was taken with much deliberation."

"We feel it is a sound policy to adhere to the rule of not re-electing the same President except under very exceptional circumstances."

"In the statement Mr. Subhas Bose has mentioned his opposition to Federation. This is shared by all the members of the Working Committee. ..... He has also mentioned ideologies, policies and programmes. All this, we feel, is not relevant to the consideration in the choice of the Congress President."

"The Congress policy and programmes are not determined by successive Presidents. If it were so the constitution would not limit the office to one year. The policy and programme of the Congress when they are not determined by the Congress itself are determined by the Working Committee. The position of the President is that of a Chairman. More than this, the President represents and symbolises, as under constitutional monarchy, the unity and solidarity of the nation."

"Any controversy over the election even on the score of policies and programmes is, therefore, to be deprecated."

Dr. Pattabhi's Election Manifesto

This statement of the six Congress leaders startled the public out of indifference. A great resentment seized the public mind that an attempt at dictation, to dictate the free choice of the delegates, should have been publicly made. They did not understand yet that Gandhiji was involved in the matter; they missed the significance of the words appearing in a statement issued by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya on the 26th of January which might be regarded as his Election Manifesto. These words deserve quotation:

"When the Maulana had withdrawn, when there was widespread desire on the part of Congressmen and others, and of *a venerable patriarch* (the italics are ours) and the elderly men of position.....When I, too, had reason to believe that as an alternative to the Maulana's candidature mine would commend itself to many of my colleagues in the Working Committee.....I felt my nomination as a candidate was a call to duty....."

The six leaders' statement, however, started a controversy which held the field for almost six months. Leaders in the Congress, leaders of public life, took sides on one or other side of the controversy. Many of them can be quoted. But considerations of space compel us to economise in this respect The statement of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu in reply to that of the six leaders' clarifies certain of the issues raised in the latter. It was made on the 25th. January :

Subhas Babu's Counter-Statement

"In an election contest between two members of the Working Committee one would not expect the other members to take sides in an organised manner, because that would obviously not be fair."

"Since the adoption of the new constitution of the Congress in 1934 the Working Committee is being nominated, theoretically at least, by the President. .....The position of the President today is no longer analogous to that of the chairman of a meeting. The President is like a Prime Minister or President of the United States of America who nominates his own Cabinet."

But the most important of the criticisms of the six leaders' statement, and the most damaging to the reputation of the maker of these criticisms as a responsible public man specially in a public controversy of such far-reaching consequences to individuals as well as to the country, were the following :

Grave Charges against Rightists

"It is widely believed that there is prospect of a compromise on the Federal Scheme between the Right Wing of the Congress and the British Government during the coming year."

This charge, for a charge it was, was repeated on the 27th January's statement in a more positive manner :

"Can any body challenge the fact that a belief is widely held that during the coming year a compromise will be effected between the British Government and the Right Wing of the Congress ? This impression may be erroneous, but it is there all the same and nobody can deny its existence. Not only that. It is generally believed that a prospective list of Ministers for the Federal Cabinet has been already drawn up."

But we anticipate. On the 25th of January Sardar Vallavbhai Patel made from Bardoli a counter-statement to that issued by Sri Subhas Chandra Basu on the same date from Calcutta. He said that speaking personally he felt that in the election issue, to quote his own words, "the matter is not one of persons or principles and not of leftists or rightists. The sole consideration is what is in the best interests of the country." And the following showed that on certain days in the second and third weeks of the month of January when the Working Committee of the Congress was holding its sittings at Bardoli,

Events behind the election contest

"At informal consultations at one stage or other at which Moulana Azad, Mr. Jawharlal Nehru, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Kripalani, Mahatma Gandhi and myself were present, not by design but by accident, it was agreed that if perchance the Moulana remained adamantine in his resistance, according to the constitution Dr. Pattabhi was the only choice left, since we were clearly of opinion that it was unnecessary to re-elect Subhas Babu."

This statement of Sardar Ballavbhai's irritated public feeling which was later reflected in the delegates' voting in the presidential election. Here we should present to the readers a representative expression of public feeling which came from Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in his statement made from Almora on the 27th January, from the heart of the Kumaun Hills, above and beyond the dust and noise of controversy. He regretted that the Presidential Election controversy "had taken an unfortunate turn and wrong issues had been raised."

Pandit Jawaharlal's Reaction

"There is no question of conflict over Federation in this election."

"Personally, I do not see what principles or programmes are at stake in this election. I do not want it to be said at the end of the contest that a particular programme had been rejected when in fact it was not in issue."

With regard to the position and function of the President of the Congress, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru said that it was true that the Congress itself or the All-India Congress Committee "ultimately" laid down the policy. But

"The President can, however, make a difference in the carrying out of the policy, and the Congress President is not, in my opinion, merely a Speaker."

With quoting another opinion on this particular matter—the position and function of the President—given on the 25th January by Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Minister for Revenue in the Congress Ministry of the United Provinces, we shall leave the pre-election controversy.

Working Committee's Constitution

"Sardar Patel contends that it is the Working Committee which guides the activities of the Congress and the President is a mere figure-head, but he conveniently forgets that the Working Committee is the creation of the President; its composition depends on his will. It was weakness on the part of both Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to nominate Working Committees which were opposed to their politics, and the situation we find ourselves in to-day is the result of this weakness."

The mind of the public, of the delegates whose votes would elect the President of the Congress, was thus prepared by these statements and counter-statements for the contest as between Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Sri Subhas Chandra Basu. On the 29th of January, these delegates met in the different provinces, Congress provinces, in the provinces according to the Congress geography based on linguistic considerations, and recorded their votes. The result of the election recorded the victory of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu. The figures given below represent the votes secured by the two candidates :

Election Result

	Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya	Sri Subhas Chandra Basu
Burma	6	8
Utkal (Orissa)	99	44
Tamil Nadu	102	110
Gujrat	100	5
The Punjab	86	182
Vidharbha	21	11
Bengal	79	404
Kerala	18	80

Andhra	181	28
United Provinces	185	269
Delhi	5	10
Bihar	197	70
Maharashtra	86	77
Assam	22	34
Bombay	14	12
Sind	21	13
Nagpur	17	12
Ajmer	6	20
Karnatak	41	106
Mahakoshal	68	67
North West-Frontier Province	23	18
Total	1,375	1,580

Sri Subhas Chandra Basu won the election by a majority of 205 votes.

Gandhiji's part in the Election

The declaration of the election result ought to have settled the controversy. It did not. The flood-gates were opened wider. On the 31st of January, two days after the election and its results became known, Gandhiji issued a statement from Bardoli giving his reaction to the contest, to the defeat of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. He declared : "the defeat is more mine than his" ; the public was for the first time told that "from the very beginning" Gandhiji had been "decidedly" against the re-election of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu for "reasons" which he thought unnecessary to go into. He did "not subscribe to his (Subhas Babu's) facts or the arguments in his manifestoes" ; he thought Subhas Babu's "references to his colleagues were unjustified and unworthy." The result of the election had made plain to him that "the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which" he stood. He suggested that now that Subhas Babu was President not "on the sufferance of those whom he calls Rightists" , President elected on a contested election, it was up to the latter "to choose his homogeneous Cabinet and enforce his programme without let and hindrance." But the cruellest blow came in the words, cruel because they came from Gandhiji : "After all Subhas Babu is not an enemy of his country." In this statement Gandhiji indicated the policy which the section of Congressmen defeated in the election was likely to follow or ought to follow. They may not "obstruct" on any account the policy and programme that the new President might suggest or follow.

"Rightists" may not obstruct or embarass the President

Prof. Kripalani in interview with the *Associated Press* on the 1st of February as also Babu Rajendra Prasad on the 2nd February indicated the same policy, the policy of neutrality if the phrase can be used in that context. The former said : "Those who looked to Gandhiji for guidance will never put any obstacles in the path of the new Cabinet." The latter said :

"...I can say this that we shall not do anything to embarass any body much less Subhas Babu. The Tripuri Congress will lay down the programme for the coming year and it will be for the President to select any Working Committee that he considers best after the Congress has laid down its programme. Till then

I do not think there is any idea of resigning from the Working Committee. It is obvious that we cannot do anything obstructive. Our efforts will be helpful."

Gandhiji's Statemant startled the public

Gandhiji's statement came as a bomb-shell on the public. During the election, the pre-election controversy, Sarder Patel had told the country that "the matter is not one of persons or principles and not of leftists or rightists " ; Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told the country : "Personally I do not see what principles or programmes are at stake in this election." But Gandhiji in his statement said that the result of the election had shown that the delegates did not approve of the principles and the policy, the ideal and the methods to reach it, for which he stood. These statements the mass of Congressmen, the general public which though not Congressmen, were Congress-minded, failed to reconcile. They, these unattached Congress-minded people, the men and women who were the core of the real strength of the national organisation, who belonged to no specific political party but were the real power behind the movement for the assertion of national self-respect and for the capture of political power as its symbol and instrument—the statements that followed the declaration of the election result made these men and women confused in thought and uncertain in action. They sensed that there was much more behind the statements ; they were tempted to believe that the clash not being due to any difference in principle or policy, must be due to a clash of temperaments and personalities, and that these would be soon resolved under the healing powers of non-violence in thought and action that Gandhiji has been teaching the country for more than twenty years.

No violent break with the past, declared President

But this belief proved unsubstantial, and this hope remained unfulfilled, though the re-elected President tried to throw oil on the troubled waters. In a statement made on the 3rd of February he expressed grief that Gandhiji should have taken the result of the election "as a personal defeat ;" he declared that it would "always" be his aim and object to win the confidence of Gandhiji ; and as he emphasised this point : "it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man." He also recognised that a certain amount of apprehension had been created in the public mind as to the policy men like him and people like those whose votes had won him the election were likely to follow. He tried to set these apprehensions at rest with the following assurance :

"Let me make it quite clear that there would be no violent break with the past in the parliamentary or in the extra-parliamentary sphere. So for as the parliamentary programme is concerned we shall only try to implement our election pledges and our parliamentary programme with greater speed than in the past. In the extra-parliamentary sphere we shall endeavour to rally all our strength and resources for combating federation and for pushing on towards *Purna Swaraj*."

Attempt to bring about unity

This did not satisfy the section of Congressmen who had supported Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who was Gandhiji's candidate as it became public on the 31st of January as soon as Gandhiji's own statement appeared in the Press. It also became apparent that some method would have to be found out to settle the matter, to restore the position as it had obtained before this unfortunate controversy started. An indication of this attempt was to

be found in course of an informal talk by Pundit Nehru on the 2nd of February, to the students of Santi-Niketan, Rabindra Nath Tagore's abode of peace, the seat of his *Viswa Bharati*, the nucleus of the International University. Here Pundit Jawaharlal and Subhas Babu met to discuss the reactions of the Congress election contest. It was hoped that in the atmosphere of this hermitage, in the presence of our poet of harmony and understanding, a method would be evolved for bringing about peace in the Congress world. It was from this place that Pundit Jawaharlal indicated the possibilities of the situation. A variety of causes might influence an election ; even in the case of a contested election the issues were or might not be clear. It was at the session of the Congress that definite issues had to be faced and voted upon ; it was at the session of the Congress that a final decision for the ensuing year had to be taken. And,

"It may happen, as it has happened in the past, that the same electors, i. e., the delegates to the Congress, may give expression to somewhat contradictory policies in electing the President and later on in the open session of the Congress. The elected President certainly may be said to represent the general will of the electorate, but if that electorate decided differently on specific issues, the latter decision prevails."

This theoretical discussion pointed out to a development at the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri which would help to reconcile both the points of view that had emerged out of the presidential election. It was hoped that the ground for a reconciliation would be prepared at the interview between Gandhiji and Sri Subhas Chandra Basu that took place on the 15th of February at the *Ashram* at Shegaon. The Press published the news that for three hours, "in an atmosphere of extreme cordiality" to quote the words used in the statement issued by Subhas Babu "with Gandhiji's approval," there was discussion between the two Congress leaders, and that though no "final decisions" were arrived at, "certain tentative conclusions" were reached. The Press also published the news that Subhas Babu emerged "cheerfully from Gandhiji's hut ;" that Gandhiji "also looked cheerful." It was also announced at the same time that the Working Committee would meet at Wardha on the 22nd February, and that Gandhiji had postponed his departure for Bardoli and would be present at the meeting. A correspondent broadcasted the news that "Mr. Bose is completely satisfied with the solution and the conversations ;" that even if he be unable to take "the Gandhian members" of the Working Committee with him, he will be entering his second year of Presidentship with the blessings of Gandhiji".

Gandhi-Basu talk really unsuccessful

These were wishful thinking, a lengthening out of the uncertainty, as latter developments proved. On the 20th. February it became clear that the old members of the Working Committee, the members who had in an organised manner supported Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya during the election, would resign in a body. A correspondent from Wardha quoted one of them on the 21st of February as saying :

Twelve Members decide to resign

".....those who claim to be radical and advanced in outlook and view should take responsibility and not merely content themselves with criticising us for our acts of omissions commission. This state of affairs had been tolerated long enough and now that the Leftists have a majority, they should be given a free hand in running the Congress."

At this time Sri Subhas Chandra Basu was seriously ill at Calcutta, and could not, therefore, attend the meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha, and have the opportunity of meeting his colleagues. It became apparent by this time that the "atmosphere of extreme cordiality" featured in the Press a week earlier, the cheerful look of Gandhiji and Subhas Babu on the 15th February were smoke screens that hid extreme disagreement. The public was misled into thinking that as a result of Gandhi-Basu talks there was a likelihood of peace in the Congress household which since 1920 the public have learnt to regard as the Gandhi household. Therefore, the resignation of twelve members of the Working Committee in a body, followed by that of Pundit Nehru, came as an unpleasant surprise. In their letter, believed to have been drafted by Gandhiji, dated February 22, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and eleven others informed the President of their decision to resign, and gave as their reason for it the following :

Demand for clear-cut policy

"We feel that the time has come when the country should have a clear-cut policy not based on compromise between different incompatible groups of the Congress. It is but right, therefore, that you should select a homogeneous Cabinet, representing the views of the majority."

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru prefaced his resignation with a covering letter, with a statement. It became known that he had tried his best to bring about peace ; it became known that he had pressed Sri Subhas Chandra Basu to withdraw the charges made by him in his pre-election statements with regard to "Rightists" compromising with the British Government on the question of Federation. And as this was not forthcoming, that fact must haveinfluenced Pundit Jawaharlal and the 12 members of the Working Committee to submit their resignation, and Gandhiji to approve of it. It also became known at this time that Pundit Nehru had been opposed to the re-election of Subhas Babu because that would stand in the way of presenting "a united and determined front" to political opponents, to the "external" authority that holds sway over the country. These resignations left Sri Subhas Chandra Basu and Sri Sarat Chandra Basu as the only members of the Working Committee—practically the Committee ceased to be—and the President was left to face the annual session of the Congress at Tripuri with his own programme and policy deprived of the advice and co-operation of the group which under Gandhiji's lead had been guiding the organisation for about ten years at a stretch.

Suggestion to withdraw charges

This development, this resignation of twelve members, gave the public for the first time the idea that the election contest had exposed deeper differences in the inner council of the Congress than they were aware of. Even many of the delegates, among whom were men and women who were not Leftists but had voted for Subhas Babu, were sharply recalled to the fact that by their votes they had unwittingly hastened a crisis in the national leadership. The majority of the supporters of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu in the election contest consisted of members of the Congress Socialist Party, of the Congress Radical Party, of the Communists, and of other discontented elements ; they had really voted against the dictation of the Patel group as broadcast in the 6 Members' Statement of January 24 ; and now they realised that they

Majority of delegates get demoralised

had touched deeper springs of action, that by their votes they had really challenged the Gandhian leadership. Gandhiji's statement of January 31 made it clear ; the failure of the Gandhi-Basu talk emphasised it ; the resignation of the 13 members demonstrated it before all the world. This demonstration appeared to have demoralised the majority of the delegates who had taken part in the Congress election, and by their votes had defeated Dr. Pattabhi. The statement issued by members of the Editorial Board of the *National Front* weekly, an organ of a section of Leftist opinion, in which they spoke of a "deliberate side-tracking of the whole issue from the political to a personal and moral plane" by the resigning members and by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru—this statement offered evidence of the demoralisation that had set in in their ranks. In this statement they stressed the need for unity, unity on their own terms. Sardar Patel and his colleagues were also not against unity in the national ranks. But they wanted it on their own terms. And between these two claims, the public were called upon to decide on one or the other, which will be represented in the leadership of the ensuing session of the Congress. Sardar Patel and his colleagues asked the President to "select a homogeneous Cabinet representing the views of the majority." This challenge of theirs exposed the thin ties that had held the different groups that for once had combined for a pitched battle only, but were not capable of maintaining unity and sustaining a long war. Events at Tripuri about three weeks later proved this, though the National Executive of the All-India Congress Socialist Party had spoken bravely of their share of the business :

".....in view of the Party's share of responsibility in the issue of the Presidential Election and of its adherence to democratic principles, it cannot free itself from the responsibility that may be consequent upon the contest except when it may have to be answerable for the policies with which it may not be in agreement."

Gandhiji or Subhas Basu—whom do you want ?

The 22nd of February made manifest to the people that the contest for the election of the President of the Tripuri session of the Congress had opened a campaign that would reach its culmination in the sittings of the Congress on the banks of the Nerbuda. It was understood then that the upholders of Gandhian leadership wanted "a clear-cut policy not based on compromise between different incompatible groups"—this policy to be carried on by "a homogeneous Cabinet" to be selected by Gandhiji, whoever might be the President. In the days immediately following the Presidential Election, leaders of the Rightist group had assured the public that no "obstacles" would be put in the path of the re-elected President, that nothing would be done that would "embarass" him. But before the month was out, on the 25th of February, a Madras daily was found to explain the new tactics in the following terms :

".....as serious doubts have been raised as to what might be the real attitude of the general body of Congressmen, it is essential that the delegates assembled in plenary session at Tripuri should have an opportunity of unambiguously declaring whether they have confidence in Gandhiji's leadership—for, really, it comes to that—or in Mr. Bose's. If the President will not take the responsibility of inviting a straight vote on the question, the members of the old Working Committee must take it upon themselves to secure such a verdict. This is the least they owe to the country."

This quotation indicate that the leaders of the Rightist group had decided to offer a new battle at Tripuri. From then on it was all a call for the gathering of all the clans. And the Indian public was kept at a high pitch of excitement and irritation by the organisation of the forces and resources of the opposing groups. It was not an edifying sight. And the general body of Congress people, the general body of Congress-minded people, were scandalised by the unseemly display of uncharitableness and "sectarianism" to use the word of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, specially as it was in evidence in defence of the principles and policies for which Gandhiji, the propagator of the idea of non-violence, stood. Things were done and things were said at Tripuri that showed that the majority of us in India have gained little by our association with the attempt that Gandhiji has been making to cleanse by his inner peace the distempers of Indian society ; these showed that we were no better, no worse than the generality of men and women who, engaged in political competitions, made occasional use of high-sounding words about moralities and charities. It is not necessary nor possible to take note of every act done or of every word uttered at Tripuri to gain the impression and convicition that in politics in India, as in other countries, there was no room for charity or sweet reasonableness. The resolution that was passed at Tripuri re-iterating confidence in the old leadership of the Congress may be looked at from different points of view. It may be regarded as the majority of delegates unsaying in the second week of March what they had said at the end of January, proving once more that democracy as it was generally understood knew not its own mind, was fickle. It may be regarded as the majority getting afraid of the responsibility which they had unknowingly voted to take up, realising in course of about six weeks or having the realisation driven into them that without Gandhiji's leadership they could not move. It may be that the resolution imposed a duty on Gandhiji without getting his consent or approval.

A Debacle in the "Leftist" ranks

Such a doubt was expressed at the meeting of the Subjects Committee in course of the debate on the resolution that was moved by Pandit Govinda Ballav Pant, Premier of the United Provinces. Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Premier of Madras, who seconded the resolution, met this objection in the following words :

Did Gandhiji know of the Pant resolution?

"Some one had suggested that Gandhiji would not approve of this resolution. I agree that he does not want this resolution. But we want to reiterate his policy and programme. It is we who want, and do actually stand for, the principles and policy for which he stands. We accept his leadership. It is only then we who can really interpret this resolution."

This assumption of authority to speak as the authentic voice of the Gandhi School of Politics precipitated a controversy that gained in bitterness as days passed. The Press inflamed the situation by its speculations. When the discussion on the resolution was going on in the Subjects Committee a news appeared that through telephonic communication the approval of Gandhiji had been secured for it. But we find Gandhiji writing to Sri Subhas Chandra Basu from Birla House, New Delhi, in a letter dated 2nd of April, the following :

"No"—Said Gandhiji

"When Pandit Pant's resolution was produced, I was on my bed. Mathuradas who happened to be at Rajkot that day one morning brought me the message that there was to be a resolution expressing confidence in the old horses. I had not the text before me. I said it would be good so far as it went, for, I had been told at Segaon that your election was not so much confidence in you as censure of the old horses especially the Sardar. After this I saw the actual text only in Allahabad when I went to see the Moulana Saheb."

Again from Rajkot Gandhiji wrote on the 10th April on his reaction to the Pant resolution :

"Pandit Pant's resolution I cannot interpret. The more I study it, the more I dislike it. The framers meant well. But it does not answer the present difficulty...I cannot, will not, impose a Cabinet on you, nor can I guarantee approval by the A. I. C. C. of your Cabinet, and policy."

The public came to know of these on the 14th of May when the whole of the Gandhi-Basu correspondence appeared in the Press. Thus for two months, in the absence of this knowledge, the mind of the country was kept divided, and Gandhiji's name was dragged into the controversy as a partisan. The Pant resolution was passed by delegates who did not know or did not understand the implications of the issues raised in it ; it imposed on Gandhiji a duty which he refused to accept and discharge ; the more he studied it the more he disliked it, he told the world. The observer of the Indian scene of those days could not think of a greater condemnation of the resolution than was implied in these words.

He refuses to implement resolution

This controversy continued for more than three months, and had its end in the resignation of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu of his position as President of the Congress. From a study of all the published facts connected with the matter, we find it difficult to understand why it should have culminated in this. We have yet to know that Sri Subhas Chandra Basu while President of the Working Committee ever went beyond the limits as a member of the Committee, ever failed to co-operate with his fellow-members. The general impression rather was that he was rather passive in the affairs of the Committee. In a statement of Subhas Babu's issued on the 3rd of March, a letter of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's was quoted which supported the impression. Therein Panditji complained that as President Subhas Babu's "attitude was entirely a passive one." To quote further : "In fact you have functioned more as a Speaker than as a directing President." If this be the fact that as President of the Working Committee Subhas Babu did not inconveniently assert himself or try to impose his ideas and ideals, policies and programmes, on the other members of the Committee or on Gandhiji, that during the year of his office he "passively" gave effect to the programme and policy of the Committee sanctioned as these were by Gandhiji, we fail to understand, the public has failed to understand and explain to itself why the President-makers of the Indian National Congress should have come to the conclusion that the re-election of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu was "unnecessary", was "harmful to the cause of the country", as Sardar Ballavbhai Patel had phrased the cause of their opposition. There must have been other causes which had no relation to principles and policies but could be explained only by reference to psychological incompatibility. As we write we have often felt that the controversy would have been robbed of bitterness, would not have been as prolonged, if these

Controversy due to psychological incompatibility

psychological conflicts had been owned up ; public life in India would not have been as seared as it has been since the third week of January, 1939.

Explanation found in "Indian Struggle"

We can understand and explain the position of the "Rightists" to Subhas Babu only if we go back to the days of the first revolt against Gandhian leadership which was organised by Chittaranjan Das, Matilal Nehru and Vithalbhai Patel, and trace therefrom the psychological opposition that the organisers of that revolt and their successors have been entertaining to the ideas and practices for which Gandhiji stood. Sri Subhas Chandra Basu's book entitled *The Indian Struggle, 1920-1934*—published in 1935, gave full and frank expression to the ideological and practical differences that he personally and in a representative capacity had with Gandhiji. The book was put under ban by the British bureaucracy which was lifted after the Congress Ministries had been in office for about a year. The Congress Ministry of the United Provinces, we think, took the initiative in influencing the withdrawal of this ban, and the book became available in India in the latter months of 1938. To the supporters of the Gandhi School of Politics the book could not have been pleasant reading. The book can explain the reasons for the "fundamental differences" between the old leadership said to be represented by Sardar Patel and others and the new that Sri Subhas Chandra Basu was supposed to represent. It was not any particular deed done or word uttered during the time that Subhas Babu had been President of the Congress Working Committee that could explain and justify the stiff attitude of Gandhiji and his followers, near and far, maintained in face of the eager and persistent attempts of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu to heal up the wounds mutually inflicted during the presidential election controversy. The correspondence published in the Press on May 14, 1939, after his resignation, bears unmistakable evidence of his spirit of accommodation, of his eagerness to propitiate and reconcile. This eagerness failed to win confidence, because the book stood in the way. Subhas Babu's charges against compromise in the matter of Federation strengthened the prejudice created by the book. As Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru put it :

"In effect these charges might be considered to be made against Gandhiji himself, as he has been the guide and mentor of the Working Committee. This psychological and personal aspect inevitably overshadowed even political issues,..."

Gandhiji's absence from Tripuri

We have devoted so such space to this sorry affair because the controversy raised by it has disrupted the "united front" of Congress-minded men and women in the country. We have traced the background of the events in some detail so that public disgust with these might be understood. We have still the feeling that Tripuri would not have registered the fall in political morality that it did, if Gandhiji had not undertaken the "wonder" journey to Rajkot called thereto by a light that came not from any calculation of the human understanding. He went there because he could not help going ; he undertook the journey because, to use his own words, "I am going there as God is taking me there." He felt a call, and he responded to it. The spirit of the journey was expressed in the words : "Why am I going, whither am I going ? What for ? I have thought nothing about these things ; and if God guides me, what should I think, why should I think ?" When Gandhiji started for Rajkot on the 26th February

people treated it as a political mission of limited purpose and consequence, concerned with a small State, with a population not more than 75,000, in which his father had been Dewan ; whose ruler, the father of the present Thakore Saheb, had been Gandhiji's friend. It was felt that it was natural for Gandhiji to feel interest in the life and work of the people of this State for the sake of this old relationship. People did not know that Gandhiji was acting under the influence of a mystic power that human understanding could not comprehend; and they did not anticipate that developments in this State would centre on it the attention of the civilised world, that driven by a "continuing agony" caused by the unhappy developments in the Indian States, particularly in this Indian State, he would be undertaking a fast unto death to recall the son of his friend to the sanctity of the pledged word.

Indian States & Indian Politicians

Other ideas and beliefs were involved in this question. Rajkot, a small State in Kathiawar, was to Gandhiji a symbol of the more than six hundred States in India, of the "Indian India", of the ways of life and thought that were or ought to be unaffected by alien habits. These carry in them historic memories, maintain traditions that recall the times beyond memory, reminiscent of India, free and great. These States are like islands in the bosom of British India which is increasingly being remade in the pattern of the West. As remnants of that India the older generation of politicians had a love for these, and in Indo-British political activities made it a cardinal principle of their policy to non-interfere themselves in the internal affairs of States, to oppose and protest against the interference of the representatives of the "external authority" with their internal administration. Instances of such interference during the last seventy years—Baroda, Kashmir, Bhopal, Nabha, to name only a few—called forth protest and condemnation from the politicians and publicists of British India.

New Generation of Princes

Since those days the rulers of these States have been made into new men through the Raj Kumar Colleges under British teachers and instructors ; their Indian-ness is being chiselled out of them ; and many of them, like their contemporaries in British India, feel and find themselves more at home in London and Paris than in Simla and Delhi. In their intellectual interests, in their pleasures and luxuries, they imitate the foreigner, and spend on these the revenues of their States more out of their States than inside the country. The educated Indian, whether prince or commoner, has thus developed certain common characteristics that are not racy of the soil ; he can be said from certain points of view to be enriching by the habits of his life and thought foreign countries and foreign peoples. With the growth and intensification of national feeling in the country this criticism has emerged more prominently into view ; the democratic ideal seeking fulfilment in every-day habits of life, in social and economic institutions, has thrown into bolder relief the disparity between the life of the classes and the masses. These disparities cannot be accepted to-day as in the natural order of things ; world developments challenge the reason and equity of their existence. India, one of the ancients of the world, cannot expect, will not be allowed to expect, that the spirit of the times will leave her untouched. This spirit has the peculiar quality of invading even the household of the prince, invading the innermost sanctuary of the mind of the prince and

making him uncomfortable in the midst of his cushioned life of wealth and luxury. In the old social system this disparity between the life of the classes and the masses was accepted as one of the fruits of *karma*, of *kismet*, of fate ; men and women were taught to reconcile themselves to it as a decree of Providence which was for the good, the ultimate good, the spiritual good of all. The religious systems of the world buttressed this teaching. But the modern man and woman have been presented with another view, another world view, another view of the scheme of things. They have been invited to repudiate the old scheme, to take it up entire and break it into pieces and with the remnants thereof build a new world of equal opportunities and equal satisfactions, of the equal realisation of the promises of the human personality. In the rank of these rebels, believers and agnostics are to be found; believers and agnostics have been increasingly realising that man has not been able to make a success of the opportunities that Nature and Nature's God have placed in their hands. And to the question—"What man has made of man " ? they find it difficult to give a satisfactory reply.

Face to Face with new set of people

It is in the back-ground of these ideas, of these changes, mental and and social, brought about by British methods of administration and enlightenment, of vast economic developments, that the uprising of the mass mind in the Indian States has to be studied and understood. It is part of the larger awakening in India, in the world. The rulers of the Indian States, the majority of them, have not been able to bring the "human touch" to the removal of the dissatisfactions of their people, the human approach that is supposed to be one of the characteristics, one of the virtues of feudalism, of autocracy. Their modern education has created a gulf between them and their people, and the masses of the people do not find in them the representative characters of their ideals, ideas and practices. Added to this was the break-down of the old economic arrangements that has very often thrown them into alien surroundings and relations, and forced them to seek and find occupations unrelated to traditional life. It is due to dissatisfactions created by these impersonal forces that we find the people of the States as far apart as Travancore, Hyderabad, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Ranpur, to name only a few, seething with agitations, and masses of men and women prepared to suffer imprisonment for the assertion of their new sense of rights. In the last three States named above the people were found to have left their paternal homes and taken shelter in British Orissa. About 25,000 people from Talcher lived in improvised huts in British Orissa for more than five months. The Muslims from Jaipur resorted to *Hijrat*, to a life of exile in the city of Delhi, owing to differences with the State. Happenings in these States disturbed the peace of mind of the rulers and the ruled not only in the individual States but outside in British India. Representatives of the British bureaucracy in India were pressing on the attention of Indian Princes that they should take note of the time spirit, that they who had been born to positions of comparative privilege and advantage were required to give a great deal in return, that their duty was "to ensure the well-being and comfort of their subjects first, last and at all times." These wise words are quoted from a speech by Sir Henry Craik, the Governor of the Punjab, spoken to the students of the Chiefs' College at Lahore. Gandhiji through his writings in the *Harijan*

was also pouring his anguished feelings for the rulers and the ruled, for the prince and the commoner, for them to reform and rectify. In one of the issues of this weekly appearing in the beginning of April, 1939, he gave one of the reasons that had led him to undertake the fast at Rajkot, begun on March 3 and happily ended on the 7th :

"Geographically, Rajkot is a tiny spot on the map of India, but the disturbance which I felt called upon to deal with was symptomatic of a universal malady. My endeavour in Rajkot was meant to nip the evil in the bud."

Thakore Saheb's Notification

The Rajkot fast was undertaken by Gandhiji, as we have said, to recall His Highness the Thakore Saheb of the State, Dharmendra Singh, to honour the sanctity of the pledged word, to honour the sanctities of the relation that subsisted between the rulers and the ruled. The history of this affair began like this. The subjects of the State had started a *Satyagraha* movement for the removal of certain grievances, for the assertion of certain rights, the rights of responsible citizenship. They had the support of Gandhiji in this fight, and they had the advantage of having Sardar Ballavbhai Patel as their guide and philosopher. The intensity of the movement appear to have induced the Thakore Saheb to recognise the justice of their claims, and he called upon Sardar Ballavbhai Patel to help him in solving the problem. In a Rajkot Durbar Notification No 50, dated December the 26th, 1938, he declared his will and wish that he had decided to appoint a Committee of ten members to draw up a scheme of reforms, administrative and constitutional. These ten gentlemen were to be subjects or servants of the Rajkot State, three of whom will be State Officers, and the others subjects of the State ; the President of the Committee was to be appointed by the ruler. The draft of the Notification agreed to between the Thakore Saheb and the members of his Council on one side and Sardar Ballavbhai Patel on the other had a paragraph which did not appear in the Official Gazette. The following was the paragraph confirmed in a private letter by the Thakore Saheb :

"It is agreed that seven members of the Committee mentioned in clause 2 of the State announcement of to-day's date are to be recommended by Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, and they are to be nominated by us."

Its interpretation by Sir Maurice Gwyer

The omission of this paragraph from the Gazette was explained thus—that the mention of Sardar Patel in the Notification might be misunderstood by the other rulers—a point of view which Sardarji was said to have "appreciated". On the 4th January, 1939, Sardar Ballavbhai sent the names of the seven gentlemen. A reply to this came on the 12th January intimating that the Thakore Saheb accepted the names of four gentlemen, rejected two as not being subjects of the State, criticised one as unlikely to work usefully with independent opinion in a Committee of the kind contemplated ; it was also said that the Muslims should have two representatives and the *Bhayats* one on this Committee of ten. The *Bhayats* are a class of Zamindars or feudatories in Rajkot. Sardar Ballavbhai in a letter dated 15th January withdrew the name of one person because there was a doubt whether or not he was a subject of the State, but he refused to go any further. On the 21st January the "Rajkot Gazette" announced the Committee which differed in certain of the names recommended by the Sardar ; a communique on behalf of the Thakore Saheb seemed to suggest that he had agreed on the 26th December, 1938, "to consider any recommendations which Mr. Patel might wish to

make." This started a controversy which, as a result of Gandhiji's fast, was referred to the Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer, for interpretation of the draft and Notification of the Rajkot Durbar dated the 26th December, 1938. Sir Maurice declared his Award on the 3rd of April which found that :

"...the true construction of each document is that the Thakore Saheb undertakes to appoint the persons whom Mr. Vallavbhai Patel may recommend and that he does not reserve to himself any discretion to reject those whom he does not approve. He is no doubt entitled to criticise the recommendations and to urge reasons for reconsidering them ; but.....Mr. Vallavbhai is to have the last word."

Nullified by minority tactics

Sir Maurice quoted the relevant portion of the draft which spoke of "a Committee of ten gentlemen who should be subjects or servants of our State, seven of whom would be recommended by Mr. Ballavbhai Patel and they are to be nominated by us" ; and from a comparison with the words in the private letter of December 26, 1938, quoted above, he found that there was "no evidence that the terms of the letter were intended to convey a different meaning from that expressed in the draft Notification." This Award appeared to have or ought to have settled the controversy. But it did not. Because the Thakore Saheb had found himself compelled to accept an arrangement for which "he had perhaps no great enthusiasm," to quote Sir Maurice Gwyer's words, he and his advisers showed no eagerness to implement the Gwyer Award. The Muslims, the *Bhayats* and the "depressed" classes in the State came forward now to claim their representation in the Committee. As the Thakore Saheb refused to agree to an increase in the number of the membership of the Committee or to decrease the number of his own nominees, the new claims for representation could only come from the nominees of Sardar Ballavbhai Patel acting on behalf of the Praja Parishad. Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah put in his spoke ; the *Bhayat* Association did theirs ; Dr. Ambedkar was reported to have been invited by the Thakore Saheb himself to put in claims on behalf of the "depressed" classes of the State.

Gandhiji refuses to insist on Gwyer Award

Faced by the "tortuous politics of Kathiawar", Gandhiji in a statement issued on the 24th of April owned defeat. He gave therein the story of his failure. He described how he had offered to the Resident to forego the right of nomination of members of the Reforms Committee ; how he had suggested that the Thakore Saheb should nominate the whole Committee to report in terms of the Notification of December 26 last ; that the report of the Committee should be shown to the Praja Parisad which could submit its criticism and note of dissent both of which to be sent to the Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India for his decision. The Thakore Saheb, however, turned down the suggestion. In this statement Gandhiji opened out his heart ; he let the world know why he felt impelled to forego the right given by the Gwyer Award ; he felt that he had failed to convert the Thakore Saheb and his chief adviser Sardar Sri Virawala who smarted under the feeling that the pressure of the "external authority", of the Paramount Power, had been exerted on them ; that Gandhiji had been the chief instrument for securing this pressure ; that they had to yield to this pressure. The working of their minds was revealed in a conversation with Sardar Sri Virawala which is quoted below in Gandhiji's own words :

".....When an opportunity came to me I tried to assure Darbar Sri Virawala that I took no delight in invoking the assistance of the Paramount Power. Apart from *ahimsa*, my connection with Rajkot should impose this restraint on me. I assured him that my spontaneous offer to Mr. Gibson was an effort in that direction. He immediately retorted: 'But, if you are not satisfied with his (Thakore Saheb's) Committee's report, you claim the right to scrutinise it....., you want to have the report and the note of dissent scrutinised by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice of India. Do you call this "removing the feeling of pressure?" Why not trust his Highness and his Adviser through and through? You may not get all you want, but whatever you get will be charged with his good will and will carry the promise of full delivery."

These angry words of the chief adviser of the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot appeared to have led Gandhiji to search into his own basis of *ahimsa*.

Advises Rajkot Workers to make peace

And by his statement, by deciding to forego the advantages of the Gwyer Award, he showed that he was in search of a new technique of political warfare which would be true to his "faith in the essential goodness of human nature." This seemed to suggest that Gandhiji was coming to feel that any sort of external pressure, whether of mass action or of Governmental action, did not create conditions for the genuine conversion that was the soul of all real reforms, individual or social. Rajkot has "been to me a priceless laboratory", declared Gandhiji in his statement, wherein he had found the inadequacy of his own experiment with *ahimsa* as an instrument of political action, for the assertion of individual and social rights, for the removal of injustices in individual and social relations, for the enthronement of individual and social self-respect. We cannot say that this confession of failure on Gandhiji's part was relished by many of his fellow-workers and followers, that his refusal to press home the advantages gained by the Gwyer Award was to the liking of many of them. Few were found who appreciated his advice to his co-workers in Rajkot, expressed in the following words :

"I have asked the workers to confer with Darbar Sri Virawala, to forget me and Sardar Patel. If they get enough to satisfy their least wants they may accept the offer without reference to either of us."

Thus did end the Rajkot episode which had threatened a major political crisis in India.

Triumph of sectional interests

To an observer Rajkot represented within a small area all the disunities that disrupted joint work in the whole of our continental country. It brought to view for all the world to see all the separatist tendencies and little conceits that are prepared to put stumbling blocks in the path of progress, in the way of an endeavour to secure the common good. When the *Satyagraha* fight in Rajkot was on, which had impelled even Srimati Kasturbhai Gandhi to throw herself into its fire, the public did not hear that the Muslims of Rajkot, the *Bhayats* of Rajkot, the "depressed" classes of Rajkot as a community or as a class had come forward to suffer or to sacrifice for the common cause of responsible Government in the State. When the fight was called off, on the 26th December, 1938 on a show of yielding by the ruler and the ruling classes of the State, representatives of this community or that class came forward to claim a share in the membership of the Reforms Committee that was to frame a scheme of administrative and constitutional reforms for Rajkot. They could not or did not promise team work with the representatives of the Praja Parishad, the organisation that had organised the agitation for

these reforms. The result of the tactics adopted by the minorities sabotaged the work sought to be done by the Reforms Committee But it did not fulfil even the limited purposes which the minority claims had represented. The Thakore Saheb and his advisers were relieved of the pressure of public opinion in their own State, of the larger all-India opinion which had lined up behind that of Rajkot and had helped to enlist the help of the representatives of the Paramount Power on the side of reform and reconstruction in the State.

An All-India Phenomenon

But this is no new phenomenon in India ; the littlenesses shown at Rajkot is seen spread over the whole of India. It has been halting every forward move in the reform of the State in India. To this spirit, to this spirit of fear or jealousy or ambition, we trace the intensification of communal conflicts and competitions in the country, the malignant growth of suspicion that interprets every action of Hindu or Muslim as directed against the particularistic interests of the other community or class concerned, as directed towards securing unfair advantages under the administrative system, towards capturing the power of the State with a view to consolidate the power and influence of one or of the other community. In successive volumes of the *Indian Annual Register* since 1936, a consistent attempt has been made and maintained to understand and explain the mind or the minds behind the controversies that divide the two major communities in India, that stand in the way of their co-operating with one another, that have raised and propped up fissiparous tendencies in the hearts of these communities. We have traced how under pressure of British methods of administration and enlightenment, under the threat of a cultural submersion, the mind of the Hindu community has tried to reform and reconstruct itself, and has been able to endow itself with social and political institutions that appear to protect their particular interests and to advance their ambitions for their country and community. The early reformers in the community under the influence of mid-19th century rationalism and liberalism in their attempts at reform and reconstruction did not think of their own particular communal interests ; what they preached and practised they broadcasted for the commonalty of the land without regard for caste or creed or community ; perhaps in disregard of the traditions of the country of their birth. We have also seen how contemporary with this awakening there was a great stirring in the waters of Muslim life in India caused by the Wahhabi movement. The Hindu movement, because it drew certain of its inspirations from the West, from non-Indian sources and experiences, could not or did not develop that narrowness of vision that characterised the awakening among the Muslim community in India drawing its inspiration from exclusively Muslim experiences and sources. In literature which was the mirror of the social mind we find this contrast.

History of Muslim Separation

The reformers among Indian Muslims, one of the pioneers among whom was Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan, did from the first put emphasis on the separateness of Muslim interests in the country, on the unique character of Muslim culture in Hindusthan, both of which—material and cultural interests—could not be reconciled or harmonised in a scheme of things which was neither Hindu, nor Muslim, nor Christian, but

was the synthesis of them all. The inability of the Muslim community to evolve a synthetic view, a modern outlook which thought less of credal differences and more of community feeling drawing its sustenance from living as neighbours—to this inability we trace the growth of separatist conceits and interests among Indian Muslims. We know that not all Muslim thought-leaders and public men, poets, philosophers, publicists and political leaders did or do yield to this feeling. Even to-day when the Hindu and Muslim in India appear to be standing in rival camps, to be socially ignorant of one another and politically opponents of one another, there is the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*, the organisation of Muslim divines, the Majlis-i-Ahrar, an organisation of Nationalist Muslims, the majority of Shia public men, the All-India Momin Conference representing the socially and economically "depressed" classes among Indian Muslims, the Servant of God—*Khudai Khitmadgar*—Movement founded by Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan in the N. W. F. Province—all these organisations have been co-operating with the Indian National Congress in the struggle for *Swaraj*, the rule of India by Indians, for Indians. But it would not be honest to say that these organisations did represent to-day the dominant feelings and ideas of the Indian Muslim community. We have to recognise that for reasons known and unknown these organisations have not been able to educate their community into those ideas of modern citizenship which are free from credal conceits. The policy of the Government may be partly responsible for it. But the main responsibility must be shared by and between us, Hindus and Muslims of India, whose traditions have not been able to build up a coherent national life.

An eruption from the realm of the irrational

It is not possible in these pages to trace a full and complete history of this development. Nor is the present writer competent to do justice to this stupendous work of writing a history of those ideas which "possess" the majority of the Muslim community and lead them to speak and act as if they were "a separate nation" in India. A German thinker, an exile from Nazi oppression, Professor Hermann Kantorowicz, in speaking of "the possessive power of ideas" said: "Men possess thoughts but ideas possess them." This was elaborated in the following words by an American professor, Max Lerner of the Williams College:

> "Let us say that we are dealing with the whole realm of what, for lack of a better term, we shall call ideas, the whole intellectual realm. One phase of it is the rational; and here men are in possession of the ideas, using them to clarify their world and subject it to order. The other is the irrational, and here the ideas—big sweeping ideas like racism, individualism, Nazism, communism, democracy—are in possession of men."

Thought Developments in the Western World

Though communalism does not find a place by name in the above quotation, we have no doubt that it is, as we have it in India today, an eruption from the realm of the irrational into the waking life of the men and women of India. To subject it to criticism and to analysis, to chart this unknown region in search of the truth in it and to extract its implications is the duty of the Indian public man and publicist. The ideologies referred to by Max Lerner and quoted above, the systems of

thought and belief that energise our thoughts, make them cohesive, and give them a fighting strength—these are the driving forces of the revolution that confronts us today in the 20th century. Historians of the West who have philosophically looked at developments during the centuries since the Reformation in the Western world have told us that the discovery of the scientific method and its possibilities constituted the revolution in the 17th century ; that the voyage over the realm of reason and the subjection of social institutions to the test of rationality constituted the core of the vast change that over-took the 18th century ; that the discovery of the world as made up of changes rather than as an immutable structure, with ascertainable laws of development both in the biological region (Darwinism) and in the regions of history and sociology (Marxism) constituted the intellectual revolution of the 19th century ; and that the 20th century is confronted with eruptions from the realm of the irrational. The 20th century men and women are thus required to recognise the role of the irrational in human affairs, to take it by the fore-lock and subject it to the guidance of reason, to utilise the insights we get into the core of human nature for the enrichment of human life, for the realisation of its possibilities. Looked at from this point of view, communalism as we have it today in India, requires criticism and analysis.

Hindu & Muslim Mind Analysed

In vol. I of the *Indian Annual Register* (1938) we did make an attempt to understand and explain the genesis and growth of communalism among Hindus, in course of which we traced the history of the National Movement in India and of the contribution made by the Hindus to the political awakening of the country. We conceded the justice of the criticism that the Hindus could afford to be less communal because of the inner assurance that they were the majority in India, recognising at the same time that Muslim communalism has helped to make conscious what was hid in the subconscious region of the Hindu mind. We also said that the nearer approach of democratic government in India has roused fears and ambitions in the mind of the politically dominant section among Indian Muslims. And as it is a popular interpretation of social psychology today that history is a photograph of social consciousness, that history is a record of ideas that are but expressions of broad social and class forces, that history is a record of "the succession of defensive and aggressive movements directed towards class and group interests and power relations", Indian publicists have it laid upon them that they should try to lay bare the social impulsions which push forward individual thinkers and leaders among Hindus and Muslims to stand forth as the prophets of their particular communities, as the organ voices of their feelings and aspirations, as the defenders of their particularistic interests In previous volumes we have tried to do so. But we are enabled to understand better the soul of the differences that divide the Hindu and the Muslim in India today as it was revealed in a speech delivered by the President of the Literary Section of the Bengalee Muslim Literary Conference. Mr. Wazed Ali is a barrister ; at present a Presidency Magistrate in Calcutta. In this speech he took us through a discussion of the many personal and impersonal forces that have

played their part in releasing the conscience of the many castes and communities that inhabit the country from the prison house of un-understood customs, from an existence that was satisfied with dreams of past glory. Naturally enough he criticised the way of life of the Muslim community the majority of whom were following the beaten track oblivious of the changes in world affairs, in Indian affairs. He indicated that the comparative backwardness of the Indian Muslims was their failure to adapt themselves to modern conditions of life and thought in India introduced and created by British methods of administration and enlightenment. The new "climate of opinion", of practice, found the Indian Muslim community unresponsive to the time spirit when the Hindus drew from it strength and inspiration. To this failure to respond to the new atmosphere on the part of his community, Mr. Wazed Ali traced their backwardness ; it was not due to any inherent defect in their mental and moral make-up. And in explaining the cause or causes of this failure, he uttered words that throw a flood of light on the working of the social and class forces that constitutes the core of the communal problem in India. This problem is not confined to the clash between Hindu and Muslim only ; the Shia and the Sunni sects amongst Muslims, the Momin and "Shareef" classes amongst Muslims, the *varna* and *avarna* amongst Hindus—the economically dominant and the economically "depressed" amongst Hindus—all these class and sectarian conflicts constitute the real problem in India, the problem of a social break-down.

Two representative literary men—one Hindu, one Muslim

But what Mr. Wazed Ali has said is important in view of the light it throws on the working of the Muslim mind, of a section of it, in India. In illustrating the awakening amongst Hindus, and contrasting this with the dimmer light in his own community, he put forward the life and work of two contemporary literary men, one a Hindu—Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, the other a Muslim—Abdul Halim Sarrar, the Urdu novelist. They were contemporaries who did the best part of their work in the last quarter of the 19th century. "As a creator of beauty, as a creative genius Abdul Halim Sarrar was in no way inferior to Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya." The former showed in his writings an openness of mind, a universalism that the latter lacked. But it is undeniable that Bankim Chandra wields a deeper and wider influence over the life and thought of India. The reason for this was that the Bengalee literary man introduced into Bengalee literature the fiery spirit of patriotism, "borrowing" it from English literature. This patriotism is the driving force of modern life ; service to, and sacrifice of self at, the altar of the country is the ideal of conduct to the modern men and women. Abdul Halim Sarrar, equally gifted, equally sensitive to the intuitions of his time, could not be the fountain-head of this inspiration, the harbinger of this needed awakening, the law-giver of this ideal. This inability was not due to any defect in his mental and spiritual endowments : it was due to his surroundings, to the "climate of opinion" in which he lived, the air which he breathed. Abdul Halim was a resident of the United Provinces, then known as the North-West Province. He lived his life and did his work in an area where the Hindus were about 90 per cent of the population ; the Muslims, Abdul Halim's brothers in faith, were 10 per cent only.

"The Muslims by accepting the ideal of patriotism would but help in delivering the reins of administrative power into the hands of the Hindus. Therefore Sarrar could not use his pen in popularising the ideal of patriotism. But Bankim Chandra could do it, because he lived and thought and worked in an area, in the then Presidency of Bengal constituted of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, where the Hindus, Bankim Chandra's co-religionsists were about 70 per cent of the population. The ideal-end of his patriotism was the establishment of Hindu supremacy. As a sincere Hindu Bankim Chandra could accept this ideal and place at its service the superb powers of his intellect and the devotion of his soul. Therefore could he dedicate his pen to write "Ananda Mutt", "Sitaram", "Devi Chowdhurani", to write the song of *Bande Mataram*."

Muslims in India and Patriotism

Mr. Wazed Ali's interpretation of this episode in modern India's literary history is true to the now popular theory which said that history in its real sense is a record of the "succession of defensive and aggressive movements directed towards class and group interests and power relations." Therefore he declared that in dealing with the topic of patriotism the Muslim literary men in India have had to face an inner conflict ; to use his own words, they ever walk into a blind alley. Patriotism is the religion of the modern man and woman ; but the literary men among Indian Muslims cannot follow this living inspiration. He cannot do so, because he feels that it conflicts with the material interests of his community ; they cannot endanger these by preaching the cult of patriotism. The result has been that in the absence of a living and vital ideal and purpose the literary creations of theirs are characterised by a narrowness, by a backward looking vision ; and owing to this handicap their literary creations have not been able to rise above communalism ; these have not made any appeal to non-Muslims, to modern-minded Muslims. As an instance of this failure Hali's "Musaddes" can be cited. Men of vision and insight in the Muslim community of India were aware of this handicap. The inspiration of the poetry of the great poet, Muhammad Iqbal, came from this feeling of failure and frustration. And he strove with all his might to pull up Muslim thought and life in India from this rut. He felt that a wider and broader appeal, wider than the sect and broader than the country, would serve as a dynamo. Therefore did he present the pan-Islamist ideal, first placed before modern Islamic peoples by Jemaluddin Afghani, as a cement of a new universalism, as a rallying cry for a new Islam, as the burden of his song. This Pan-Islamism cut through the rings raised by sect and country and race, made a Muslim in China a brother of the Muslim in Morocco. In his *Asrar-i-Khudi—Secrets of Self*—he sang :

" 'Tis folly to take pride in race,
Race pervades the body which is mortal.
Why to search for the essence of community in the land of birth ?
Why to worship the elements of air, water and earth ?"

But the same man sang also :

"Yunan-o-Misra-o-Roma sab mit gaye jahan se,
Baki magar hai ab bhi Hindostan Hamara"

"Greece, Egypt and Rome have faded away from the world
But still lives my Hindostan."

This couplet laid bare the struggle in the heart of this poet of Muslim renaissance in India, the struggle between the claims of country and religion. Even a nodding acquaintance with Iqbal's poetry, of the message of his life's striving, reveal to us the struggle that went inside the Muslim poet who in the later years of his life blossomed forth as the poet of Muslim separatism in India. We can, therefore, appreciate the criticism of Mr. Wazed Ali that the attempt of this singer of "flaming songs to the assembly" of Islam did not succeed as it was hoped. It failed because it came into clash with the realities of modern life. To Muslims Islam as a religion is the centre of community life; Muslims living in different countries are brothers in faith. These are self-evident truths. But as ideals in State-life, the Khilafat and Pan-Islamism are out of date as symbols of State organisation to-day :

The conflict in the Muslim mind

"In these ideals we do not find and feel the stirring of life. In the independent Muslim countries the ideals of community life that Nationalism stands for have been accepted to-day. If we hug to our bosom an ideal that was valid in the past but is almost lifeless to-day, we will fail in our literary life, in our State life."

This is the cruel test that the Muslim community in India must pass through, said Mr. Wazed Ali. Further analysing the cruelty of the choice he said that it is not possible, it is difficult, for Muslims in India to accept and to work for the idea and ideal of an all-India Nationalism—the idea and the ideal of an India, one, whole and indivisible. That would mean for Indian Muslims the acceptance of the superiority of the majority community in India, of the Hindus. But, under present circumstances, no Muslim in India can heartily accept such an idea and ideal, heartily welcome the possibility of their success. At the same time they cannot contemplate the present state of political dependence as a permanent arrangement. What was the way out? As a Bengalee Muslim, speaking to a Bengalee Muslim audience, Mr. Wazed Ali presented to them the ideal of developing the particularism, the uniqueness of life in Bengal, distinct and peculiar. As an ideal of State organisation the people of Bengal will not separate themselves from India or any federation in India. But

Bengalee Nationalism as a remedy

"Our aim will be not an All-India Nationalism but a Bengalee Nationalism equal with others in the free federation of States in India just as within the British Commonwealth of Nations there are enthroned the Canadian, Australian and the Irish Nationalisms.....For us (Bengalee Muslims) this ideal is the way, the only way, to our ultimate good. With this ideal there is no possibility of conflict in our communal interests, in our religious and cultural interests. The same can be said of Bengalee Hindus who are almost equal in number to Bengalee Muslims. In number the Muslims are a majority, a small majority, but in prestige and influence the Hindus are dominant. Therefore both the communities can heartily accept this ideal and devote their energies to the service of their common motherland."

We have noticed Mr. Wazed Ali's speech in some detail because we think that it represents the movement of thought in a section of the educated Muslim community; because it represents an attempt to build up a bridge of reconciliation between two schools of thought in India that appear to be divided on strictly communal lines. He appears to suggest that the concept of patriotism and nationalism accepted to-day in the world,

The difficulties in its way

in India, is easy for the Hindu to understand and accept, because he belongs to the majority community in this country, and as far as human imagination could look forward to, the Hindu will remain so. The Indian Muslim cannot accept and work for this ideal; it is not in human nature to do so. Therefore he suggested as the ideal for the Bengalee Muslim what may be called Linguistic Nationalism, a new cement of human relations. the tie and the bond of language that bind the Bengalee Hindu and the Bengalee Muslim. He did not appear to have any interest in the All-India Nationalism that claims the allegiance of the majority of the modern-educated men and women of India. Because he did not believe and he gave expression to this scepticism in the speech under review that India was ever one and whole, politically and administratively. Even during the hey-day of Muslim rule in India, either during the period when Pathan or Moghul emperors ruled at Delhi, there was no central administration in the country that could claim the allegiance of the whole country, or which was accepted by the many kingdoms and principalities in the country. The less than two hundred years of centralised rule imposed by British administrators over India has not been able to create that oneness of spirit that is the motive power of nationalism. But Mr. Wazed Ali's ideal has its difficulties in the way as the history of the last two and half years has indicated so pointedly. The integrity of the language which we know to-day as Bengalee is not accepted by a powerful section of the educated Muslims; they resent the Hindu ideas and imageries that are abundant in that language to-day, and it is no longer possible to ignore the fact that an organised attempt is being made by them to de-Hinduise, or to put it in another way, to Islamise the language of Bengal. Here is a conflict which Mr. Wazed Ali did not make any attempt to reconcile. In every province and area the Hindu and the Muslim have been wrangling over this question of language, of script, endangering the ideal which has been placed before the country as a solvent of the conflicts and competitions that divide India to-day. Except in Bengal, in the Punjab, in the North-west Frontier Province, in Sind where the Muslims are the majority population and are sure of their position, the Muslims will be the first to refuse to accept this ideal of Linguistic Nationalism. Among political idealists in the Muslim community, there are other ideas and ambitions which Mr. Wazed Ali has taken no notice of. We have in previous volumes dealt with certain of these—the Pakistan Movement, the Federation of Cultures sketched by Dr. Abdul Lateef which was to consist of "Hindu Zones" and "Muslim Zones", requiring vast transfers of population from one region of the country to another.

Communal Division of India

The *Islamic Culture* of Hyderabad (Deccan), a Quarterly Journal published under the auspices of the thought-leaders of the Nizam State headed by Sir Akbar Hydari, in its "Cultural Activities" Section in a recent issue speaks of seven schemes outlined by Muslim thinkers and public men. These are:

Sir Sikander Hayat's Scheme, the Pakistan Plan, the Quinquepartite Scheme of the Nawab of Mamot, the Pakistan Caliphate, Dr. Latiff's Cultural Future of of India, the Scheme of Muslim Federation and the Eastern Afghanistan Scheme.

Pakistan Caliphate

The first scheme was published in the Indian Press on the 30th of July, 1939, and it must await discussion and criticism in the next volume of the *Annual Register*. The others or certain of them we quote below from a summary published in the pages of the *Islamic Culture* as "cultural activities" :

"The Punjab Muslim students dream of a Pakistan Caliphate in the North, Moulana Abdul Wadood of the Jamiat Ulema, Sarhad envisages an independent Muslim State to be called Eastern Afghanistan. The proposed Pakistan Caliphate is to comprise not only Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir and the Punjab, as included in the original Pakistan Scheme but also embraces in its fold parts of the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces and Berar running along with the Ganges right up to Bengal and Assam. Both the schemes aim at establishing an exclusively Muslim State in Northern India. The rest of India is described as *God's Country*. The Muslim Students' Federation which has propounded the Scheme of *Pakistan Caliphate* claims the birth-right of Muslims in North India as their homelands, and in other words, means exclusive rights of Muslims where they predominate. The proposed Muslim State, according to its authors, will be ruled by a spiritual dictator who will be the shadow of God on earth.....in accordance with the injunctions of the Holy Quran. The scheme has already found support among the tribes—Mohmands, Afridis, Waziris, and various tribal areas."

Communal ambitions—their motive power

The direction of these ambitions are unmistakable ; speaking metaphorically these explode ideals like those preached by Mr Wazed Ali. These are not new ambitions at all, as readers of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's book—*India Under Ripon*, published in 1909—can easily understand. The book embodied Blunt's diary of his tour through India in 1883. Ambitions like these burned dim in Muslim hearts in those days, and have leapt into view today. The dream of recovering the reins of authority in the State in India which had slipped from Muslim hands are in the consciousness of many Muslims, modern-educated Muslims, realities of today, within the grasp of resolute men. It would be foolish for Indian public men and publicists to shut their eyes to the sinister possibilities of the schemes of federations outlined by Muslim thinkers and public men. These have revived ambitions, provoked particularistic conceits, and stimulated aggressive activities that would result in breaking up the unity and integrity that have been India's from beyond recorded time. Reformers and reactionaries among the leaders of the Muslim community in India appear to be helpless instruments in the hands of forces that are almost elemental in their sweep and violence. These ambitions and activities have called forth answering ambitions and activities in the Hindu community represented by the Hindu Mahasabha Movement.

Desperate hope of unity

There appears to be no possibility of reconciling these ambitions. The Indian National Congress which has been trying to stand between these, absorbing the force of their clash, trying to act as a mediator, have so far failed in its attempts. And the scene is darkened by clouds of communal bitterness, of misunderstanding, which show no signs of dispersing. Men of good-will both among Hindus and Muslims appear to be getting sick of these bickerings, to be retiring from the leadership of their communities and leaving the field to ambitious people who have forgotten that in the modern world the cement of social life is not supplied by

religious beliefs and practices, that in countries where men and women professing different religions have been living for centuries they cannot afford to be over-punctilious with regard to the observance of their particular ceremonials, that fanaticism in respect of them is not only a crime, it is a sin against the spirit of all religious life. We can only live in the hope that this is a passing phase, that the awakening that characterises the life of the communities will be diverted to activities that will serve the common interests of all. But today, as Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Premier of Madras, said, "no man could speak on these subjects without feeling a sense of despair and sadness." Withal we are upheld by the hope and aspiration given expression to by the same Congress leader on the occasion of the celebrations of the birth and death of the Prophet of Islam organised by a Muslim Association of Madras on May 21, 1939 :

"People of India were often told that they had many religions, many languages and many customs and were, therefore, an unfortunate people on the whole. But it might not be so in truth. It might be that there was a great ambition also to be achieved, and that in the midst of all the variety, they might see the universal truth and the beauty of life. That, if attained, would be a great thing. A very highly civilised people realising the unity of all religions was a great ambition which they had still before them and for which they should work hard and with pleasure. All the troubles might perhaps be leading towards the fulfilment of a great and unique glory in their own country."

Prophets and saints in India have been through the centuries and milleniums of her history trying to build up a composite life out of the varieties of religious experiences and the intuitions of the spiritual realm assembled in India from all quarters of the globe. The perception and realisation of the unity that pervades creation has been one of the gifts of Hindu culture to the store-house of world wisdom and spirituality. And the ambition referred to by the Madras Premier might not be as far-fetched as it appears to-day when India is being rocked on the stresses and strains of communal and sectarian suspicions, fears and ambitions.

Indians in South Africa

We have seen how Indians are not able to present a "united front" to secure freedom in their own home-land. Men and women who are organised in the Indian National Congress have been found divided in counsel, divided in action. The organisation of the "The Forward Bloc" under the leadership of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu is an evidence of this division. We have discussed the ideological back-ground of Muslim separatism in the country. Divided on so many points in their own homeland, it is no wonder that Indians abroad should have had their self-respect insulted and their interests damaged in various parts of the world, near and far. During the six months the events during which form the subject of discussion in the present volume of the *Indian Annual Register*, Burma, Ceylon, South Africa and the islands in the New World, Jamaica and Trinidad, have shown that the Indians whose labour has made the wealth of these countries have become unwelcome to them. In Burma Indian lives and properties have suffered loss ; in Ceylon daily-paid Indian employees in Government departments, about 10,000 of them, have been served with notice that their services were no longer re-

quired, and an organised attempt is being made to drive Indians from the trades and services in the island. In South Africa the ruling classes, one-fifth of the total population of the country, smitten by the conceit of white colour, have declared that the two lakhs of Indians, one-fiftieth of the population, shall either leave the country or shall live in the country as a population of an inferior breed, accepting the badge of this inferiority. For forty years and more the administration of the country, run by Boers and Britons, the former more arrogantly, have been trying through processes of law to reduce Indians to this position of helotry. In the Union Parliament, in its House of Assembly, was being discussed the Asiatics (Transvaal) Land and Trading Bill in course of which speeches were made that revealed the mind of the ruling classes. Dr. Malan, leader of the Nationalist Party, gave expression to the unalterable aim of the ruling classes to segregate the Indians ; the United Party, the Party of the then Government, entertained this idea as strongly as the cent per cent racialists represented by Dr. Malan's Party. One of the items in the programme of the United Party was the following :—

".....the protection of the European population as well as the coloured and the natives against Asiatic immigration or competition, with recognition and maintenance of the existing rights of Asiatics born in the Union or legally resident there."

The Bill under notice required that Indians must agree to live in lands separate from others, that they must not be allowed to acquire lands in "European quarters", that they must ply their trades in non-European quarters. Mr. Hofmeyr, one of the two or three members who stood by Indians in their fight for self-respect and life, said that this "segregation by legislative compulsion"—there has been social and economic segregation all the time—would mean "the economic strangulation of Indians," their extinction in the country, a consummation desired by the vast majority of the ruling classes. Mr. Hofmeyr also said that such an enactment would drive the Indians to join the "Non-European Front" that was being organised all over South Africa.

Story of "oppression and repression"

The threat of this law brought Swami Bhawani Dayal, President of the Natal Indian Congress, to India with a view to enlighten the Government and the people of India of the condition of things under which the two lakhs of Indians—men, women and children—have been living. He addressed public meetings, saw the leaders of public opinion and public life in the country, interviewed Sir Jagadis Prasad and Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, Member and Secretary in charge of the Overseas Department under the Government of India. After more than two months of this work of education and enlightenment, he was constrained by developments in South Africa, by the discussions in the South African Union Legislature of the Bill referred to above, to address "An Open Letter" to His Excellency the Governor-General of India, drawing attention to the disabilities of Indians, of South African Indians, 80 per cent of them born in the Union, and knowing no fatherland or motherland for themselves except this strip of territory within the embrace of the Indian and Atlantic oceans. The letter was dated the 5th of June,

1939, and addressed from Bombay. It gave in a few hundred words the history of the life of Indian residents in South Africa during a period of seventy to eighty years. It is a story of "oppression and repression, breaches of assurances and pledges", to quote the words used in the letter. The first batch of Indians to go to this region appear to be Tamilians and other South Indian peoples. They were sent to Natal to labour in the sugar plantations started by white capitalists. People from Gujarat, from the United Provinces and Bihar followed their foot-steps. The number of these comparatively free-men was augmented by the labourers as and when their period of agreement service ended. These men floated into many a trade in a small way, as hawkers, and as day labourers. The tale of their woe began at this time, about 1885. A hue and cry was raised by the Boer and the Briton, raised on their behalf, that the Indians were and would be wresting the livelihood of the white people by encroaching on the occupations and trades that supplied it to them. Stories of Indian "invasion", of Indian "penetration", of "the White civilisation" placed "in danger", were circulated and received with credence. These fears and apprehensions were sought to be removed by the Gandhi-Smuts Pact of 1914 ending the Passive Resistance Movement which had tested the new technique developed by Mahatma Gandhi in fighting social and political wrongs. This Pact or Agreement was confirmed by the acceptance on behalf of India of the Reciprocity Resolution of 1917 of the Imperial War Conference which was further elaborated in 1918, 1921 and 1923 recognising the right of the Dominions and of India—for the purposes of these agreements India was accepted as a Dominion—to control the composition of their own population. By the 1914 Agreement it was agreed that there would be no more emigration from India to South Africa. This was agreed to with a view to rid the minds of the whites in South Africa of the fear that the country would be flooded by unrestricted emigration from India. This agreement carried the implication that the resident Indian population, the domiciled and South-Africa-born Indian population, would be enabled to live and work as South Africans, would be enabled to rise to the standard of Western civilisation. The Cape Town Agreement of 1927 accepted on behalf of the then South African Government this duty of raising the standard of life of Indians in the Dominion, of helping them to assimilate themselves to the economic life of the country, the duty of discouraging any discriminating treatment against them. But these assurances, pledges and agreements have been treated by the ruling classes of the country as so many "scraps of paper" These have not brought any change in the behaviour of the whites. Swami Bhawani Dayal quoted in support of this unchanged mind a few words of the present Prime Minister of the Union, General Hertzog, uttered "not long ago", that "after all is said and done, we want to get rid of Indians as far as possible." The Asiatic Land and Trading Bill introduced and being discussed in the Union Parliament is an indication of this determination. And confronted by this danger, an increasing number of Indians have been asking themselves, as the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivas Sastri once asked the late Lord Haldane : "...where do we stand in the Commonwealth ? Is there no hope for us ?" Lord Haldane had replied : "No,....., by no means. God forbid this : ..."

Experiences inside and outside India should have killed this "hope." But they have not done so. Swami Bhawani Dayal's "Open Letter" is a proof of this. So is the resolution passed at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Bombay in the last week of June, 1939. The Bill in the South African Union Legislature precipitated an agitation amongst Indians in that country. Naturally they looked to the homeland of their fathers and mothers for help and guidance ; specially to Mahatma Gandhi were their eyes turned in this new crisis in their community's life. For, it was in South Africa that was begun the *kindergarten* training in *Satyagraha*, in non-violent civil disobedience on a mass scale, that has been Gandhiji's contribution to the development of political theory and practice in the modern world. The leaders of South African Indians were agreed that if the Bill became law, and if it was set in motion, they would adopt the instrument chiselled by Gandhiji to fight this wrong. But there appears to have developed differences of opinion among them with regard to the method of using it, with regard to the organisation that should organise and lead this fight. A section of them contended that as the Bill was directed against Indians specially, the organisation of the fight should be confined to Indians alone. Another section, the younger section, the smaller section, contended that this anti-Indian Bill was an expression of the perennial policy of the white rulers of the country, the policy that has been described by the philosopher-statesman of the Union, General Smuts :

No equality in State and Church in S. Africa

"In South Africa we cannot afford to give coloured peoples the same footing as the whites. Our equality is based fundamentally on the doctrine that in Church and State between white and coloured peoples there can be no equality."

Another South African politician, Mr. Huggins, Prime Minister of South Rhodesia, gave a more colourful description of the condition of things in the whole of the sub-continent. The European community was "an island in a sea of black" ; artisans and tradesmen formed the shores, and the professional classes the highlands. If there should be an erosion of the shores by the natives, they would gradually take to the highlands ; this would destroy European civilisation in South Africa. The only safety of the white, of the white man's mission in Africa was, therefore, complete segregation, the natives being allowed to come into the white "reserves" only as helpers and not as competitors.

The Asiatic Land and Trading Bill is an expression of this idea, an instrument for making permanent as far as human ingenuity could do so, this policy. As such, this section of Indian leaders contended that the Bill should be fought with the help of the other coloured peoples who were victims of the same policy. The whites in South Africa, who formed the ruling classes, were a little over 20 lakhs in the country ; the Bantus and Negroes were more than 65 lakhs ; the people technically known as "coloured", the products of white-and-black alliances, were about 10 lakhs ; others were about 5 lakhs of whom Indians were less than 2 lakhs. This division in the social strata has made it possible, made it necessary, that all non-white peoples should combine and fight the evil that is represented by the existing monopoly of State-power

A "Non-European Front" inevitable

by the whites. The feeling of this possibility, the appreciation of this necessity, has been growing among wider sections of the non-white peoples. To the growth of this consciousness was due the organisation of the "Non-White Front" to which Mr. Hofmeyr had referred and which has been quoted in a paragraph above. The leaders of the non-White peoples other than Indians have heen expecting that the Indians would join them in a common fight ; they have been offering help in the impending fight in which Indians would be engaged if the Bill was passed and the law was enforced. A section of the Indian community in South Africa was in favour of accepting this help ; and it was reported that an organisation of theirs was represented by delegates when about 45 organisations of the non-white peoples of South Africa assembled at a meeting to found the "Non-European Front."

Indian National Congress disapproves of it

This aspect of the problem, the attitude that the general body of Indians should adopt towards the fight of their non-white neighbours, became a subject of discussion in India at about this time. At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held in the last week of June, 1939, it came in for debate and discussion. The official draft, the draft put on behalf of the Working Committee, of the resolution on the situation in South Africa, was reported to have been made by Mahatma Gandhi. It contained words that expressed the hope that "there will be no dissensions among them (Indians) in South Africa and that they will present a United Front." The resolution was amended by the addition of the words :

"And co-operate with the inhabitants of South Africa in opposing the segregation policies which are directed against all non-European races."

The mover of the resolution, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, accepted this amendment, and it was passed in this form. Then occurred a curious event. At the end of that day's proceedings, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru asked the permission of the All-India Congress Committee to recall that resolution ; and permission being given the resolution in its original form was placed before the meeting and passed by a majority of votes. This procedure was adopted with a view to meet the objections of Gandhiji and others in touch with the situation in South Africa who thought that the participation of Indians in the common fight against the racial policy of the ruling classes of the country, as proposed and desired in the words used in amending Gandhiji's draft, "might result in adverse reaction in South Africa", might "hinder" the cause of Indians in that country. It may be conceded that Gandhiji's draft would not irritate the nerves of the ruling classes of South Africa, that it might secure the Indians living there some temporary relief, though we have our doubts in the matter considering the original injustice of the whole policy of the South African Government. An analysis of the resolution would show that it desired Indians in South Africa to keep themselves at a distance from the fight that the native Africans have been waging for their human rights, for their rights of citizenship in their own homeland of which they have been kept deprived by the white rulers of the country ; the resolution with the history attached to it, the history of the amendment and of its recall and rejection, leaves the impression in the mind that

the leaders of public opinion in India desired that the descendants of their countrymen resident in South Africa should lead a separate life, separate from the life of the majority of the people in the country; that to secure the integrity of this separate life they should make their peace with injustice and show their disinclination to throw their little weight on the side of the original inhabitants of the country, as the majority of the population of the country, rightly struggling to be free, to regain their rights as human beings, members of a modern State. The resolution exposed the position of Indians in South Africa as that of interlopers who were not prepared to co-operate in re-establishing the reign of law and justice in the country, who were anxious to consult the conveniences of the present regime in maintaining its present arrangements, social, economic and political. This may appear to be a paying proposition to-day. But when the Bantu and the Negro came by their own, as they will surely, helped thereto by the forces of historic developments, what will be the position of Indians in South Africa? The organisation of the "Non-European Front" is a mile-stone in this process. We are not sure that the All-India Congress Committee has been wise in ignoring this aspect of the question.

Unnatural relation between India and Britain

This insult to Indian self-respect, this calculated attack on the material interests of Indians, that have been going on in many parts of the British Empire, and outside of it also, is inherent in the relation that subsists between India and Britain. And until and unless the twist in this relationship be straightened out, Indian self-respect will continue to be hurt, the material interests of Indians will continue to be damaged, and the Indo-British authorities will continue to be helpless in defending and protecting these. It may have been hoped that the arrival of "provincial autonomy" will help to resore confidence, will enable the provincial Ministries to influence the agents of the "external authority" to so behave and so act that the rankling sense of political subjection will find little occasion and opportunity to erupt into view. But there seems to be a provision in the scheme of creation which refuses to accept such a *via media* of conciliation, which refuses to act as an anæsthetic to political discontent. The "external authority" with all the good will in the world cannot fail to touch on the raw the sensitiveness of the subject population. The British representatives of the Government during the last two years that the Congress and Congress-Coalition and other Ministries have been functioning in the provinces, the former in eight out of the eleven provinces of India, have on many an occasion gone out of their way to bear testimony to the success of their work, to their understanding of the limitations of their position, and to their spirit of accommodation.

Invasion of Provincial autonomy

But the unnatural relation between the two countries is the breeding-ground of suspicions and distrust that cannot be sterilised. That this is so was proved by the Imperial Government undertaking the amendment of the Government of India Act (1935) which was an invasion on the little power with which the Act had endowed the provincial governments in India. The Bill was introduced in the first

week of April in the House of Lords by the Secretary of State for India, the Marquess of Zetland. The relevant amendment was numbered clause 4 in the Amending Bill ; by this it was proposed to incorporate a new Section numbered 126-A in the old Act securing to the Central Government of India "essential powers of direction and control" over the Provincial Governments when an emergency due to war was proclaimed by the Governor-General under Section 102 of the Act. This emergency power granted by Section 102 of the 1935 Act had been given to the Central Legislature elected on a wide popular franchise, whereas the new clause empowered an irresponsible Central Government with power to "give directions to a Province as to the manner which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised." It appeared from the speech delivered by Lord Zetland in moving the second reading of the Bill on the 25th of April that the amendments embodied in the Bill were on his request to the Governor-General submitted to the Provincial Governments "for their comment" ; that the "Ministries in three Provinces felt themselves unable to express any opinion"; the Bengal Ministry received "special thanks" for the "thoroughness" with which they had dealt with the proposed amendments, and the Punjab Ministry "for the spirit of cordial co-operation" with which they had met the request for assistance. The speech also revealed that the majority of the Provincial Ministries had raised objections to the "invasion by the Centre of the sphere of authority, conferred by the Act on the Provinces." But considering the conditions of modern wars requiring for success in them certain measure of "unified control, not only of policy but of its execution", the confernment of the new powers on the Central Government of India, powers not only of "superintendence" but of "direction and control", became necessary and justified. Indian opinion could not accept these arguments. It felt and expressed the feeling that the British Government gave tangible proof by this amending Bill of their distrust of the Provincial Governments in India, of their apprehension that these Governments would withhold their co-operation or obstruct war activities in India. This distrust and apprehension were inherent in the policy of ignoring Indian sentiment in any declaration of war of which India would be made a party without so much as asking for her leave. The Bill has thus helped to further irritate Indo-British relations. Technically it might have been right. But in international relations legal and technical correctitude does not play a helpful hand.

Indo-British Trade Agreement

The same incompatibility became manifest in the debate in the Central Assembly, the lower house of the Central Legislature, raised on the motion moved on the 27th of March by the Member for Commerce and Labour in Lord Linlithgow's Government, Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, that the Assembly approved "the Trade Agreement signed on the 20th March, 1939, between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India." In course of the debate the topic of the unnatural relation that subsisted between India and Britain cropped up again and again ; the political dependence of the former on the latter influenced the arguments that could not be kept restricted to economic and financial considerations. A

Muslim member of the Assembly, Sir Syed Reza Ali, deplored this trend in the discussion in the following words :

".....I am afraid the chances of a reasonable consideration of the merits of the trade agreement are considerably prejudiced by the existing position in which India finds herself. India and England are not on equal footing, and, therefore, suspicions legitimately arise in the case of any settlement arrived at between these two countries. If India had achieved her political emancipation and an agreement somewhat on the lines on which the present has been drawn up came up for consideration before this House I am sure a very different treatment would be meted out to it from that which so far as I can see it has received from this House hitherto."

This unnatural relation was demonstrated by the procedure adopted in seeking the approval of the Central Assembly to the Agreement which came into force whether the Assembly approved it or not, making the debate an eye-wash, as clause 16 of the Agreement said that "pending the coming into force of the present Agreement, the two Governments will apply its provisions as far as may be possible." This Clause made Sir Muhammad Zafrullah's motion and the debate following it a waste of time, a weariness of spirit. The motion of Sir Muhammad was saved from total rejection by the amendment moved on behalf of the European Group in the Assembly and accepted by the majority against the opposition of the Government that consideration of the motion be adjourned till the Simla session pending the report of the Committee of the House consisting of a majority of elected members. Many of the speeches of the Opposition members recognised that there were valuable concessions made to Indian interests in the Agreement which required a *quid pro quo*, one of which was the scaling down of import duties on Lancashire goods. But this particular concession to Lancashire came in for the greatest opposition owing to the part played by Lancashire more than seventy-five years ago in using its political influence to throttle the Indian cotton mill industry, though today Lancashire's trade with India was a pale shadow of its former monopoly in India. An estimate has it that twenty-five years back, before the last Great War, Lancashire used to send to India textile goods measuring about 3,000 million yards ; last year it could hardly send more than 200 million yards. These figures are an evidence of India's progressive march in the field of modern industrialism, as well as of Lancashire's deterioration.

Indian thinkers and industrialism

The present is not the occasion on which the history of this progress may be indicated. It does not require much research into India's financial and economic condition to become aware of the fact, to be struck by the fact, that modern industrialism, of which Britain has been the pioneer and leader in the world since the latter half of the eighteenth century till almost the end of the nineteenth, has disrupted the economic arrangements in our country, throwing an increasing number of men on agriculture as the only means of livelihood. India's industries, worked in the homes of the people where men, women, and children could co-operate, were all but destroyed. For three quarters of a century leaders of Indian society were prepared to accept this disruption and debacle as in the natural order of things ; they did not find anything in modern industrial life, in its arrangements, in its division of labour and division of

wealth, which could be challenged from the standpoint of justice, of human happiness, of social peace. The attempts of three generations of Indian economists, industrialists and social thinkers were inspired with the belief that modern industrialism was one of the last and best words in human economy. They might have read of what Dickens, Carlyle, and Ruskin had said and written in criticism and condemnation of the order of things brought into social life by modern industrialism. But these they read as literature without any social purpose and aim, as the expression of the revolt of super-sensitive souls against things as they were in their times. The Swadeshi Movement that ran parallel to the Anti-Partition Agitation in Bengal and which spread over the whole of India in the first decade of the present century, the stirrings of mind and intellect occasioned by these movements, first created doubts in our minds that society as organised under the impulse of modern industrialism might not possess all the virtues that were claimed on its behalf, that many things of value in the material and spiritual world were probably being sacrificed at the altar of mechanical efficiency. These doubts were the first mutterings of a new evaluation of human nature, of human needs. The *Hind Swaraj* of Mahatma Gandhi may be said to be a representative of this school of thought. Since those days Gandhiji with his programme of the *Charka* and *Khadi*, of village industires, affiliated to the political activities in India, has given a new direction to thoughts and activities in the economic and industrial fields in India. His writings, their influence on concrete activities both on the part of the Government and of the people, have become a touch-stone of economic thought and activities both on the part of the Government and the people. To the modern-educated Indian, to the majority of them, however, the programmes associated with Gandhiji's name, appear to be a return to the Middle Ages ; they cannot conceal their impatience with them.

National Planning Committee & Gandhiji

The National Planning Committee appointed in 1938 on the initiative of Sri Subhas Chandra Basu while he was President of the Indian National Congress, and which has Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru as its Chairman, was acting under the inspiration of men who were not enthusiatic over the economic plans and programmes that Gandhiji has initiated. Though the Indian National Congress has Gandhiji as its mentor and guide, we cannot say that it has been able to enlist his support on the side of the Planning Committee. Speculations in the Press hinted at an initial conflict between the Village Industries Association and the National Planning Committee. This became explicit to the public when the correspondence between Gandhiji and Sri Subhas Chandra Basu was published in the middle of May, 1939. In a letter written by Gandhiji from Rajkot on the 10th of April, 1939, he drew attention to the fundamental differences that stood between him and Subhas Babu ; and how the two of them "honestly" saw the same thing differently and even drew opposite conclusions from the same premises. He invited Subhas Babu to agree to differ, and meet on the social, moral and municipal platforms as the same political platform could not accommodate them two ; that has been demonstrated by what happened before and after Tripuri ; and even on the "economic"

platform differences had been "discovered." Subhas Babu understood the drift of this statement, and replying on the 13th of April he wrote as follows :

"You have despaired altogether of our collaborating on the political and economic platforms. You have added the economic, probably because you disapproved of our idea of industrial planning for India even though we advocate encouragement of suitable cottage industries along with industrialisation."

Gandhiji's passive attitude, attitude of non-co-operation, towards the National Planning Committee did not, however, halt its activities.

A Ten-year Plan of Uplift

In the third week of June, 1939, a Note was circulated through the Press for the guidance of the various Sub-Committees that had been appointed to survey the whole of the social and economic life of India. The Note said that the fundamental aim to be kept in view was "to ensure an adequate standard of living for the Indian masses." It was recognised that "a really progressive standard of life will necessitate the increase of the national wealth five or six times." But the Note was prepared to concede "for the present" that the minimum standard that could or should be reached was "an increase of national wealth of between two or there times within the next ten years" It, therefore, asked the various Sub-Committees to so plan out the scheme that "a ten-year limit for the accomplishment of the Plan" might be laid down. The Note hoped that the Sub-Committees would be able to send their reports by the end of October, 1939. The various Provincial Governments have been co-operating in the work of this Committee, making monetary contributions towards its expenses. Among the Sub-Committees appointed was one concerned with the development of cottage industries. Many organisations in the different provinces have been working for this purpose. They are affiliated to or supported by or independent of the Village Industries Association whose central research stations are at Wardha and Shegaon working under the eye of Mahatma Gandhi. Provincial Governments, the Central Government, have their own organisations which have been trying to improve the economic condition of the villagers, to raise their standard of life by helping them to increase the volume of their agricultural output ; they have also been trying through improved marketing arrangements to secure to agriculturists higher prices for their products.

The Masses & the controversies in India

The observer of events in India has to take note of these constructive activities which have for their aim and ideal a reconstruction of Indian life on ideas and plans that cannot afford to be blinded by the glamour of modern industrialism. The village craftsman and the cultivator has his contribution to make towards the enrichment of India's modern life. He cannot be ignored. Without his co-operation, heart-felt and intelligent, life cannot be made better in India. A recognition of this fact is at the back of all the activities that stir the village and the town in the country. In the process of readjustment that has been going on in India the masses have been relieved of many of their grievances as a result of the measures taken by the Governments, Central and Provincial ; many of their rights have been recognised in law, and wait wider recognition in practice. The fixity of tenure of

the agriculturists has been recognised ; debt settlements through Conciliation Boards have been doing the twin work of destruction of rural credit and construction of it on foundations that may appear to be weak to-day. Through hopes and disappointments, inseparable from human endeavours, the wide-awake among the classes in India have been consciously working towards a new order of society ; the masses not so fully roused have been feeling their way towards the lands of promise. The former, confronted by a social break-down, have been wrangling among themselves with regard to the methods and ends of their strivings. The controversies among Congressmen, between Muslim and Hindu, between Hindu and Hindu, between Muslim and Muslim, discussed in previous volumes and pages, are evidences of a great turmoil in the thought-world of India. The masses under the leadership of men who belonged to the higher classes do not appear to have fully realised the inspiration and consequences of the activities they are engaged in. The British bureaucracy have been watching developments, having lost the assurance of former times. This is the Indian scene as it is reflected in the various activities the end of which, for better or for worse, is the re-making of a new India.

Oracles—old and new

The controversies and conflicts in India that divide the classes and masses—what do they represent as a part of the process that has been re-making a new India ? They represent a great dissatisfaction in the heart of a society that appears to have stood immobile through the centuries, that looked to Manu and Mahommed, to their days and to the philosophies, built up by them in response to the search for a new valuation of human thought and human practice needed by the necessities of their particular days. It is asserted that the modern times have created new necessities that required new methods and new social habits to meet them, that the ideologies indicated in the Manu Smriti or the *Manava Dharma*—the religion of humanity—preached in it, and that embodied in the Quran, are inadequate for modern purposes, for the mind and the body of the modern men and women. To the wide-awake among the classes, to the products of the modern universities established in India, the old concepts and ideologies and practices make no appeal ; they feel that no self-respecting individual life, no well-balanced social life, could be built upon them—life that was free from exploitation, conscious and unconscious. For about three-quarters of a century, beginning with the age of Raja Ram Mohun Roy in eastern India, of Dadoba Pandurang in western India, and ending with the years that saw almost the whole world engaged in a competition for suicide, the years 1914-1918—the leaders of the classes in India have been content to accept the leadership of Europe, of the United States of America in every field of thought and activity. The world-war exposed for the first time to their complacent eyes that the concepts on which their intellectual and social life had been reared up were not valid for the needs and demands of modern men and women. An interpreter of European life, Peter F. Drucker, born in Vienna, in his book—*The End of Economic Man*, first published in May, 1939—put the discontents and dissatisfactions in the western world to a break-down of the moulds of social and economic life as it has been functioning since the Reformation,

since the rise of industrialism. He appeared to suggest that the European men and women were in despair with the complexity and terror of the unemployment problem, with the growing cruelty of the war scare ; in this despair they have turned for relief to the non-economic concepts incarnated in Communism, in Fascism and Nazism. Without accepting the validity of this interpretation, without affiliating the discontents and dissatisfactions in our own country to these non-Indian inspirations and institutions, one can still feel that the controversies taken note of in the present study grow out of the break-down in social life as it affects the educated, the modern-educated, classes of India. The ancient oracles of their own country have no message for them ; the oracles from outside their country speak in so many voices that they are not sure which one should they hearken to and follow. Gandhiji has for the last twenty years been holding up an ideal of conduct that the educated classes find it difficult to accept without mental reservations. Younger men such as Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sri Subhas Chandra Basu seek and find inspiration in Socialism or Communism or variants of these ; the latter hopes that under the Indian sky "a synthesis of Communism and Fascism" may be a part of the "next phase in world-history." The masses in India cannot be said to be conscious of the total bankruptcy of their social values. Under the guidance of men like Swami Sahajananda Saraswati they may be dreaming of a *Kisan Raj* ; under the guidance of communalist leaders, Hindu and Muslim, there is danger of their ranging themselves under the ochre-coloured *Swastika* flag of militant Hinduism and under the green-coloured Crescent flag of militant Islam. The appeal of Indian Nationalism is being diverted to other channels ; the appeal to the "Economic Man" may not reach the consciousness of men and women whom non-economic concepts have moulded. These are the impersonal forces that have been forging ahead to re-make India. No student of Indian history as it is evolving before his eyes, can remain unaffected by them, or be unconscious of their growing strength, of their threat to the unity and integrity of the country. He cannot watch these without being moved by fears and hopes, depressed more by the former than held up by the latter.—(*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Dev.*)

SCHEME OF FEDERATION

Allocation of Seats in the Federal Assembly

THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

Representatives of British India

PROVINCE	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	Total Seats	General Seats		Sikh Seats	Mahomedan Seats	Anglo-Indian Seats	European Seats	Indian Christian Seats	Seats for representatives of commerce and industry	Landholders' Seats	Seats for Representatives of labour	Women's Seats
		Total of general Seats	General seats reserved for Scheduled Castes.									
Madras	37	19	4	—	8	1	1	2	2	1	1	2
Bombay	30	13	2	—	6	1	1	1	3	1	2	2
Bengal	37	10	3	—	17	1	1	1	3	1	2	1
United Provinces	37	19	3	—	12	1	1	1	—	1	1	1
Punjab	30	6	1	6	14	—	1	1	—	1	—	1
Bihar	30	16	2	—	9	—	1	1	—	1	1	1
Central Provinces and Berar ...	15	9	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
Assam	10	4	1	—	3	—	1	1	—	—	1	—
North-West Frontier Province ...	5	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Orissa	5	4	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sindh	5	1	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
British Beluchistan	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delhi	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ajmer-Merwara	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coorg	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Non-Provincial Seats	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	1	—
Totals	250	105	9	6	82	4	8	8	11	7	10	9

Proceedings of

The Council of State

THE

Central Legislative Assembly

AND THE

Provincial Councils

AND

Provincial Assemblies

JANUARY—JUNE 1939

The Council of State

LIST OF MEMBERS

President:—Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy

Nominated—including the President—26.

(a) Officials—9.

1. The Honourable Sir Robert A. Cassels
2. The Honourable Sir Jagdish Prasad
3. The Honourable Sir Guthrie Russell
4. The Honourable Mr. F. H. Puckle
5. The Honourable Mr. H. Dow
6. The Honourable Mr. M. S. A. Hydari
7. The Honourable Mr. A. D. Gorwala
8. The Honourable Sir Alan Lloyd
9. The Honourable Mr. Shavax A. Lal

(b) Non-Officials—17.

1. The Honourable Sir David Devadoss
2. The Honourable Sir K. Ramunni Menon
3. The Honourable Sir A. P. Patro
4. The Honourable Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy
5. The Honourable Sir Josna Ghosal
6. The Honourable Satyendra Kumar Das
7. The Honourable Sir Satya Charan Mukherjea
8. The Honourable Sir Mohammad Yakub
9. The Honourable Kunwar Hajee Ismaiel Alikhan
10. The Honourable Sirdar Nihal Singh
11. The Honourable Raja Charanjit Singh
12. The Honourable Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan
13. The Honourable Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-Din Haidar
14. The Honourable Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy
15. The Honourable Sir S. Hissam-ud-din Bahadur
16. The Honourable Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh
17. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Nanak Chand

Elected—Non-Officials—32.

1. The Honourable Rao Bahadur K. Govindachari
2. The Honourable Mr. M. Cr. M. Chidambaram Chettiyar
3. The Honourable Mr. Narayandas Girdhardas
4. The Honourable Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu
5. The Honourable Saiyad Mohammed Padshah
6. The Honourable Mr. Govindlal Shivlal Motilal
7. The Honourable Mr. Shantidas Askuran
8. The Honourable Mr. Manockji Nadirshaw Dalal
9. The Honourable Sir Suleman Cassum Haji Mitha
10. The Honourable Khan Bahadur Alli Buksh Mohammed Hussain
11. The Honourable Mr. R. H. Parker
12. The Honourable Mr. Kumarsankar Ray Chaudhury
13. The Honourable Kumar Nripendr Narayan Sinha
14. The Honourable Mr. Susil Kumar Roy Chowdhury
15. The Honourable Khan Bahadur Syed Ihtisham Hyder Chaudhury
16. The Honourable Mr. Abdool Razak Hajee Abdool Suttar
17. The Honourable
18. The Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh, Of Oel & Kaimarah
19. The Honourable Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru
20. The Honourable Pandit Prakash Narain Sapru
21. The Honourable Haji Syed Mohamed Husain
22. The Honourable Chaudhri Niamatullah
23. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das
24. The Honourable Sardar Buta Singh
25. The Honourable Choudhri Ataullah Khan Tarar
26. The Honourable Maharajadhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh
27. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha
28. The Honourable Mr. Nikunja Kishore Das
29. The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam
30. The Honourable Mr. V. V. Kalikar
31. The Honourable Mr. Brijlal Nandlal Biyani
32. The Honourable Maulavi Ali Asgar Khan

The Indian Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

President :—The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I.

Elected—Non-Official—(102).

(1) Madras—16.

1. S. Satyamurti
2. K. S. Gupta
3. M. Thirumala Row
4. Professor N. G. Ranga
5. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar
6. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar
7. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar
8. K. Santhanam
9. Srimati K. Radha Bai Subbarayan
10. Sri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde
11. Umar Aly Shah
12. Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib
13. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait
14. F. E. James
15. Rajah Sir Vasudeva Rajah
16. Sami Vencatachelam Chetty Garu

(2) Bombay—16.

17. Dr. G. T. Deshmukh
18. Sir Cowasjee Jehangir
19. Diwan Lalchand Navalrai
20. Bhulabhai Jivanji Desai
21. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee
22. Keshavrao Marutirao Jedhe
23. N. V. Gadgil
24. S. K. Hosmani
25. Mahomed Ali Jinnah
26. Nabi Baksh Illahi Bakhsh Bhutto
27. Seth Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon
28. J. D. Boyle
29. B. R. Townsend Greer
30. Manu Subedar
31. Mian Ghulam Kadir Md. Shahban
32. Sir H. P. Mody

(3) Bengal—17.

33. N. C. Chunder
34. Dr. P. N. Banerjea
35. Amarendra N. Chattopadhyaya
36. Lakshmi Kanta Maitra
37. Suryya Kumar Som
38. Akhil Chandra Datta
39. Sir Abdur Rahim
40. Hajee Chowdhury Mohammud Ismail Khan
41. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi
42. Chowdhury Sekander Ali
43. Shaikh Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddiquee
44. K. Ahmed
45. C. C. Miller
46. T. Chapman-Mortimer
47. A. Aikman
48. Srijut Dhirendra K. Lahiri Chowdhury
49. Babu Baijnath Bajoria

(4) United Provinces—16.

50. Ramendranath Basu
51. Choudhri Raghubir Narain Singh
52. Padit Sir Krishna Dutta Paliwal
53. Badri Datt Pande
44. Sri Prakasa
55. Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya
56. Shri Mohan Lal Saksena
57. Sirdar Jogendra Singh
58.
59. Qazi Mohammad Ahmad Kazmi
60. Sir Muhummad Yamin Khan
61. Maulvi Abdul Wajid
62. Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad
63. Mohamed Azhar Ali
64. J. Ramsay Scott
65. Raja Bahadur Kushal Pal Singh

(5) Punjab—12

66. Sham Lal
67. Raizada Hans Raj
68. Bhai Parma Nand
69. Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang
70. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan
71. H. M. Abdullah
72. Sir Mohammad Mehr Shah
73. Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha
74. Nawab Makhdum Hossain Qureshi
75. Sardar Mangal Singh
76. Sardar Sant Singh
77. M. Ghiasuddin

(6) Bihar & Orissa—12.

78. Satya Narayan Singha
79. B. B. Varma
80. B. Das
81. Pandit Nilakanta Das
82. Ramayan Prasad
83. Gauri Shankar Singh
84. Kailash Bihari Lall
85. Babu Ram Narayan Singh
86. Muhammad Nauman
87. Muhammad Ahsan
88. Maulvi Mohammad Abdul Ghani
89. Maharaja Bahadur Ram Ran Vijai Prasad Singh

(7) Central Provinces and Berar—6.

90. Govind Vinayekrao Deshmukh
91. Seth Govind Das
92. Pandit Shambhudayal Misra
93. Khan Bahadur Nawab Siddique Ali Khan
94. Seth Sheodass Daga
95. M. S. Aney

(8) Assam—4.

96. Kuladhar Chaliha
97. Brojendra Narayan Choudhury
98. Abdur Rasheed Choudhury
99. P. J. Griffiths

(9) Delhi—1.

100. M. Asaf Ali

(10) Ajmer-Merwara—1.

101. Rai Bahadur Seth Bhagchand Soni

(11) North-west Frontier Province—1.

102. Abdul Qaiyum

NOMINATED—(39).

(a) Officials—(26).

103. The Honourable Sir Nripedra Sircar
104. The Honourable Sir Percy James Grigg
105. The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan
106. The Honourable Sir Thomas Stewart
107. The Honourable Mr. R. M. Maxwell
108. B. M. Staig
109. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai
110. Sir Aubrey Metcalfe
111. G. H. Spence
112. C. M. G. Ogilvie
113. K. Sanjiva Row
114. J. F. Sheehy
115. A. Brokenshaw
116. V. S. Sundaram
117. S. P. Chambers
118. J. A. Mackeown
119. N. Mahadeva Ayyar
120. Y. N. Sukthankar
121. J. N. Talukdar
122. A. D. Gorwala
123. J. S. Hardman
124. P. A. Menon
125. P. M. Menon
126. A. K. Chandra
127. Basanta Kumar Mukerji
128. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Nur Muhammad

(b) Non-Officials. (13).

129. Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir Jawahar Singh
130. N. M. Joshi
131. Dr. R. D. Dalal
132. Dr. Francis Xavier Desouza
133. Captain Sardar Sir Sher Mohammad Khan
134. Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan
135. Khan Bahadur Sir Abdul Hamid
136. Hony. Captain Sardar Bahadur Dalpat Singh
127. Lieut. Colonel M. A. Rahman
138. Rao Sahib N. Siva Raj
139. Hugh Stuart Town
140. Percival R. Damzen
141. Shams-ul-Ulama Kamaluddin Ahmad

The Council of State

Budget Session—New Delhi—23rd. January to 18th. April 1939

The Council of State session, which opened at New Delhi on the **23rd. January 1939**, was the first Budget session of that House to be held in advance of the Assembly and had a special importance in connection with the Government of India's forthcoming Budget, the last that Sir James Grigg presented.

As a revising chamber, the Council ordinarily begins its sittings some time after the Assembly meets and sends up Bills and other businesses. This time, however, some amount of important legislation, already awaited its attention, notably the Motor Vehicles Bill, which was placed on the table at Simla and had since then been "lying in state", and the Income-Tax Bill passed by the Assembly at its special session in November. The Upper House was expected to make all possible haste with the Income-Tax Bill so as to enable the Finance Member to fix the income-tax rates under the newly adopted "slab system" and incorporate them in the Finance Bill. The Wheat Bill, which imposed an import duty of Rs. 1-8 per cwt. on imported wheat, also awaited its passage through the Council.

Hazaribagh Train Disaster

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* and Mr. *Hossain Imam* attempted to move an adjournment motion to discuss the Hazaribagh railway disaster. Sir *Guthrie Russell*, Chief Commissioner for Railways, said that he would be in a position to make a full statement on the accident a day or two later and he suggested that the motion might be deferred till then. After some discussion the movers agreed, and the President, Sir *Maneckji Dadabhoy*, fixed 4 p. m. on Friday for a debate.

Motor Vehicles Bill

Mr. *S. Roy*, Secretary for the Communications' Department, next moved that the Motor Vehicles Bill, as passed by the Assembly, be taken into consideration. Mr. Roy traced the history of the Bill and said that at every stage in the process of its evolution, the Government were guided by the advice not of railway interests but mainly of provinces through the Transport Advisory Council. Mr. Roy proceeded to analyse the provisions and explain the changes made in the original Bill by the Legislative Assembly. He referred to an amendment by which power of objection to the grant of licence was limited to suppliers of road transport only and was taken away from railways and inland water transport. The other amendment related to compulsory insurance, the operation of which would be deferred till July 1 1943. Interesting figures of insurance premium were given to the Council by Mr. Roy. He said that as far as they were able to ascertain, the annual premiums likely to be necessary for the limits of insurance now specified in the Bill would approximately be as follows: Private motor car: Rs. 76-8. Taxi-cab: Rs. 110. A 20 seater bus: Rs. 183-8. Goods lorry: Under 2 tons Rs. 76-8; over 2 tons Rs. 83-8. In conclusion, Mr. Roy said that he believed that the Bill, if properly worked, would bring motor transport under reasonable control, prevent the use of overloaded or unsafe vehicles, secure better driving and eliminate the habitually dangerous drivers. The Bill had been framed to meet a real public need.

Wheat Duty Bill

26th. JANUARY :—The house passed without division and without any amendment to-day the Wheat Duty Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly imposing an import duty of Rs. 1-8 per cwt on foreign wheat. Mr. *N. R. Pillay*, Joint Secretary, Commerce Department, moving consideration of the Bill, outlined the history of the measure and said that the duty on wheat, which had been abolished in 1937 had to be reimposed last November, because the conditions prevailing in 1932-36 had re-emerged on account of a bumper world crop of wheat and low prices. Mr. *R. H. Parker* moved an amendment seeking to exempt from the duty consignments of wheat or flour entered inwards at the port of landing in British India before 31st. December. Mr. *H. G. Stokes*, Mr. *Kalikkar*, and

Mr. *S. N. Mahatta*, supported the amendment, while Sir *A. P. Patro* opposed it. Mr. *Pantulu*, on behalf of the Congress group, stated that they would remain neutral.

Income-Tax Amendment Bill

Mr. *Chambers* next moving the Income-tax Amendment Bill gave a general explanation of the provisions of the Bill. Referring to the provisions to check what has been termed as legal avoidances by assessees, he admitted some of these as complex, but he argued that if it caused headache to the tax-dodger and his advisers, nobody need be worried. Another object of the Bill he said was to make the tax system more equitable. This was achieved by a change from the step system to the slab system. Explaining the difference between the two systems, he pointed out that under the change effected about five-sixth of the assessees from the lower range would be paying less while about one-sixth of the upper range would be paying more. The next important change was in the machinery for assessment and collection. The present Bill, he said, divided the assistant commissioners into groups, according to the functions entrusted to them, namely, the appellate and executive functions. All these improvements, he claimed, would not only bring relief to the tax-payers but also result in obtaining more revenue which would be distributed to the provinces. Mr. Chambers then explained the principal changes effected in the Assembly and claimed that the Bill represented vast improvement in the existing law and machinery and that it should furnish a foundation to the system which should be as good as in any other country.

27th. JANUARY :—The Council today resumed the discussion on the motion for the consideration of the Income-tax Bill. *Sir David Devadoss*, supporting the motion, felt that the assessment of the income of the wife in a place like Malabar would lead to considerable hardship, particularly because, according to their law of inheritance, it was not the sons of the wife but those of the sister of her husband, who inherited. He also objected to taxing the income of States' subjects, resident in British India, and the agricultural income from Burma. The hon. Mr. *P. N. Sapru* announced that the Bill generally met with his approval. Apart from the fact that it stiffened the rigour of law for the tax-dodger the Bill by providing additional funds would be able to strengthen the democratic machinery of the provinces. He favoured the accrual basis of assessment but not the proposal to give allowances for wife and children. Mr. *Hossain Imam* stated that he wanted the provision for double income-tax relief to be deleted. Mr. Imam pointed out that those concessions were granted not by Indians but by their guardians. He therefore wanted that all such concessions should be withdrawn. Mr. *Chambers*, replying to the debate, referred to the criticism that the bill was a tax-gatherer's Bill and said that the Income-tax Bill must necessarily be so but he pointed out that there were also many provisions which were for the benefit of the assessee. Turning to the argument regarding the aggregation income of husband and wife, Mr. Chambers pointed out that under the Bill as it stood now, only the income of the wife from the assets transferred to her by her husband would be affected. On the arguments advanced regarding the agricultural incomes from States, Mr. Chambers pointed out that at present such incomes were assessed when brought into British India, while the Bill proposed to tax it irrespective of whether it was brought into British India or not. The House then passed the first reading of the Bill.

Hazaribagh Train Disaster (contd.)

The adjournment motion moved by the hon. Mr. *P. N. Sapru* and supported by *Syed Hussain Imam* of Bihar over Hazaribagh disaster was next disposed of in less than an hour after *Sir Guthrie Russell's* statement which appeared to satisfy the House. Sir Guthrie, chief commissioner of railways, informed that he had received the final report of the senior Government inspector of Railways only this morning, through a special messenger. 'I understand from inquiries that it is a document of 60 foolscap pages and refers to many points of detail. The Railway Board will examine this document before deciding upon the nature of the inquiry to be instituted into the disaster. The need for an inquiry has been stressed by the Government of Behar in a telegram to the Government of India, which Sir Guthrie read out. This plea was based upon a resolution passed in the Behar Assembly on Jan. 19. A copy of the debate on this resolution, I understand, has been not yet received from the Bihar Government by the Railway Board. But it is being sent for'. Both Mr. *P. N. Sarpu* and Mr. *Hussain Imam* said that the inquiry should be judicial and impartial, just as the Bihta inquiry was held by Justice Thom and which Mr. Sapru

contended had created some confidence in the mind of the travelling public. Although it was technically a censure motion, Mr. Sapru's speech was couched in a very moderate tone and there was no spirit of censorious criticism. But Mr. *Hussain Imam*, who had visited the scene of occurrence, which he described as a God-forsaken place, inquired what positive efforts were being made to prevent such disasters in future. As regards the cause of the accident of Hazaribagh, *Lala Ramsaran Das*, leader of the Progressive Party, whose letter was read out by Mr. *P. N. Sarpu*, had referred to the several rumours prevalent in Bihar and Mr. *Hussain Imam* was critical of the fact that the engine of the train actually passed while only the coaches were derailed and caught fire. Sir *Guthrie Russell*, however, was more than convinced that it was a clear case of sabotage and went into an exhaustive detail of the condition of the railway track at the particular place. He dismissed the theory of some aggrieved Railway servants being at the root of the trouble, by relating what the general manager of the East Indian Railway had told him quite recently, in Delhi, namely, that no reduction had been made since 1929 on this Railway. The apalling nature of the tragedy was revealed when Sir Guthrie, in answer to a pointed question by Mr. *Hussain Imam*, informed that 21 persons were killed and 71 injured.

That the Government of India will give their earnest consideration to the request of the Bihar Government who have sent a telegram urging the appointment of an impartial tribunal to enquire into the train disaster near Hazaribagh on the E. I. R. in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Bihar Assembly, was the assurance given by Sir *Guthrie Russell*, replying to the debate. Sir Guthrie said that the final report of the senior Government inspector on the accident has now been received which will be placed before the Government and will be considered along with the request of the Bihar Government.

On this assurance the adjournment motion was withdrawn.

INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL (CONTD.)

28th. JANUARY :—A division, won by the Government, marked the closing stage of the detailed debate on the Income-Tax Bill to-day. The amendment was moved by Mr. *Ram Das Pantulu*, who sought to delete a provision in Clause 80 of the Bill which gave the Central Government the power to appoint as an accountant member of the appellate tribunal any person not possessing the requisite qualifications, if it was satisfied that he had qualifications and had adequate experience of a character which rendered him suitable for appointment to the tribunal. Mr. Pantulu said that this provision had caused serious misgivings in the minds of the Associations of Accountants and Auditors that this would be to the detriment of such qualified persons. The amendment was supported by Messrs *P. N. Sapru* and *Hossain Imam*. Sir *James Grigg* opposing explained the origin of the proviso and disclaimed any intention to "pack" the tribunal. He assured the House that the proviso would neither be misused or abused. The amendment was pressed to a division by the opposition and lost by 26 votes to 10. The House thereafter concluded the second reading of the Bill.

The Council next resumed the third reading of the Bill and took up discussion of clause five. Mr. *Santidas Askuran* complained that the Council of State under the present constitution had no effective voice in shaping measures like the Income-tax Bill, although its members were more likely to be affected by its provisions. He felt that such measures should be referred to a joint select committee of both the Houses as was done in England. The *Speaker* asserted that the Congress Party in the Assembly was mistaken in the impression that they had improved the bill by means of the compromise formula. They had not; and provisions of the bill as it was finally emerging from the Council were likely to retard the industrial progress of the country. Mr. Stokes paid a tribute to the Finance Member and his lieutenants for piloting this measure. The Bill contains, he said, a great deal of what was the result of a compromise and as such was a great achievement for the Finance Member who had been able to weld together so many differing opinions.

The Bill as amended was passed and the house adjourned.

INDIAN COTTON CESS ACT

30th. JANUARY :—The Council passed to-day the Bill to amend the Indian Cotton Cess Act, as passed by the Legislative Assembly. The House accepted an official amendment, increasing the number of members of the Indian Central Cotton Committee from ten to eleven, the extra seat being allotted to the Bombay Cotton Growing Industry.

The Council also passed two other Bills, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, namely, the Bill further to amend the Ajmeer-Merwara Municipalities Regulation and the Bill further to amend the Destructive Insects Pests Act.

Motor Vehicles Bill (contd.)

The Council, thereafter, resumed the debate on the second reading of the Motor Vehicles Bill. Before it rose for lunch, the Council had disposed of clauses 2 to 114, with 13 official and three non-official amendments. The three non-official amendments were moved by Mr. *Ramadas Pantulu*, who also unsuccessfully attempted four other amendments. One of Mr. Pantulu's amendments, which was accepted, sought to extend to co-operative societies of private vehicle-owners the provisions of the Section relating to co-operative insurance. Another of Mr. Pantulu's amendments, which sought to give Provincial Governments the power to reduce the working hours of drivers, was rejected, after a debate which brought a rare sparkle of animation to the usually sedate House. The changes proposed by the amendment were an increase in the interval of rest after every five hours, from half an hour to one hour, the reduction of daily hours from nine to eight, and of weekly hours from 54 to 48. Mr. Pantulu based his plea on human and humane grounds.

Mr. *S. N. Roy* explained that similar provisions were proposed in the Assembly and supported by the Government but were rejected, perhaps as a result of the abstention of some members of Mr. Pantulu's Party (Congress). The Government, therefore, did not like to support the amendments in this House. He also suggested that, if powers in the matter of fixing the hours of work were left to individual Provinces, uniformity of rules might be lost and drivers from one Province might find themselves in difficulties in another.

The amendment was lost without a division.

Resuming after lunch, the Council rapidly passed the remaining Clauses and Schedules of the Bill and Mr. *S. N. Roy*, Communications Secretary, moved that the Bill, as passed by the Assembly and amended by the Council, be passed.

The hon. *Sir Thomas Stewart*, Communications Member, replying, reassured the House that the object of this measure was not to strangle road transport. On the suggestion that the Bill was the result of compromise, Sir Thomas observed that he was content to accept the term "compromise" if it meant that everybody got together to pool their wisdom and the result of this pooling was considered as a compromise. He admitted that this long and complicated Bill was not the best possible and that there might be defects, which experience alone could reveal. But, he said, it would do much to solve the problem which it was intended to meet. The House then passed the Bill. The House then adjourned till the 13th. Feb.

Railway Budget Presented

13th. FEBRUARY :—The Council of State held a short sitting this morning when *Sir Guthrie Russell*, Chief Commissioner of Railways, presented a statement of the estimated expenditure and revenue in respect of Railways. (See Assembly Section).

Earlier in the morning, the Income-Tax Amendment Bill, as further amended by the Legislative Assembly, and the Indian Merchant Shipping Act Amendment Bill, as passed by the Assembly, were laid on the table of the Council.

Income-Tax Amend. Bill (contd.)

15th. FEBRUARY :—Mr. *A. J. Raisman*, Finance Secretary, moving that further amendments made by the Legislative Assembly in the Income-Tax Amendment Bill be adopted, pointed out that the Assembly had made three amendments, two of which were of a purely verbal nature. As regards the third, it was entirely in the interests of the assessees. The House adopted the amendments without discussion.

Merchant Shipping Amend. Bill

Mr. *H. Dow*, Commerce Secretary, next moved that the Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, as passed by the Legislative Assembly be taken into consideration. He explained that the main object of the amending Bill was to permit shipping companies to make deductions from the salaries of seamen employed by them, in pursuance of a scheme to institute provident funds for the benefit of their employees. He explained that such deductions were not permissible under the present law. After passing the Bill, the House adjourned till February 18.

DEBATE ON THE RAILWAY BUDGET

18th. FEBRUARY :—The Council of State held a general debate on the Railway Budget to-day. Mr. *Hossain Imam*, opening the discussion, urged that the Railway Department should make all efforts to increase Revenues and reduce expenditure. That they did not do so was evident from past figures. Mr. Imam complained that only those recommendations of the Wedgwood Committee which involved additional expenditure had been readily adopted by the Railways.

Pandit *H. N. Kunzru* felt that there was a greater need to keep constant control over expenditure on the Railways, as the position was not such as to enable them to look upon them with equanimity. The Pandit particularly referred to the Bengal Nagpur, the Eastern Bengal and the Madras and Southern Marhatta Railways, all of which had been showing deficits for a number of years. One reason for these deficits was the costly standard in administration and he advised the Government to insist on these railway administrations cutting down expenditure to reasonable limits.

Sir Thomas Stewart, after thanking those who had congratulated him, referred to the difficulty of adequately winding up a debate such as the one that had been held to-day. It was not possible for him to touch on all the topics that had been mentioned during the debate. He apealed in conclusion for patience from critics. The railways were doing their best and that best was pretty good best. The House then adjourned till the 20th.

EXCLUDED AREAS INTO NORMAL AREAS

20th. FEBRUARY :—Non-official Bills and resolutions figured on the order paper of the House when it met this morning. Mr. *Ramlas Pantulu* moved the first resolution recommending to "the Governor-General in Council to intimate to His Majesty's Government the wish of this House that all the partially excluded areas and excluded areas within the boundaries or adjoining the boundaries of the provinces in India be converted into normal areas governed by the normal administrative machinery of the respective provinces and declared as parts of the province concerned as soon as possible."

Sir Jagdish Prasad, on behalf of the Government, opposed the resolution on the ground that the British Parliament had not had sufficient experience of the working of the new administrative machinery created for the areas under the Government of India Act. He refuted the allegation that there was any imperialist design in creating these areas and explained that the constitution provided that neither partially excluded areas could be converted into wholly excluded ones nor their area be enlarged. The resolution was rejected without division.

POLYGAMY RESTRAINT BILL

Kumar Susil Kumar Roy Chowdhury, in moving the select committee motion for his bill to restrain polygamy in British India, said that opposition to the bill would come from Muslims most. He assured the Muslims that in the event of the Council adopting his motion, he would move for the exclusion of Muslims from the operation of the bill in select committee.

Mr. *Puckle*, Home Secretary, opposed the motion. He said that the policy of the Government was that the bills which went to the root of social customs and religious beliefs should not be supported unless they had the support of the majority community which was likely to be affected by it. This condition was not fulfilled in the case of the bill now before the House. Therefore, the Government could not support it. He said that the provincial Governments today were more representative of the people of India than the Central Legislature was. Opinions on the bill showed that a majority opposed it. The motion was rejected. The Council then adjourned till February 23.

GOVT. PURCHASE OF SWADESHI GOODS

23rd. FEBRUARY :—The Council also met this morning to discuss non-official bills and resolutions. Mr. *V. Ramdas Pantulu* moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council : (1) to make it obligatory for Government offices connected with the Central Government to use only Swadeshi articles if available in India for office equipment ; and (2) to discontinue the use of *bideshi* articles in these offices unless they are such as are not manufactured in India and are absolutely necessary. Mr. *M. S. A. Hydari*, labour secretary, said that subject to two conditions being incorporated in the resolution, he would accept it on behalf of the Government. These conditions were that Swadeshi articles must be of the requisite quality and price. The resolution as amended was adopted.

Hindu Monogomous Marriages

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* moved the second resolution asking for a committee to enquire into and report on the question of the desirability of a legislation for rendering Hindu marriages strictly monogamous providing for their registration and dissolution under certain conditions. Sir *Ramuni Menon* had no objection to the resolution but he differed with the method of approach to the problem. Mr. *Shivlal Motilal* moved an amendment and he did not anticipate much opposition to this reform which he said was overdue. He said as the law stood today a Hindu could marry any number of wives. This state of affairs must be ended. *Syed Hossain Imam* had no objection to the resolution provided it affected the Hindu community alone. Mr. *V. Ramdas Pantulu* assured the House that the Congress party would whole-heartedly support the resolution. As a matter of fact, by an amendment moved by one member of his party, they had gone further than the original resolution. The resolution, he said, did not ask for a legislation but only for a committee of enquiry to ascertain if the legislation was desirable and was demanded by the public.

Mr. *F. H. Puckle*, Home Secretary, opposed the resolution on behalf of the Government. He said the resolution was too comprehensive and would provide quite an unmanageable job for a single committee. Then, again, the committee of enquiry as suggested was undesirable. Fear was expressed in some quarters that the reforms suggested might make the lot of Hindu women harder just as the Sarda Act led to more child marriages. Moreover, the committee would never come to such unanimous decisions as would enable the Government to undertake the drafting of a Bill. The resolution was rejected without a division.

The Navy Discipline Bill

7th. MARCH :—The Council took up to-day the Indian Navy Discipline Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General. The Bill had been thrown out by the Legislative Assembly in the original as well as in the certified form. *H. E. the Commander-in-Chief*, moving that the Bill be taken into consideration, said that it was a short and simple one. In brief, it was designed to enable the naval reserve forces, when they were formed to be brought under naval discipline. It was, in fact, an extension of the provisions of the Indian Naval Discipline Act of 1934 to these reserves. The Government already had power to raise the reserves under the provisions of the Government of India Act, but it must take power to bring them under naval discipline and this was all that was now required.

His Excellency proceeded to explain in detail the composition of the four reserve forces proposed to be created and pointed out that the full strength of these forces would not be reached in less than eleven or twelve years and would most likely not exceed fifteen or sixteen hundred officers and men. All the ratings would be possible to secure a substantial Indian majority in the Officer ranks. Explaining the clauses of the Bill, His Excellency referred to the distinction made between failure to attend training and failure to attend when called into actual service. The provision regarding evidence of failure to attend laid down that a certificate purporting to be signed by an officer appointed in this behalf under the rules, stating that the member concerned failed to attend, shall, without proof of the signature or appointment of the Officer, be evidence of the matter stated therein. An analogy, said His Excellency, was to be found in the acceptance by courts of certificates issued by Chemical Examiners. To require the officer to appear before a court every time he issued a certificate would be impracticable during war time.

The Council passed the Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General by 28 votes to 11.

Discussion on Railway Budget (contd.)

9th. MARCH:—General discussion on the railway budget was resumed to-day. Mr. *Hossain Imam* opened the attack on the budget and directed his criticism at detailed points. He condemned the 'raid' on the revenue reserve fund in the financial year 1937-38, and said that the deficit in 1938-39 was much greater than that declared, because Rs. 38 lakhs, which were due to the provinces, had not been paid and should, therefore, have been added to the deficit. He welcomed the doubled import duty on raw cotton.

Mr. *V. Ramdas Pantulu* said that taking into account all the circumstances, both national and international, the budget was not to his mind unreasonable. He, however, opposed the imposition of an added duty on raw cotton. He contested the assertion of the Finance Minister that the expenditure on defence as compared to other countries, was very low and illustrated his argument by saying : 'If you take one rupee from a man

whose earning was Rs. 8 only the deprivation of one rupee is serious, while if you take one million rupees from a man who earns eight millions, the loss will be comparatively less.'

Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das, leader of the Opposition, declared that the Finance Member had under-estimated yields, both from the excise duty on sugar and income-tax. Had Sir James Grigg not indulged in this under-estimation there would have been no budgetted deficit. The speaker advocated an enhancement of the import duty on foreign piecegoods and was of opinion that the import of machinery and textile goods should not be overtaxed.

Mr. *R. H. Parker* did not believe that if the British connection was severed, India would be in a position to borrow either internally or externally on a six per cent. basis. He reminded the House of his warning to the Finance Member to expect diminishing return with Customs on account of the existing high level of customs duties. Mr. Parker urged on the government to reduce the taxation of motor transport which, he thought, would greatly assist to increase the prosperity of the country and would bring them ample compensation in other forms. The speaker placed before the House the views of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce on the proposed increase of the duty on cotton. The Chamber feared, concluded Mr. Parker, that the inclusion of this tax in the budget might spoil any chance that there was, of the central legislature accepting the proposed Indo-British Agreement.

Rai Bahadur S. N. Mahata described the budget top-heaxy in character, burdensome to the taxpayer and step-motherly in treatment to nation-building activities, though he admitted that it had certain more pleasant features than its predecessors.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* gave the budget a mixed reception. He said that the main problem of India was to provide avenues of employment and livelihood for the growing millions of the population. He hoped that the Marquess of Linlithgow's immediate sympathetic intervention in Rajkot to save the life of India's greatest man was an indication of a change for the better attitude of the Government of India. From the standpoint of principle, Mr. Sapru considered the doubling of the duty of raw cotton both unsound and unjust. He pleaded for greater co-operation between all Finance Ministers of India and suggested a conference to discuss the question of a coordinated financial policy. We have in India not one Grigg but eleven. (*Sir James Grigg*—No, No, No).

Sir James Grigg, in reply, rebutted the accusations of step-motherly treatment to the development departments. Referring to the other accusation of having no regard for the needs of the provinces, Sir James Grigg declared that his object had been to start provinces on their autonomous way with as good chances of solvency as could be desired. As for the difficulty caused by the concurrent field of taxation, the Finance Member pointed out that if and when the proceedings of the last Finace Ministers' conference at Delhi were disclosed, it would be found that the proposals were made to meet that difficulty and those proposals would be feasible even now inspite of the Federal Court judgment. There was, he declared, no question of dropping the Finance Ministers' Conference, but his preoccupations with the Income-tax Bill made it impossible to hold a conference again. Defending the increased import duty on raw cotton, the Finance Member referred to two extenuations, firstly, consideration that one of the conditions prescribed for the grant of protection was abundant supply of raw material, and secondly, on the ground of financial necessity. Needs must be met when the devil drove and he assured the House that the devil that drove was not Lancashire's but Finance. The duty would have the incidental effect of helping the grower and was least burdensome. He was credibly informed that the effect of the duty in the case of the mills, which used entirely imported cotton, would be one pie per yard of cloth in retail price and the average effect on the whole industry would be one-third to one fifth of a pie per yard of cloth. A countervailing duty on imported cloth and yarn demanded by many critics would bring no gain, but would only accelerate the decline of the import of Lancashire goods which four years ago produced Rs. 287 lakhs, but had not shrunk to Rs. 100 lakhs. Turning to the criticisms of the defence budget, Sir James Grigg pointed out that the Chatfield report might make radical transformation in the solution of the military problem of India and until that transformation had taken place it was idle to answer questions ; answers would be out-of-date very soon. He however invited the hon. members to consider whether India's expenditure on defence of three or four per cent. of the total national income was to be regarded disproportionate, even allowing for her financial economic condition, when it was known that Great Britain spend on defence 12½ per cent., and Germany 25 per cent. of the national incomes.

PROHIBITION IN REFRESHMENT ROOMS

13th. MARCH :—The Council met today to consider the non-official resolutions. Mr. *Ramdas Pantulu* moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council that the sale of alcoholic liquors in the refreshment rooms situated in railway stations to the public be prohibited and no such liquors be supplied in such refreshment rooms except to those who held a license or permit issued by the prescribed authority authorising the person holding a license to consume or possess to personal consumption.

Mr. *A. J. Raisman*, finance secretary, intervening early in the debate, said that the state of affairs pervailing in the railway areas was different from those areas in which they were situated, but he pointed out that it was perfectly within the jurisdiction of the provincial Governments to deal with refreshment rooms selling liquors in railway areas just as they dealt with other liquor shops outside the station area. Mr. Raisman refused to be drawn into argument regarding the effect of prohibition on the finances of the various Governments concerned. Prohibition was still in an experimental stage and the best thing for them would be to wait and see what happened. Even if they subsequently decided to start prohibition the Government would not certainly make a start with refreshment rooms in railway areas. The resolution was rejected without division.

WAGE STATISTICS

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council to amend the law to make it compulsory for employers in protected industries to submit annually a statement of their annual wage bill. Mr. Sapru pointed out that the object of the resolution was to promote industrial harmony by eliminating the causes of friction between employers and employees. He thought that keeping wage statistics would facilitate immediate intervention by labour commissioners if any labour dispute arose.

Mr. *M. S. A. Hydari*, labour secretary, said that the scope of the resolution was restricted to protected industries while the present practice was that a register of wages was being maintained by every factory coming under the purview of the Factories Act and was open to inspection by Government inspectors. He added that the provincial Governments had been asked to supply relevant figures for the compilation of reports on the working of the Payment of Wages Act.

Mr. *Sapru* withdrew his resolution.

INDIAN MUSLIMS' DIVORCE BILL.

Mr. *Mohamed Yakub* moved that the Indian Muslims' Divorce Bill, as passed by the Assembly, be taken for consideration and passed. Sir Mohamed said that it would have been an ideal state of affairs if the administration of the provisions of the Bill could be entrusted to Muslim *quazis*. He made it clear that this opinion was not based on any suspicion regarding the integrity of non-Muslim judges, but on the ground that certain functions relating to marital affairs could only be performed by a religious head of the community. He, however, could not lose sight of the practical difficulties in giving effect to this principle to which Muslims attached a great deal of importance.

The House passed the Bill as passed by the Assembly after rejecting three amendments moved by Mr. *Hussain Imam* including one seeking addition of a new clause to the effect that the suits filed under this Act should be transferred to the court of a Muslim officer when available or otherwise the district judge should try them himself.

OTHER NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

Kunwar Haji Ismail Ali Khan introduced a Bill to make better provision for the administration of Masjids and the endowment of Jama Masjid, Fatehpuri Masjid and the Kaln Masjid of Delhi.

The House next agreed to circulate the Bill amending the Parsi Marriage Divorce Act of 1936 for the purpose of eliciting opinion on it.

Mr. *G. S. Matilal* moved a bill to provide for the submission of certain statements by the companies incorporated in or carrying business in India to be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon.

Mr. *Dow* opposed the circulation of the bill on the ground that it was unnecessary as the opinions received by the Government since the introduction of the bill were all hostile. The collection of this kind of information desired could not be

expected from many companies and even if it was supplied it would be highly inaccurate. He, therefore, suggested that the proper way for proceeding in the matter would be to seek the expansion of the relative clauses of the Income tax Act.

The House rejected the circulation motion and adjourned till March 16.

DISCRIMINATION IN KENYA

16th. MARCH :—Non-official Bills and resolutions figured on the agenda when the Council met this morning. The whole lunch sitting was occupied with a discussion on *Mr. H. N. Kunzru's* resolution, recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council to convey to his Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom the feelings of indignation and resentment with which the Kenya Highlands Order-in-Council, which involved discrimination against Indians, was received in this country. Speeches, expressing indignation at the attitude of the British Government suggesting retaliatory action, were made, the only dissentient voice being Mr. R. H. Parker. Mr. *H. N. Kunzru* appreciated the efforts of the Government of India to advance the cause of Indian settlers in Kenya though he regretted that they had not met with success. Mr. Kunzru regarded the establishment of a Highland Board with a European majority thereon as the most objectionable feature of the Order. Mr. Kunzru added : 'We all are citizens of the Empire, but are being discriminated against in the territories administered by his Majesty's Government, discrimination not in favour of Britishers alone but all Europeans, irrespective of the fact whether they had come from a country friendly or hostile to Britain.

Sir Jagdish Prasad hoped that things in Kenya would improve in time to come. His own conviction was that as the constitutional advance in India progressed the position of Indians abroad would improve. Sir Jagdish asked the House to face difficulties with a feeling of hope and not give way to anger. He assured them that efforts to secure justice to Indians would be continued and the Indian cause would be pressed. Sir Jagdish hoped that racial animosity would disappear and Indians would have no cause to feel humiliated in any part of the British commonwealth. Replying to the one specific point raised, he said that so far as he knew, the function of the Highlands Board in relation to Indian property would be advisory. The resolution was carried, the Government not opposing.

INDIAN COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

Mr. *G. S. Motilal* moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General-in-Council that the scale of pay of all Indian commissioned officers at initial stages until Rs. 600 was reached, which was inadequate, should be suitably revised. He said that I. C. O. drew only Rs. 300 monthly during the first two years' service of which he had to spend Rs. 270 for mess and band charges ; thus he was left with Rs. 30 only with which he was expected to maintain himself on the requisite standard.

The *Commander-in-Chief*, replying to the debate, said that it was generally accepted that officers of any service serving in their own country should be given less salaries than foreign confreres. Indian commissioned ranks of the Army originally received as much salary as British colleagues but with the increase in the number of Indians it was decided that Indian officers should approximately receive rank for rank what British officers were getting in Britain. His Excellency quoted figures to show that Indians had not been ungenerously treated. He also pointed out that the difference between the emoluments of British and Indian officers of the same rank existed in all services not peculiar to the army of India alone. Of the two alternative while raising the pay of Indian commissioned officers was unjustifiable in view of the insistent demand for reduction in the cost of the Army in India, the lowering of the scale of pay of King's commissioned officers would not be fair for British officers.

Mr. *G. S. Motilal* withdrew the motion with the permission of the House.

ADMINISTRATION OF MOSQUES IN DELHI

On the motion of *Kunwar Haji Ismail Ali Khan*, the Council agreed to circulate for eliciting opinion on the Bill to make better provision for the administration of mosques in Delhi. Mr. *Puckle*, Home secretary, informed the House that the Government's attitude be determined by the views received. The Council at this stage adjourned till March 22.

STANDARD WEIGHTS FOR BR. INDIA

22nd. MARCH :—The Council held a brief sitting of thirty minutes to-day during which it passed five official bills, recently passed by the Legislative Assembly. Mrt *H. Dow*, Commerce Secretary, moving that the bill to establish a standard weigh.

throughout British India be taken into consideration, explained that the question of prescribing a scale of standard weights and measures throughout British India had been under consideration of the Government of India from time to time. The constitutional position was that the Central Government was responsible for the establishment of standards of weights, while provincial governments were concerned with weights and measures. The Bill, which had the entire support of provincial governments, prescribed standards. The enforcements of the use of weights passed on these standards was a matter for provincial governments. Mr. Dow informed the House that several Governments had the necessary legislation and were awaiting the passage of this bill. The Bill was passed.

INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING AMEND. BILL

Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad next moved that the Bill to further amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act be taken into consideration. He explained that under the existing law children under one year of age were not taken into account for the purpose of computation of pilgrims to be carried on a pilgrim ship and were not allotted any space. This was in conflict with the provisions of the international sanitary convention. He further explained that all ships from Netherlands and Egypt conformed to this convention. The Bill was passed.

INSURANCE ACT AMEND. BILL

Mr. *H. Dow* moved that the Bill to amend the Insurance Act be taken into consideration. He pointed out that the Bill made no mental changes in the law recently passed by the Central Legislature. It only remedied certain technical defects, which were discovered during the detailed examination of the Act.

PROTECTION OF DESIGNS BILL

Mr. Dow moved that the Bill further to amend the law relating to the protection of inventions and designs be taken into consideration. He explained the necessity for amending the law in order to put a stop to the import of goods bearing pirated signs registered under the Indian Patents and Designs Act. The Bill was passed.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AMEND. BILL

Mr. *M. S. A. Hydari*, Labour Secretary, moved that the Bill further to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act be taken into consideration. Mr. Hydari pointed out that conflicting decisions of High Courts had raised doubts as to whether on account of expression "employed on monthly wages" occurring in the definition of "workmen" in the Act a worker whose wages were paid otherwise than by the month or on a monthly basis could under any circumstances claim the benefits of that Act. That a worker should be debarred on that ground alone was never the intention of the Act and hence the Bill. The Bill was passed.

COTTON GINNING & PRESSING BILL

Mr. *Dow* lastly moved that the Bill to amend the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Act be taken into consideration. He pointed out that the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Act was passed with the object of putting the trade in a position to protect itself against certain malpractices. It had been represented to the Government that a rigid application of the Act conferred on a person, who made a contract for the purchase of baled cotton, the right to reject a bale in fulfilment of a contract if it was not marked as required by the law, thereby causing great hardship to trade. The Bill so amended the particular section of the Act as to limit the right of a purchaser to reject a bale. The Bill was passed and the Council was adjourned.

INDIAN RECRUITMENT TO RAILWAYS

23rd. MARCH :—An interesting discussion ensued to-day on *Pandit Kunzru's* resolution, which urged the Government to take steps to bring about a substantial increase in recruitment of Indians of pure descent to the senior subordinate services controlled by Class I railways and the Railway Board and, to provide the same amenities to Indian employees as are provided for Anglo-Indian employees. Pandit Kunzru explained that his resolution referred to disabilities suffered by Indians in respect of employment and amenities. Speaking on the disabilities in respect of employment, Pandit Kunzru showed by figures how the Anglo-Indian community had enjoyed a preponderance in certain branches of railway service. Indians, it was true, had secured more places during the last ten years, but it was at the expense of Britishers, while the position of the Anglo-Indian community had remained unchanged. He asked whether it was a wise policy to allow

a particular community to enjoy a position of monopoly in any service. *Sir Guthrie Russell*, Chief Commissioner for Railways, quoted the Government Resolution to show that, in the matter of Indianisation, Anglo-Indians were to be treated as Indians. He also quoted figures to show that there had been no discrimination both in the matter of employment and amenities against Indian employees of railways. Proceeding, he said :—"It is true that in certain categories of service Anglo-Indians were in a preponderance, but it was solely due to paucity of suitable Indians forthcoming for the posts. I however assure the Council that times have changed and so have the figures of employment. Twenty-five years ago when I came out to India, there was hardly any Indian occupying a place of responsibility on Railways. It will be admitted that was not so to-day. The Government, however, were doing their best to improve things. But the remedy largely lay in the hands of Indians. They must come in larger numbers to fill up places." The resolution was rejected by 26 votes against 15.

PROTECTION OF IND. MERCANTILE MARINE

The Council unanimously adopted Mr. *P. N. Sapru's* resolution, which received support from all sections of the House including the official benches, asking the Government to take more active steps for the expansion and protection of the Indian Mercantile Marine. Mr. Sapru desired to know what progress had been made in this direction since the adoption of a non-official resolution on the subject in 1935. He also wanted to know to what extent Indian tonnage had displaced British tonnage both in Indian waters and in overseas trade. Pointing out that the Bhore Award, which had initiated the policy of mutual co-operation and adjustment, was due to expire this year, Mr. Sapru pleaded that, from this point of view also, it was necessary to take stock of the situation. Among the steps recommended by Mr. Sapru to achieve the end in view, were reservation of the coastal trade for Indian shipping concerns, the granting of a subsidy, and the fixation of maximum and minimum rates of freight. But he regretted that the Government of India had been debarred from taking any action on the lines suggested by the Commercial discrimination clauses of the Government of India Act. The mover also regretted that the Government had done nothing for Indian shipping when entering into a fresh trade agreement with Great Britain. Concluding, he referred to the international situation, and observed that the mercantile marine could always be regarded as a second line of defence.

Mr. *H. Dow*, Commerce Secretary, who spoke on behalf of the Government, started by announcing that he was not going to oppose the resolution. He, however, regretted that the general burden of the song was, that hitherto the Government had done nothing to advance the interests of Indian concerns, and cited the instance of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company which, from small beginnings, had, during the last twenty years, become a powerful concern. He also pointed out that the Government had entirely Indianised recruitment to the Bengal Pilot Service, which was a very important service. Mr. Dow further informed the House that the Government had spent over a quarter of a crore of rupees on the "Dufferin" since its institution, to provide facilities for training Indian cadets. Turning to the complaint that British shipping concerns were not employing an adequate number of Indian cadets, Mr. Dow remarked that it appeared as if Indians were not being trained for the Indian Mercantile Marine. How could any one reasonably expect, he asked, that British Companies, which were threatened to be ousted from the field with the development of the Indian Mercantile Marine, would take on Indians cadets, and thus in a way contribute to their own expulsion ? Nevertheless, British concerns had tried to help the formation of the Indian Mercantile Marine by taking cadets from the "Dufferein".

Referring to the agreement between the Scindia Company, and two British companies, Mr. Dow said, that it would soon come to an end, and if the parties concerned met each other in a spitit of co-operation, they would be able, he hoped, to evolve an agreed plan without requiring the assistance of the Government. The new agreement might give Indian companies some share in the overseas trade. It was no use Government fixing the fare, as it was difficult, nay, practically impossible, to enforce it and ensure that it was not altered in some way or other. He regretted that there was no hope of the Government granting any subsidy to Indian shipping concerns ; nor could the Government reserve coastal traffic for them under the provisions of the 1935 Constitution Act.

POWER TO WITHHOLD TELEGRAMS

Mr. *Hossain Imam* next withdrew his resolution, which asked for repeal of the Indian Telegraph Act, and the rules made under it in respect of the censoring or stop-

page of messages. Mr. *Puckle*, Home Secretary, in this connection, explained that the power vested in Government by the Telegraph Act had very rarely been exercised by the Government. In regard to the power vested in the telegraph officers by telegraph rules, the Home Secretary pointed out that in almost every case, the telegraph authorities consulted the civil authorities of the place before taking any action. The civil authorities, however, only tendered advice, and the responsibility for withholding a message entirely rested with the Telegraph Department. In regard to refund, it was given, if applied for in case a message was withheld under the Telegraph Act.

Intestate Succession Among Parsis

The Council then passed, with two amendments, both moved by the mover, Mr. *M. N. Dalal's* Bill to amend the Indian Succession Act in respect of intestate succession among Parsis. The House then adjourned.

Certified Finance Bill Discussed

25th. MARCH :—The Council of State held the briefest sitting of the session this afternoon. It sat for exactly seven minutes, during which the Chair read two messages from the Governor-General. In one His Excellency had stated that the Legislative Assembly had failed to pass the Finance Bill in the form recommended and in the other he certified that the passage of the Bill was essential to the interests of British India and had recommended to the Council to pass the Bill in the recommended form. The Bill was laid on the table of the Council and copies were distributed to the members after which the Chair announced that it will be taken up for consideration and passage on Tuesday the 28th instant.

28th. MARCH :—The recommended Finance Bill came up for consideration in the Council of State to-day. Mr. *A. J. Raisman*, Secretary of the Finance Department, moved that the Bill be taken into consideration. He explained the circumstances under which the Bill had come before the House in a recommended form. He said that the Council was familiar with the provisions of the Bill as they had already been explained in detail in his Budget speech.

Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das, Leader of the Opposition, took a strong exception to the method of certification used in the case of the Finance Bill. He said that certification was a measure provided only for emergencies and should not have been made a normal feature, as had been the case for the last five years. He asserted that estimates in the Budget were underestimated and protested against the doubling of duty on foreign cotton. He announced that he and his party would not take part in the discussion of the Bill, for, in his opinion, Government should have given some consideration to views expressed by the non-official members of the Central Legislature.

Hon. Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, Leader of the Congress Party, opposed the Bill and said that it was a black record for the Finance Bill to have been certified for the last five years. It was useless for them to participate in the discussion on the Bill as it was not open to them to make any changes in it. He claimed that it was never the intention of the framers of the constitution that methods of certification should be used so often. "It is the negation of democratic principles and the least we can do is to dissociate ourselves from the passage of the Bill."

Replying to the debate, Mr. *A. J. Raisman*, Finance Secretary, said that he did not propose to traverse the political arguments on the basis of which certain parties had decided to refrain from participating in the debate. The Finance Secretary challenged the accuracy of the statement made by *Lala Ramsaran Das* that 100,000 tons of Java sugar were already float. Turning to the statement made by Mr. Hossain Imam that the institution of the Reserve Bank had led to a fall in the profits which the Government formerly made for currency, Mr. Raisman said that it was a tribute to the integrity and impartiality of Government policy. They had established a more or less autonomous currency authority and they are content to receive from it a certain share of the profits which it made. It was true that the profits were lower than what accrued to Government when they were themselves the currency authority. But he claimed that the resulting advantages far outweighed the loss to Central revenues. As regards the criticism of the exchange policy of the Government, Mr. Raisman pointed out that the effect of the policy often avocated by the critics of Government would be to raise five or six crores from extra taxation to meet the increased expenditure which it would entail.

The House passed the Finance Bill, in the form recommended by the Governor-general by 27 votes to 12, the Muslim League Party remaining neutral. The Council then adjourned till 30th. March.

30th MARCH:—The Council of State passed by 28 votes to 10 the motion that the Indo-British Trade Agreement be approved. The Council thereafter adjourned till 4th. April.

Foreigners' Registration Bill

4th. APRIL :—The Council to-day took into consideration and passed the Bill for the registration of foreigners in British India as passed by the Assembly. Mr. *Puckle*, Home Secretary, introducing the Bill and moving consideration of the Bill, explained the salient features of the Bill. He pointed out that the Government did not intend to burden the Provincial Govts. and the officials concerned with registering the 300,000 Nepalese, the 80,000 Afghans and between 50,000 and 600,000 nationals of other contiguous countries who were resident in India. Nor did they intend to apply the provisions of the Act to British subjects not domiciled in the United Kingdom. Mr. *Sapru* supported the Bill but at the same time upheld the amended definition of the term "foreigner." Mr. *Pantulu*, who also supported the Bill, explained that though it was not entirely satisfactory, it would provide a future Government which was responsible to the legislature with powers which the present Government was not able to use. Replying, Mr. *Puckle* said that the Government regarded with sympathy the object of the change in the definition of foreigners, but he would point out that this Bill was not intended as a retaliatory measure. They had other means, he said, of retaliation for slighting treatment of Indian nationals.

The House passed the Bill without division. The Council then adjourned.

The Tariff Bill

11th. APRIL :—The Tariff Bill relating to magnesium chloride, paper and paper pulp, silk and silken goods and broken rice, as passed by the Assembly, was introduced by Mr. *Dow*, Commerce Secretary and passed with an amendment. Mr. Dow, introducing the bill, announced that the amendment which he would move at the next stage of the bill was the result of a compromise reached in the Assembly with regard to the duty on wood pulp. The Government had accepted that the duty should be protective but his amendment provided that the tariff should be 25 per cent. advalorem or Rs. 30 whichever was higher.

The motion for consideration of the bill having been adopted, Mr. *Dow* moved his amendment. By an amendment carried against the Government in the Assembly the duty had been raised to Rs. 35.

Mr. *Pantulu*, opposing the amendment. said that the Council was not informed how the Government had reached a compromise with the Opposition on the Assembly. *Lala Ramsaran Das* supported Mr. Pantulu while Mr. *Hossain Imam* felt that the amendment was in the interests of the producer and consumer. Mr. *Dow* replying said that it was understood that when the bill was returned with this amendment to the Assembly it would be accepted. Mr. Dow stressed that the Government were satisfied that the duty of Rs. 30 was quie adequate to give protection to wood pulp industry over the next seven years.

The amendment and the bill were then passed without a division. The House then adjourned.

Coal Mines Safety Bill

14th. APRIL :—Mr. *M. S. A. Hydari*, Labour Secretary, moved consideration of the Bill to make further provision for safety in coal mines, as passed by the Legislative Assembly. The mover quoted facts to illustrate the need and urgency of the measure. It was estimated in 1936, he said, that there were 47 fires in 29 different collieries. It was now estimated that the number of fires in 56 collieries had risen to 74. These fires constituted a source of grave danger, not only to the mines in which they raged but also to adjoining mines. Explaining the two main provisions of the Bill, namely, enforcement of stowing in the interests of safety and the levy to assist in paying for it, Mr. Hydari replied to the criticism that the recommendations of the Coal Mines Committee had been accepted by the Government only in part. He referred in this connexion to a statement made in the Lower House in reply to a question relating to the action taken by the Government on the recommendations of the Coal Mines Committee, and pointed out that 17 out of 29 recommendations of the committee had already been carried out by the Government, and the

remaining 12 were under consideration. Therefore, he did not think that the criticism that the Government had slept over the report of the Coal Mines Committee was valid.

Mr. *Hylari*, replying to the debate, after Mr. *Ramdas Pantulu* and Mr. *P. N. Sapru* had spoken, said that the criticisms were based on two assumptions that the Government had not gone far enough in the Bill, and secondly, that it had not given effect to several recommendations of the local mining report. The Bill was the first comprehensive step towards implementing the recommendations of the report, but that did not close the door on further action. As a matter of fact as soon as the scheme for sand-sowing was successfully launched, the Government would take up the question of other recommendations of the report. He strongly repudiated the suggestion that the Government were under the influence of coal mining interests.

The House then took up consideration of the clauses of the Bill and Mr. *Sapru* moved an amendment to provide for nomination by the Government of a representative of the employees on the Stowing Board. The object of the Board was the safety of the workers and the workers should, therefore, be represented.

Mr. *Hydari*, who opposed the amendment, pointed out that Mr. Sapru had said that the Government had given representation on the Board to the non-co-operating associations, but he observed these three associations represented the entire industry.

The amendment was rejected without a division. After brief speeches by Mr. *Ramdas Pantulu* and Mr. *Hydari* on the motion for the passage of the Bill, the measure was passed without a division.

17th. APRIL :—The Council disposed of four bills to-day, all of which were carried without division. They were, a Bill to provide for continuance for a further period of 2 years protection conferred on the Sugar Industry in British India as passed by the Legislative Assembly; Bill to amend further the Indian Penal Code of Cirminal Procedure, 1898, as passed by the Legislative Assembly and the Bill to reconstitute and incorporate the Committee constituted under the Indian Soft Coke Cess Act of 1929, as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

Certified Tariff Bill Passed

18th. APRIL :—The Council held its last sitting of the session to-day to pass the certified Tariff Bill. The Commerce Secretary, Mr. *H. Dow*, moving the consideration of the Bill said that it was designed to give effect to the provisions of the Indo-British Trade Agreement, which had already been approved of of by the Council.

Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru opposed the motion and in doing so charged the Government for breaking their solemn pledges given to the Assembly during the last six years. *Lala Ramsarandas* endorsed the sentiments expressed by Pandit Kunzru. Mr. *P. N. Sapru* remarked that Mr. Dow had made a very brief opening speech because he realised the weakness of his case. The Government of India were, Mr. Sapru said, determined to put the Agreement through and in consulting the Legislature they were merely enacting a farce. Mr. Sapru, in conclusion, appealed to Hindus and Muslims to sink their differences and work together with greater unity for the establishment of an effective Self-Government without which they could not hope to build up a stable economic system.

The Council *adjourned sine die* after passing by 24 votes to 11 the certified Tariff Bill embodying the Indo-British Trade Agreement, the Muslim League Party remaining neutral.

The Indian Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—3rd. February to 15th April 1939

Public Accounts Committee Report

The first day's proceedings of the budget session of the Assembly, held at New Delhi on the **3rd. FEBRUARY 1939**, provided somewhat varied fare—an uneventful question-hour, then an extremely lucid exposition by Mr. *Satyamurti* of the intricacies of the Public Accounts Committee's work and lastly *Sir Thomas Stewart's* acceptance of the motion, after a heated debate, for the appointment of a judicial tribunal enquiry into the recent railway disaster at Hazaribagh. *Sir N. N. Sircar's* Insurance Act Amending Bill which runs into 37 clauses and Mr. *Ogilvie's* Bill to ensure discipline in the Royal Indian Naval Force were next introduced. An unfavourable reception was accorded to the latter, even at the first reading stage. The *Governor-General* disallowed, a few minutes previously, Mr. *Asaf Ali's* adjournment motion to protest against the composition and terms of reference of the Sandhurst Committee, on the ground that its discussion would prove detrimental to the public interest.

Mr. *Satyamurti* next discussed the Report of the Public Accounts Committee. He had a preliminary encounter with the Finance Member regarding the Government's motion seeking the approval of the House for the appropriation of nearly 121 lakhs three years ago towards the payment of certain temporary loans out of the Railway Depreciation Reserve Fund. Mr. Satyamurti's objection, that it implied unsound principle, *Sir James Grigg* apologetically brushed aside since infallibility in estimating income and expenditure he regarded as impossible of achievement though he would not concede the point that undisposed of surpluses should be utilised for reduction of debts.

Railway Accidents—Adj. Motion

Mr. *Mohanlal Saxena* next moved an adjournment of the House and said that there had been a unanimous demand for an independent enquiry into the accidents at E. I. Railway and he had hoped that the Government would appoint such an enquiry committee before the Assembly met to-day. The accidents, he said, had created a feeling of insecurity amongst the travelling public and would have serious repercussions on railway receipts. Referring to the discussion in the Council of State, Mr. Saxena said that he as a layman was not prepared to believe that a heavy engine could jump over 30 feet. It was in the best interests of the Government and the railway administration to appoint a committee. *Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi*, in a fighting speech, charged the Communiction Member and the Railway Board for callousness in that none of them went over to see things for themselves on the spot but left the whole thing to the general manager, who, he said, was a person in the position of an accused. *Sir Thomas Stewart*, speaking with obvious emotion, denied the charge of callousness and pointed to much circumstantial evidence in favour of the sabotage theory—the scene of the accident generally being high, the embankment near the culvert and the time being late at night and the technique in all cases being suspiciously similar. But a judicial tribunal he agreed to appoint as soon as the personal and terms of reference had been decided upon. The House passed the motion without division.

India's withdrawal from League

4th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly had non-official resolutions on the agenda to-day. The first of these moved by Mr *T. S. A. Chettiar* recommended that immediate steps should be taken to give notice of India's intention to withdraw from the League for the reasons, among others, that the League had failed to implement the provisions of Article XVI of the Covenant against Covenant-breaking members of the League. Mr Chettiar said that never had the League failed more grievously in its purpose than in recent years and referred to the case of Abyssinia, Spain and China. He argued that India paid ten lakhs to the League annually and got very little return.

Three amendments were moved. The first was moved by Mr. *Joshi* seeking to substitute in place of Mr. Chettiar's resolution, another expressing India's dissatisfaction with the failure of the League on major political issues and recom-

mending that India should put forward before the League proposals for making it a better and more effective instrument to accomplish its aims and for India's more effective participation in its work and also recommending that India should take steps to secure acceptance of her proposals by the League. *Sir Raza Ali* moved the second amendment that unless the League agreed to reduce India's contribution to 200,000 francs with effect from 1941 India should give notice of withdrawal. Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* by a third amendment wanted to add among the reasons for withdrawal that Great Britain followed an utterly wrong policy in Palestine in contravention of Article XXII of the Covenant and in disregard of Indian feelings.

During discussion, Mr. *Avanashilingam* had an easy task in pointing out the numerous failures of the League and found considerable support in *Sir N. N. Sircar's* outspoken comment at the last session of the League defining India's attitude. Mr. *N. M. Joshi* and later Mr. *James* and *Sir Abdul Hamid*—all referred to the valuable work of the League in economic sphere when the world reconstruction on the basis of international collaboration must take place if India believed in the League ideals making a worthy contribution. *Sir Raza Ali* viewed the problem somewhat differently ; association with the League, he recognised, was useful, but he reckoned the present cost too great. With considerably reduced contribution which Mr. *Spence* pointed out from the Government side, would mean a reduction from forty-nine to seven or eight units in the League expenditure he recommended staying in, but not otherwise. Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* talked on Palestine as one of the many reasons for the withdrawal, which *Sir Yamin Khan* admitted, compelled the Muslims to vote for the resolution. He utilised the occasion for a slashing attack on Government's Waziristan operations.

Closure at this stage was accepted by 57 to 43 votes. Mr. *Joshi's* amendment was put and rejected by the same number of votes, the Congress and the Muslim League parties voting together. Voting on other amendments would take place on the next non-official day as the time came for the adjournment motion on Burma which was moved at 4-15 p. m.

Adjournment Motion on Burma

Sir *Abdul Halim Ghuznavi* next moved his adjournment motion and, in doing so, recalled his opposition to the separation of Burma as it would adversely affect a large number of Indians, particularly Indian Mussalmans who had settled there. Sir Ghuznavi also referred to the assurances of his Majesty's Government that the lives and interests of Indians would be properly safeguarded after separation and asking what had become of that assurance. He added, 'I am sure the whole might of the army, navy and air force would have been turned to Burma if one European had been killed. The fact that the victims were Indians made the difference and left the Government of India cold.'

Sir *Jagdish Prasad*, in the course of his reply on behalf of the Government, hoped the position of Indians there could be safeguarded by negotiations on the basis of goodwill. If the situation should continue to deteriorate the use of other weapons may be forced on the attention of the Government. The suggestion had added significance in view of Mr. Anantasayanam Iyengar's definite statement that, after all, Burma took only 11 crores worth of goods from India against our imports of 26 crores and trade agreements could legitimately take into account other factors. The house warmly endorsed his argument that the interests of Indians, whether in Burma, Ceylon or Malay States could not be sacrificed without every effort being made on their behalf. This, following his revelation that a party is growing up in Burma believing in the eviction of Indians from the country by methods of violence, seemed a necessary reminder that the Government of India were not so helpless as the extremists in Burma believed. The question of compensation, it seemed, had been taken up with the Secretary of State and that the Government of India's offer of help the Burma Government in the shape of police and military assistance still stood though the latter so far had not accepted it.

Among other notable speeches were those of Mr. *James*, Mr. *Anantasaynam* and Mr. *Satyamurti*. Mr. James wanted the powers of the Agent widened so as to include all matters and appealed to Sir *Jagdish Prasad* or Sir *G. S Bajpai* to go to Burma on behalf of the Government of india. Mr, *Anantasayanam* thought the Burma Government had allowed the situation to get out of hand by allowing the press and youth leagues to preach anti-Indian doctrines with impunity.

INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL

6th. FEBRUARY :—The amendments made by the Council of State in the Income-tax Bill occupied most of the sitting of the Assembly to-day and assented with three amendments moved by Messrs. *Santanam* and *Anantasayanam Ayyangar* which were accepted by the Government. The Bill would be shuttle-cocked to the Upper House again and from there to be passed into law. Sir *James Grigg*, moving for its consideration, hoped that the House would not be unduly alarmed by the long list of 63 amendments. He assured the House that they introduced no new question of principle but mainly corrected the drafting mistakes. Some amendments were consequential to the changes made by the Assembly or carried out the undertakings given there.

In the course of the consideration of clauses that followed, Mr. *Sri Prakasa* drew attention towards the need to improve the amenities provided to income-tax offices for the comfort of the assessees who were asked to appear there with books for examination. The explanation of this procedure once given to Mr. Sri Prakasa by an officer was that that officer wanted to discover by comparison the entries in the book relating say to payments to doctors or lawyers with the books of those doctors or lawyers. This, Mr. Sri Prakasa said, was inquisitorial proceeding and unnecessary. Messrs. *Lalchand Navalrai* and *Badri Duti Pande* associated themselves with the demand for the improvement of income-tax office. Sir *James Grigg* explained that much of what seemed harassment to assessees was really explainable by the experience of the department that if the returns sent by the assessees were not scrutinised the revenues stood to lose as much as 30 per cent. Steps, however, had been taken against undue hardships or carelessness. Regarding improvement of amenities, Sir James Grigg said that this meant money and if the Bill produced all the money expected of it then some more amenities could be provided.

INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING AMEND. BILL

The House then took up further consideration of the Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act moved in the earlier session by Sir *Mohammad Zafrullah* to regularise the institution of provident fund scheme for seamen officers introduced by the Scindia Steam Navigation Company and the British India Steam Navigation Company. Sir *Mohammad Zafarullah Khan*, replying, said that there was no dispute about the provisions of the present Bill but certain suggestions were made about some aspects of such schemes which should be borne in mind by the Government when approving them. He was, however, unable to give the positive assurances demanded by Mr. Joshi because of the desirability of starting some schemes in order to make a desirable beginning. But, he added, the suggestions made would be borne in mind by the Government. The Bill was then passed by the House.

INSURANCE ACT AMEND. BILL

The House next agreed to Sir *N. N. Sircar's* motion for reference to a select committee of his Bill to amend the Insurance Act. The Bill was introduced on the opening day of the session on Feb. 3. Messrs. *A Chettiar*, *Anantasayanam Iyengar* and *S. Santanam*, in supporting the motion, referred to a number of points to which the select committee should in their view give its attention such as the draft rules prepared under the Act, the exemption given to marine insurance business from provisions regarding keeping of account books and the evasion of provisions restricting the percentage of commission payable to insurance workers.

JAIL REFORM BILL

A strong demand for jail reform was made in the course of the debate on Sir *R. M. Maxwell's* motion for reference to a select committee of the Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal procedure Code in order to alter the punishment prescribed for habitual offenders such as counterfeiters of notes and coins from simple imprisonment of either description. The House passed the motion.

THE NAVAL DISCIPLINE BILL

Moving the Indian Naval Reserve Forces Discipline Bill, Mr. *Ogilvie*, Defence Secretary, stated that the Bill and its objects were short and simple. He briefly narrated the history of Royal Indian Navy and explained the classes to which the Bill would apply. The first of these, namely, the Royal Indian Fleet Reserve consisted of the ratings who had served their time in the Royal

Indian Navy and had retired on discharge or pension and would correspond to Army Reserve. The second, namely, the Royal Indian Naval Reserve would correspond to the Royal Naval Reserve of the United Kingdom and would consist of officers and men who had followed sea as a profession. The Royal Indian Naval Volunteer Reserves in the United Kingdom and its counterpart in India was the Army in India Reserve Officers. These men would be drawn from amateur enthusiasts and those mercantile mariners who would like to have naval training. The main purpose of the Bill, continued Mr. Ogilvie, was to bring these classes under the Indian Naval Discipline Act. The second purpose was to provide sanction to compel reservists to obey summons. The Bill would correspond closely to the Reserve Forces Army Act barring a few differences. Mr. Ogilvie then explained the provisions of the Bill.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* pointed out that by passing the Act of 1934 the Assembly had merely created a Navy which it could not regulate and on whose funds it had no right to vote. The elected representatives in that House took their stand on this principle and voted againgt the Bill then. The present Bill represented the second stage of a more insidious character in the Government's programme. How dangerous extension of powers was intended in the Bill would be clear from the fact that whereas in the original Act any person whose name was put on the reserve list could refuse to serve if he felt that such refusal would be in his country's interest, the present Bill penalised such refusal by two years' imprisonment. It also sought to penalise refusal to undergo training with a fine of Rs. 200. This was reducing the reservist position to conscript. He remembered that Sir John Anderson in a recent speech in England had stated that the best way of preventing conscription was for every able-bodied man and woman to offer himself or herself for enlistment. That might be all right in England but not India. Mr. Desai had not concluded when the House rose for the day.

Adj. Motions Disallowed

7th. FEBRUARY :—The *President* announced disallowance by the Governor-General of two adjournment motions, one by Mr. *T. S. A. Chettiar* on training in aviation given at India's expense to Afghan students, and the other by Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* on the Government's refusal to consult the House on the report of the Chatfield Committee. The *President* also announced that the adjournment motion on the non-inclusion of an Indian Muslim representative in the Palestine Conference had been disallowed by the Governor-General.

The Naval Discipline Bill (contd.)

Concluding his unfinished speech, Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* declared that they were not prepared to incur another unanticipated expenditure which may be incurred from time to time on the ground that India's coast line was extensive. It would be accepting the burden for maintaining the British Empire, at least the eastern part of the British Empire safe from aggression. Another ground of opposing the measure, said Mr. Desai, was the manner in which the House was being treated in Defence matters. As a recent example he referred to the unsatisfactory replies given to the question of Afghans being trained in India and the disallowance by the Governor-General of an adjournment motion on the same subject this morning. The Bill, he warned, was fraught with dangers so far as the expenditure was concerned and was fraught with policies on which the House had no control nor power to go into merits.

Mr. *Boyle*, of the European Group, pointed out that the Bill was a simple one exclusively dealing with the discipline of Indian Naval Volunteer Forces and was in no way impinging the general policy. He said that the only issue was whether India required naval volunteers and if volunteers were forthcoming they must be disciplined.

Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta* felt that while the title of the Bill was apparently innocuous its real object was the creation of an additional personnel as outlined in the statements and objects. He opposed the Bill which he said was a deep laid scheme to rope in an unwary legislature.

Mr. *Jinnah* traced the history of the Navy Bill from 1927 when it was brought up and rejected by the Assembly. It was again brought up in 1934 when the House passed it, though a large body of members had opposed it. The opposition then was based on the ground that Indian Legislature had

no voice on the control of the Navy, financial or otherwise, but only had the privilege of paying for it. That objection remained even now as strong as ever. Apart from the objection that the Naval forces remained under the control of the Admiralty and the British Government, it was expected that the Government would firstly create those forces and place the whole scheme of rules before the House and then bring a Bill to provide for the discipline of the forces. Mr. Jinnah declared that it was only this Government that could act like this and that it was only this country where it could act like this.

Mr. *Ogilvie*, Defence Secretary, in a brief reply, said that from the general tenor of speeches the result of the debate, as far as the members of the Opposition were concerned, must be taken to be a forgone conclusion. However, he would attempt to reply to the criticisms on the merits of the Bill. Objection had been voiced against the rule-making powers being given by the Bill to the central Government. The rule-making powers, he pointed out, were an executive function and therefore in the hands of the executive of the Government. It was not possible that the Government would make use of those powers to create new offences and new punishments. The rule making powers could only be used to apply in detail the sections of the Bill and he could not give to the House in advance rules which had not been made. It had been stated that the Bill intended to impress on the world with enormous masses of reserves in India. He explained that the proposals regarding the four classes of reserves for which provision was contained in the Bill and said that altogether they anticipated that 1500 or 1600 reserves could be built up in 10 or 12 years. This number would not justify the description of enormous masses of reserves and the British empire must be in a percarious condition indeed if it counted upon these 1600 reservists to impress the world. As for the criticism that the Bill was all penalties and nothing else and that discipline should come after the forces were created, Mr. Ogilvie said that all that the Bill intended to do was to bring the reserves under the Indian Naval Discipline Act. Nothing more was intended and nothing more was wanted. The Government had full authority to raise reserves under the Government of India Act and it was not raising these reserves that were sought to be provided in the Bill but only their discipline. As regards the charge of non-cooperation with the Opposition, Mr. Ogilvie thought that some of those who had made the charge were a little difficult to co-operate with.

Mr. *Ogilvie's* motion was put to vote and rejected by 56 to 45 votes.

Public Accounts Comm. Report (contd.)

When the House resumed discussion on the Public Accounts Committee report, Mr. *B. Das* gave instances showing that the House was being kept in ignorance about extravagant items of expenditure. He opined that there was a distinct encroachment on the rights and privileges of the auditor-general and efforts were being made to reduce the control exercised by this officer. The members of the Home department, Mr. Das said, came unprepared to the committee. He could not understand the reason for this as at present this department had nothing to do barring the administration of Ajmer-Merwara, Delhi, Andamans and Nicobars. Yet he found the officials concerned appearing without even reading the relevant administration reports.

Mr. *Ramsay Scott* concerned himself with the portions of 1936-37 report dealing with Railways, Post, Telegraphs and Civil Aviation department. Referring to the loss of 12—15 lakhs yearly in the Telegraph department, he said, if this loss brought down the cost of press telegrams this loss may be said to be a service of the public and therefore justifiable. Dealing with the Civil Aviation department, Mr. Scott hoped that flying clubs in India, though originally started for sport, would be used as a basis of foundation of Air Force reserve and help in the defence of India. He also wanted the Government of India to take interest in gliding. He also wanted the centre to lead in industrial development of India.

Coal Mines Safety Bill

8th. FEBRUARY :—The safety in coal mines was the objective of a Bill introduced in the Assembly to day by Sir *Muhammad Zafrullah*. The Government of India, is was stated, appointed a committee, known as the Coal-mining Committee in October, 1936, to inquire into the methods of extracting coal underground in Bengal, Bihar and the Central Provinces and report on the measures which should be taken to secure the safety of workers to prevent an avoidable waste of coal. The committee advocated the adoption of stowing, *i. e.*, filling with sand or other incombustible

material the space left by the extraction of coal to start with in the areas where there is an urgent and immediate danger of life or an urgent danger of a substantial loss of coal. The committee recommended that a cess of eight annas per ton on coal including soft coke and twelve annas per ton on hard coke should be imposed, to be used mainly to defray the cost of stowing.

Weights and Measures Bill

Sir *Muhammad Zafrullah* introduced the second Bill designed to standardize weights throughout British India. The statement of the objects and reasons states that the question of prescribing a scale of standard weights and measures throughout British India has been under the consideration of the Government from time to time. The constitutional position is that according to item 51 in the federal legislative list in the seventh schedule of the Government of India Act, 1935, the central Government is responsible for the establishment of standards of weights, while the provincial Governments are concerned with weights and measures. So far as concerns weights, therefore, it is for the central Government to prescribe the standards. The enforcement and use of weights, based on theses standards, is a matter for the provincial Government. The desirability of establishing standards of weights has lately been constantly pressed upon the Government of India and some provinces are reported to have their Weights and Measures Bill ready for introduction as soon as the central Act establishing standars of weight has been passed. The Bill accordingly has been prepared for prescribing units of weights commonly used by railways and in commerce, *viz*, tola, seer and maund and also pound, ounce, hundredweight and ton.

Child Labour Prohibition Bill

The third Bill introduced by Sir *Muhammad Zafrullah* sought to prohibit the employment of children under twelve in the following occupations: bidi-making, carpet-weaving, cement manufacture including bagging of cement, cloth printing, dyeing and weaving, manufacture for matches, explosives, fireworks, mica-cutting and splitting, shellac manufacture, tanning and wood cleaning. The occupations enumerated have been selected because they are unhealthy or commonly accompanied by exploitation of child labour. The provincial Governments, who have been consulted, were given full power to amend the schedule of occupations.

Public Accounts Committee's Report (contd.)

Mr. *K. Santanam* criticized the delay in carrying out the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee. He gave three examples in which delay had occurred. Ten years ago a recommendation was made to take the census of the Ecclesiastical department. That census had not yet been compiled. Apparently the Government were not willing to let the people know the exact amount of the expenditure on that account lest there be strong protests.

The Assembly approved the appropriation of Rs. 121 lakhs actually made in 1936-37 from the railway surplus in that year for the repayment of temporary loans taken from the railway depreciation reserve fund. The *President* then adjourned the House.

Muslim Divorce Law Bill

9th. FEBRUARY:—The Assembly took up to-day the considerstion of Mr. *Kazmi's* Bill to consolidate and clarify the provisions of Muslim Law relating to suits for dissolution of marriages by women married under Muslim Law and to remove doubts as to the effect of the renunciation of Islam by a married Muslim woman on her marriage tie. Mr. *Kazmi* made a brief speech in moving that the Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration. Both Mr. *Kazmi* and Mr. *Azhar Ali*, who supported him, regretted that the provision for a Muslim judge to deal with divorce under this Bill was deleted by the Select Committee. Mr. Azhar Ali pointed out that a Kazi was a necessary element for interpreting Muslim Divorce Law. Mr. *Navalrai* dealt with what appeared to him to be defects in the Bill, as it emerged from the Select Committee, and he wanted these points to be clarified. He also criticised the provision dealing with apostasy in the Bill. Mr. *Abdul Qayum* felt that the Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, was a better and clearer Bill. On the question of having a Muslim judge to try such cases, he was of the opinion that, where no Muslim judge was available, it would be right to rely on the sense of fairness of non-Muslim judges. The hon. Sir *Zafrullah Khan* stated that he had very little to say at this stage on behalf of the Government. He had, on the occasion of reference to the Select Committee, mentioned the difficulties,

which would have made it impossible for the Government to support the Bill. But now that the Select Committee had removed these difficulties, the Bill had the general support of the Government.

The House then passed the first reading of the Bill.

During the detailed discussion on the provisions of the Bill, the House accepted Mr. *Anantasayanam Iyengar's* amendment to delete, from among the grounds of divorce, the sentence of imprisonment for two years and upwards on the husband if he failed to provide for the wife during this period.

An unexpected division after an hour and a half's debate marked the afternoon discussion on the Bill which took place on an amendment moved by *Syed Murtaza Sahib* Bahadur, who sought to exclude from the grounds of divorce the right of a Muslim woman to repudiate a marriage performed by her father during her minority. The mover, who was supported by *Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang*, urged that normally the father would not be a party to a marriage which would be detrimental to the interests of the girl. The amendment was opposed by a number of speakers, who cited instances where fathers had acted against the interests of their daughters for pecuniary or other gains. The amendment was pressed to a division and lost by 27 votes to 12, voting being free.

The House next accepted two amendments by *Syed Murtaza Sahib*, by which the clause relating to repudiation by a woman, of a marriage performed by her father or guardian during her minority, was altered so as to enable the woman to repudiate before her eighteenth year a marriage that took place before her fifteenth year. Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai's* amendment to delete the clause, by which conversion to a faith other than Islam would not operate to dissolve marriage, was rejected, while Mr. *Santanam's* amendment, which provided that, after such renunciation or conversion, the woman would be enabled to obtain a dissolution of her marriage on any of the grounds of divorce provided in the Bill was accepted.

Earlier, *Bhai Parmanand* attempted to introduce, among the grounds of divorce, renunciation of Islam or conversion to a faith other than Islam. The amendment was opposed by Sir *Zafrullah Khan*, who explained that, if it could be proved in a court of law that this was a recognised ground for divorce, the point raised by Bhai Parmanand's amendment was covered by the last of the grounds of divorce in the Bill namely, "any other ground which is recognised as valid for the dissolution of marriages under Muslim Law". When the House adjourned detailed consideration of the clauses had not concluded.

INDIA AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS

10th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly started to-day with a division which the Opposition won on Mr. *T. S. A. Chettiar's* resolution asking for the withdrawal from the League of Nations of India. The resolution, with Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum's* amendment which was passed by 55 to 45 votes, ran thus :—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that immediate steps be taken under article 1 (3) of the Covenant of the League of Nations to give notice of India's intention to withdraw from the League for the reason, among others, that the League has failed to implement the provisions of article 16 of the Covenant against Covenant-breaking members of the League, and also for the reason that Great Britain has persisted in following an utterly wrong policy in regard to Palestine in contravention of article 22 of the Covenant and open disregard of the feelings of the Indians in this matter."

INDO-BURMA TRADE (REGULATION) ORDER

The Congress party's resolution, recommending termination of the Indo-Burma Trade (Regulation) Order, 1937, was then taken up. *Chaudhuri Raghubir Narain Singh* moved it in a maiden speach in Hindustani. The resolution ran as follows :—

"The Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that notice be given on April 1, 1939, to the Governer of Burma for the termination of the Indo-Burma Trade (Regulation) Order, 1937 ; steps be taken in consultation with the leaders of parties in the Assembly for the negotiations of a fresh trade agreement with Burma and any settlement that may be arrived at should be subject to ratification by this Assembly."

Chaudhuri Raghubir Narain declared that no elaborate arguments were necessary to support the resolution which was self-explanatory. The present prosperous condition of Burma was lagely due to Indian enterprise, capital and labour. It was the misfortune of this country that wherever she stood to gain a situation was created

under which dissensions and internecine quarrels arose which were detrimental to Indian interests. The existing conditions of Burma were disgraceful and would not have been tolerated if British interests were involved instead of Indian interests. India's exports to Burma totalled nearly Rs. 10 crores while imports came to Rs. 25 crores. If the imports from Burma constituted the necessities of life their stoppage would contribute to the self-sufficiency of India as far as those articles were concerned.

Sir *Mohammad Zafrulla*, replying to the debate expressed considerable sympathy with the viewpoints to which expression was given by the supporters of the resolution O. the two lines of argument advanced one was political and the other economic. The political field was one in which he did not trespass because it did not belong to his department and because it had been discussed recently in the House. The recent developments in Burma revealed a degree of deterioration in the relations between Indians and Burmans the cordiality of which he had been delighted to notice early in 1936 when he visited that country. He felt as much grief and indignation as any other member of the House. He added: 'We must not, however, forget that the relationship between Burma and India is not a temporary one. All of us hope that what has recently happened is an isolated instance of impulsiveness and excitability on the part of a section of the people. The Burmese people are rather impulsive but there is behind the happenings this long tradition of friendliness and cooperation. The speeches on this resolution have been such that nothing has been said to make it more difficult than the restoration of friendly relations between the peoples. Dealing with the economic aspect, Sir Mohammed Zafrullah said that he thought that on the one hand it would not be denied, not even by Mr. James or the Burmese people, in that Burma had done very well indeed out of the trade arrangements. (Hear, hear). Yet the picture was not altogether so blank on the other side. It was true that the balance of trade was heavily in Burma's favour but out of the total trade amounting to 25 crores, well over 20 crores represented the rice, petrol, silver, and kerosene. Taking the question of rice India's produce of 26 or 27 million tons was insufficient for the growing population of the country. She was therefore compelled to import about 1½ million tons. Supposing the duty of eight annas per cwt. was imposed the proceeds would be 1½ crores. Who would pay for this? It would mainly be paid by the same people who produced rice in this country and they would pay in order that the price of their own rice should rise a little. He was not saying that this was a conclusive argument but it would illustrate that the solution was not so easy as might be imagined. "The whole of this matter was under the active consideration of the Government of India and I merely wished to emphasise in my observations the fact that it is not a simple question but there are several aspects to be studied."

The resolution was passed without division."

Cut in Govt. Servant's Salaries

Sami Venkatachelam Chetty's resolution, recommending a cut in Government servant's salaries, was next passed by the Assembly without division after a 90-minutes' debate during which *Sir James Grigg* in a two-minutes' reply declined to define the Government's attitude. The resolution asked that a cut in the salaries of above Rs. 100 of all grades of employees in the Government of India be imposed with effect from April 1, 1939. The House accepted *Pandit Lakshmikanta Maitra's* amendment to restrict the cut in salaries of above Rs. 200. The resolution and the amendment when put before the House were carried without division, the Government remaining neutral. The Assembly then adjourned till the 13th.

Railway Budget for 1939-40

13th. FEBRUARY:—The railway estimates presented by *Sir Thomas Stewart* in the Assembly to-day forecast for 1938-39 a surplus of 2.05 crores against a surplus of about 2¾ crores originally estimated, and for 1939-40, a surplus of 2.13 crores. The revised estimate of surplus on railways for 1938-39 is less than the actual surplus of last year by about ¾ crore. The decrease is due mainly to increase in working expenses. The total traffic receipts of State lines are expected to reach 94¾ crores—about ½ crore less than last year and 40 lakhs more than the original estimate. The total working expenses are a little over 63½ crores including 12½ crores or depreciation, or about ¾ crore more than last year. The surplus of 2 crores will be paid to Central revenues. It will fall short of the full contribution by 2½ crores. The balance in the depreciation fund will stand at 24¼ crores.

The budget estimate for 1939-40 assumes traffic receipts of 94¾ crores—10 lakhs more than in the current year. The total working expenses will amount to 64¼ crores and will be ¾ crore more than in the current year. The balance of depreciation fund at the end of the year will be 30⅞ crores.

The gross total works programme is 15 crores. Of this amount ¾ crore is proposed to be spent on Sind Right Bank Feeders and Khadro Nawabshah Railways. Rs. 5 lakhs for Pithoro Tando Mithakhan and Rs. 1 lakh for Kashipur Kalagarh Railways have also been provided. The last two projects are still under discussion with the provincial Governments concerned. Track renewals account for 4¾ crores, bridge work for ¾ crore, other structural works for 3½ crores, including about a crore for purchase of South Bihar Railway, and rolling stock for 5 crores. The programme includes provision of about 2,660 general service wagons to meet increase in traffic demands, of which about 2,500 are broad guage general service wagons to be added to the pool. After making deductions, totalling 1¾ crores, from the above gross figure for certain credits and for reduction in stores balance and an allowance (2¼ crores), based on past experience for unforeseen delays in the execution of works or in obtaining supplies, the net amount of the programme is 11 crores.

Sir Thomas Stewart stated that Government had decided to purchase the South Bihar Railway and the Hardwar Dehra Railway, both of which were paying propositions. He also mentioned the purchase by two railways, the North-western and the Madras and Southern Mahratta, of a substantial interest in two private limited companies running motor buses on roads in certain important areas.

Referring to the recent disasters on Indian railways, he said :

I regret to have to record the occurrence of two major disasters in the year under review and however much we may be convinced that these disasters arose from circumstances not within our control, this in no way lessens our sense of horror, or detracts from our sympathy with those who suffered. I do not wish to-day to enter upon any controversial topics, but I would ask our critics, both inside this House and elsewhere, not to forget our past record in respect of the safety of our railways. It is a psychological phenomenon not confined to India that a large scale disaster may in a moment destroy the public confidence built up over a long period of less eventful years. That confidence once destroyed is most difficult to restore, and I would ask that no unfair obstacle—I do not refer to legitimate criticism—be offered to that most difficult process. I venture to think that there is no cause for panic. He concluded with an expression of thanks to the whole of the railway staff for their co-operation in the administration of his department.

The following table gives the essential figures of the Railway Budget :—

[In crores of Rupees]

	Accounts 1937-38.	Revised Estimates 1938-39.	Budget 1939-40.
Gross Traffic Receipts (State lines)	95.01	94.65	94.75
Working Expenses (including depreciation) ...	62.94	63.55	64.25
Net Receipts	32.07	31.10	30.50
Net Miscellaneous Receipts	—·05	.23	.59
Net Revenue	32.02	31.33	31.09
Int. Charges	29.26	29.28	28.96
Surplus	2.76	2.05	2.13

The gross total works programme is 15 crores.

Of this amount, ¾ crore is proposed to be spent on Sind Right Bank Feeders and Khadro Nawabshah Railways. Rs. 5 lakhs for Pithoro Tando Mithakhan and Rs. 1 lakh for Kashipur Kalagarh Railways have also been provided. The last two projects are still under discussion with the Provincial Governments concerned.

Track renewals account for Rs. 4¾ crores, bridge work for Rs. ¾ crore, other structural works for Rs. 3½ crores, including about a crore for purchase of South Bihar Railway, and rolling stock for Rs. 5 crores.

The programme includes provision of about 2,660 general service wagons to meet increase in traffic demands, of which about 2,500 are broad gauge general service wagons to be added to the pool.

After making deductions, totalling 1¾ crores, from the above gross figure for certain credits and for reduction in stores balance and an allowance (2¼ crores), based on past experience for unforeseen delays in the execution of works or in obtaining supplies, the net amount of the programme is Rs. 11 crores.

Referring to the further action taken by railway administration on the recommendations made by the Wedgood Committee since last year, Sir Thomas Stewart mentioned the strengthening of the commercial side of the Traffic Department on various railways to permit of the expansion of their activities in regard to publicity, canvassing and commercial research, the remedial measures being tried on a large scale to reduce the high incidence of locomotive repairs and so release more engines and more wagons for service, research regarding the production of white metals for use in bearings and the discovery of a treatment of indigenous rape oil which is likely to make it eminently suitable as a constituent of locomotive axle oil.

Sir Thomas Stewart stated that the Government had decided to purchase the South Bihar Railway and the Hardwar-Dehra Railway, both of which were paying propositions. He also mentioned the purchase by two railways, the North-Western and the Madras and Southern Mahratta, of a substantial interest in two private limited companies running motor buses on roads in certain important areas. The following is the text of the Railway Member's speech :

Railway Member's Speech

Sir, I rise to present to the House the Railway Budget for 1939-40. Last year, on this occasion, I indicated that we were fortunate in that a series of lean year appeared to have come to an end, and I am happy to be able to say that the results of the year now coming to a close show no great deterioration in our position. I only wish that I had the confidence to claim that the tide had turned and that we could now look forward to an era of prosperity ; but, in present world conditions, I am sure this House will agree that such confidence would be unjustified and we must therefore continue to take the less imaginative, but undoubtedly safer, short view of our future.

FINANCIAL RESULTS OF 1937-38

When I presented the current year's budget, I expected that the surplus for the year 1937-38 would be 2.83 crores. This estimate of the net position proved almost exactly correct, the actual surplus being 2.76 crores. But the estimates we made then of receipts and working expenses were both exceeded almost to an equal extent (about ¾ crore). Goods earnings mainly accounted for the improvement in receipts, the principal commodities contributing to it being coal, metallic ores, wheat, manufactured cotton goods and grain. The increase in working expenses is attributable mainly to two causes :—(1) freight charges on coal, delays in the supply of which from the market earlier in the year tended to augment the transport of this commodity in the closing months of the year beyond our estimates, and (2) the heavier expenditure on repairs consequent on the increased volume of traffic and the general rise in the price of materials.

REVISED ESTIMATES FOR 1938-39

Let us turn now to our revised estimates for the current year. When the original budget was framed, it was expected that the total traffic receipts in respect of state-owned lines would be 94¼ crores, the same as we then expected for 1937-38, and the total working expenses including depreciation 62½ crores. Taking into account miscellaneous receipts and expenditure, the net railway revenue was estimated to be over 31¾ crores. Interest charges were placed at less than 29½ crores, leaving a surplus of a little over 2½ crores. Our present expectations are that our total receipts will be 94¾ crores, and the total expenditure, including depreciation, a little over 63½ crores. Miscellaneous receipts will exceed miscellaneous expenditure by a quarter of a crore, and the net railway revenue is now expected to be 31¼ crores. After meeting interest charges estimated at 29¼ crores, our surplus is placed at a little over 2 crores.

As indicated above, our receipts are expected to go beyond our original anticipations by less than half a crore, while our working expenses are likely to go up by a

crore. In regard to receipts, when we framed the revised estimate for 1937-38 and the budget for 1938-39, we did not expect 1937-38 to be as prosperous as the event disclosed but, in spite of the uncertainty regarding general trade and international conditions and the apprehension that conditions might grow worse, we expected the same receipts for 1938-39 as for 1937-38. In our estimate of the comparative receipts of the two years, we are not likely to be far wrong, though the figures for both are now higher than earlier estimates. We now anticipate that our total traffic receipts will be 94⅜ crores against 95 crores in 1937-38 and against our original estimate of 94¼ crores. Though, up to the 20th January 1939, approximate receipts were level with last year's we have two reasons for taking the lower figure for 1938-39. In the next two months, we apprehend a slight deterioration owing to the fact that railway coal has moved earlier than usual this year in the effort to relieve traffic congestion in the busy months. Further, towards the end of last year, we had the additional earnings accruing from the abnormal Kumbh Mela passenger traffic. The trend in passenger and goods traffic, considered separately, has been hitherto somewhat unusual. While the former showed a betterment of about 27 lakhs and the latter a worsening of 41 lakhs up to the 10th July, the relative position was completely reversed by the 10th January. Goods earnings have gone up by 40 lakhs, while passenger receipts are down by about the same amount. Oil seeds, cotton and sugar are the principal commodities which have contributed to the additional earnings under goods. Metallic ore and coal traffic receipts have fallen continuously, the latter owing to shorter leads.

As regards expenditure, we now anticipate that working expenses, including depreciation, will be 63½ crores against actual expenditure of a little less than 63 crores in 1937-38 and against our original estimate of 62½ crores. It should not be concluded that this increase signifies any relaxation of our efforts for economy in operation. These continue unabated. But for several causes the increase is, we fear, inevitable. This year as is well known, the price of our coal has been higher and in the effort, on the lines suggested by the Railway Enquiry Committee, to increase earnings by affording improved facilities to the public and to retain traffic in the face of competition with other forms of transport, the mileage we are running is on the increase with a consequent increase in coal consumption and repairs to rolling stock. We are feeling, too, in some measure, the effects of our economies during recent years. The diminished scale of our purchases of rolling stock in that period has resulted in a rise in the average age of our stock, with a consequential increase in the cost of maintaining it. Nor can the fact of the rise in the price of materials necessary for repairs be ignored.

BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR 1939-40

Turning now to the estimate for 1939-40, Honourable Members are aware that the general trade conditions and the international situation are still full of uncertainty and preclude our making a forecast with any degree of confidence. In the hope that, if any changes occur in general conditions next year, as compared with the current one, their effect in our revenues will not be severe and taking into account the incidental fact that, next year being a leap year, we shall have an additional day's earnings, we have placed our estimate of receipts a little higher than our present expectations for the current year at 94¾ crores. As between passenger and goods traffic, we have provided for a slight fall in the former and a slight increase in the latter. Our net miscellaneous receipts are expected to show a betterment of over ¼ crore. There will be, however, it is expected, an increase of ¾ crore in ordinary working expenses, bringing down the net revenue to about ¼ crore less than in the current year, the contribution to the depreciation fund standing practically at the same figure as in 1938-39. The interest charges being, however, about ¼ crore less owing to fall in rate, we expect a surplus slightly over the current year's (213 lakhs against 205).

MODEST CAPITAL PROGRAMME

Our capital programme for the construction of new railway lines is a modest one. It relates mainly to the three Sind projects to which I referred in my last budget speech and which are intended to serve the new fertile areas recently developed by the Lloyd Barrage. Of these projects, the Sind Right Bank Feeders Railway, for which 73¼ lakhs has been provided, is expected to be completed next year. The Khadro-Nawabshah line also will make very substantial progress. I regret to inform the House that the Pithoro-Tando Mithakhan Railway, which has been included in our programme for the last two years, is still under discussion with the Sind Government. A small sum has also been

provided, in case it should be ultimately decided to proceed with the construction of the Kashipur-Kalagarh line, a project which we are now considering in consultation with the Government of the United provinces.

Purchase Of South Bihar Railway

Our next year's programme for open line works is on a somewhat larger scale than the current year's. The gross figures are 14 crores against 12¼. The largest single item in this programme is the provision of about one crore for the purchase of the South Bihar Railway, for which the rental paid by Government under the existing contract works out to about 4½ per cent. on the purchase price. It will be readily appreciated that, at the present rate of interest, the purchase now is a paying proposition, and it has received the concurrence of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways. Five crores have been provided for rolling stock. I can assure the House that this expenditure is kept down to the absolute minimum compatible with traffic requirements. The figure has, however, been affected by the rise in the price of iron and steel caused by the rearmament programme in other parts of the world, to which I drew attention last year. Last year I referred to the contracts which, as a measure of prudence and economy, we decided to enter into in 1937-38 with the Indian Wagon building firms for the supply of 6,095 broad gauge general service wagons to be spread over three years. The last instalment of this supply will be of 2,500 wagons in 1939-40, and for this a sum of about 1¼ crores has been provided. For expenditure on track renewals we have provided 4¾ crores and for bridges and other structural works 3¼ crores. Our gross expenditure under open line works, after allowing for various credits, is expected to be 12¼ crores. In accordance, however, with the practice for some years now based on our experience that railways have been unable to spend the gross amount arrived at in our estimate, we have reduced the total demand to 10¼ crores. Of this, we expect, 6¼ crores will be met from the depreciation fund. These, Sir, are the broad outlines of the financial picture. I shall now turn to a few of the other aspects of our stewardship for the year.

Action of Wedgwood Report

Last year I gave to Honourable Members an indication of the action which was being taken on the various recommendations contained in the Report of the Wedgwood Committee. The Railway Board and its associated administrations have not ceased from the search for increased efficiency and a second statement has been made available to the House giving complete information as to the further action taken. Honourable Members will observe for themselves that much progress has been made in implementing the recommendations of the Committee. I would, however, make special mention of a few of our more striking advances.

The Committee emphasised the need for strengthening the commercial side of railway administration and, bearing this in view, we have sanctioned the creation of ten posts in order to expand our activities in regard to publicity, commercial research and direct commercial working. We have also sanctioned the creation of a separate commercial department, as a temporary measure for two years in the first instance, on the Assam Bengal Railway. Special efforts are being made to utilise the publicity value of the Indian press—by this I mean newspapers published in Indian languages—and a campaign of continuous advertising in respect of lower class travel has been inaugurated experimentally on two railways.

Locomotive Repairs

The Committee drew attention to the very high incidence of locomotive repairs as a result of overheated axle bearings. It is obvious, of course, that a reduction in the hours for which a locomotive is in the repairs shops, must automatically release more engines for service. Last year I mentioned that the Railway Board had placed a Senior Mechanical Engineer on special duty to investigate the possibilities of eliminating this all too common defect in our rolling stock, and I am glad to say now that considerable progress has been made in solving this long-standing and vexatious problem. We believe that the causes of the trouble have been determined, and large scale trials are now in progress to test the remedial measures which have been evolved. To justify our optimism, I may mention that the East India Railway has succeeded in reducing the number of repairs due to heated bearings by some 50 per cent during the last six months for which we have statistics.

So far as wagons are concerned—and Honourable Members will realise that in point of numbers alone this is probably a much more important item than locomotives—a Standing Committee of the Indian Railway Conference Association has now put forward recommendations for large scale trials on the broad gauge railways. These trials will be undertaken, but Honourable Members must understand that this is more than a laboratory experiment and it will be some considerable time before we have the data on which we may frame a definite course of action for the future.

Our research activities have also extended, in collaboration with the Indian Stores Department, towards the production of white metals for use in bearings and we have every hope that these researches are approaching a successful conclusion. Of special interest to those Honourable Members who are interested in the use of the agricultural products of this country must be the researches which have resulted in the discovery of a treatment of indigenous rape oil which shows promise of making it eminently suitable as a constituent of locomotive axle oil.

THE NAVY DISCIPLINE BILL (CONTD.)

After the presentation of the Railway Budget, the Assembly by 60 votes to 46 refused permission for the re-introduction of the Navy Discipline Bill recommended by the Governor-General.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL

The House then took up the bill to amend the Employment of Children Act so as to prohibit the employment of children under 12 in certain dangerous or unhealthy occupations. Sir *Zafarullah Khan*, moving the bill, pointed out that the royal labour commission had suggested an age limit of 10 years, but as recommended by the provinces the Government of India had fixed the age at 12. Mrs. *Subbaroyan*, welcoming the measure, declared that her pleasure was tempered with regret as the bill was not comprehensive enough and did not go far enough. Welfare propaganda had been doing some good so far, but the need for legislation to supplement welfare activities was an urgent necessity. The House agreed to the first reading of the bill and then took up consideration of the clauses.

Mr *N. M. Joshi* moved two amendments, one seeking to raise the age limit from 12 to 15 years and the other to withdraw the power given by the bill to the provincial Government to omit from the list of dangerous and unhealthy occupations given in the schedule. The first was rejected and the second was passed. Mr. *Manu Subedar* moved an amendment for the addition of a proviso to the effect that the prohibition of the employment of children under 12 shall not apply to any school established by a provincial Government or receiving assistance and recognition from a provincial Government. He explained that under the Wardha scheme of education some of the industrial processes mentioned in the Act might be carried on, but they should not be treated as a workshop. Mr. *Joshi* considered the amendment unnecessary because the prohibition of child labour would apply only to places where hired labour was employed. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* pointed out that without the amendment provincial Governments might not be able to start schools under the Wardha scheme. Mr. *Aney* supported Mr. Desai's observations. Sir *Zafarullah Khan* explained that there were no schools under the Wardha scheme at present. When they were started in a sufficient number and if there was then any apprehension of the Act working adversely, it would be the easiest thing to amend the Act. Since, however, the House appeared in favour of the amendment now, he had no objection.

The House then passed the bill as amended.

INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING AMEND. BILL

Sir G. S. Bajpai introduced in the Assembly to-day a bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act. The statement of objects and reasons explains that the Act IX excludes from the definition of a pilgrim a child under one year of age and further empowers the Central Government to direct by notification that two persons of the age of one year or upwards and under the age of 12 years shall be reckoned as one pilgrim.

COAL MINES SAFETY BILL

After a brief debate the House agreed to refer to a select committee *Sir Zafarullah's* bill to make a further provision for safety in coal mines. Mr. *Akhil Chandra Datta*, moving the reference of the bill to a select committee, said

that the subject was one of great complexity and some of the portions of the bill were highly controversial. There was no dispute as regards the main principle of the safety of workers and the conservation of resources. The difference of opinion would be on the question of the cess to be levied. The House then adjourned.

Muslim Divorce Law Bill

14th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly had an interesting debate to-day on the final stage of Mr. *Kazmi's* Muslim Divorce Bill. One witnessed markedly divergent views expressed by two members of the Government. Sir *Zafrullah* seemed gratified with a measure whose outstanding merit, he claimed, was that it enunciated in clear and precise form the various grounds of divorce whereas the *Law Member* sought to cool the ardour of the reformers like Mrs. *Subbaroyan*, contending that the Bill, far from being a measure of advance, really went back to ancient practice and wondered whether Hindus desired a similar going back to 4,000 years ago. Conversion to Islam, the Law Member acidly suggested, with examples in Bengal in his mind, would be one way for Hindu women to secure divorce without difficulty.

There was a warm debate at an earlier stage over Mr. *Murtaza's* amendment, laying down that Muslim Judges alone were competent to try cases under the Act. The law Member pointed out administrative difficulties in giving effect to such a provision, adding with emphasis that, on principle, the Government could not accept what amounted to a reflection on the judicial integrity of non-Muslim Judges. Messrs. *Aney*, *Asaf Ali* and *Abdul Qayum* all opposed the amendment from different points of view while Mr. *Nairang* and Sir *Raza Ali* saw definite advantages in such an arrangement. The amendment was ultimately rejected by an enormous majority though Sir *Zafrullah* pointed out during the third reading debate that no question of principle was involved. Ultimately the House amidst acclamation passed the Bill.

Cr. P. C. Amend. Bill

Over *Sardar Sant Singh's* Bill to amend a section of the Criminal Procedure Code, dealing with the hardship arising from double punishment in certain cases, Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, on behalf of the Government, offered strenuous opposition, reminding the Assembly that a similar amendment had been negatived on two previous occasions. Nevertheless, the House decided to refer the Bill to a Select Committee by 41 votes against 39. The House then adjourned.

Assistance to Hand-made Matches

15th. FEBRUARY :—An innocent looking resolution moved by Mr. *Sriprakasa* for assistance to the manufacture of matches in cottages developed into a first class debate to-day and brought Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* and Sir *James Grigg* out on the future of India's economic policy. Mr. *Boyle*, of the European group, resisted the motion as a menace to the foreign industrialists now operating in India. In the heat that was generated Mr. *Joshi's* plea for a humane treatment to the labourers in the factories fell rather flat. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* took the debate to a very high plane when he dismissed even the argument of loss of revenue (estimated at about Re. one crore) as something worth facing if people in the cottages could by manufacturing matches add to their daily income even by one pice per day. And he categorically enunciated the Congress view: 'I would rather give my money to Kasturbhai or Ambalal rather than to Smith or John or to Okumara, for my money would remain in India and it would be possible for me later to take it back from Kasturbhai or Ambalal.'

Against this declaration of economic policy by a member of the Congress High Command which had the backing of the entire Indian elected block in the House, Sir *James Grigg* strongly protested as the Finance Member was anxious to protect the revenues of this country. But speaking as an Englishman he bluntly asked: 'Is it your Congress programme that no non-Indian should carry on any industry whatever,' and when the Opposition benches by ejaculations answered in the affirmative, Sir James Grigg could only retort with Herr Hitler's latest theory applicable to Germany: 'Germany must export or die,' meaning India must export or die.' This threat did not avail the Government, for the resolution was carried by 60 votes against 42.

Status of Women

The House then took up Mr. *Jinaraja Hedge's* resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to examine and report the present position of women under the existing laws with special reference to the rights of maintenance, inheritance,

succession, marital rights etc. Mr. Hedge narrated the various disabilities and disadvantages which Indian women were labouring and emphasized the urgent need for a committee as suggested in the resolution. Sir *N. N. Sircar*, opposing the resolution, declared that it was so impractical and imposed such duty on the unfortunate committee. He expressed grave doubts as to whether the committee contemplated would be able to submit one report. The proposition was so absolutely impossible that no single committee could do justice. He suggested that the proper procedure would be to take individual problems and bring them before the House to discuss them on their merits. The discussion had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned.

DISCUSSION OF RAILWAY BUDGET

16th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly held to-day the general debate on the Railway Budget. *Pandit Nilkanta Das* opened the debate with a criticism of the stores purchase policy of the railways. The sum of about 20 crores spent on purchases was in his opinion the most important item and constituted the main justification for treating railways as a national asset but, he pointed out, there was a gradual decrease in the amount of purchases made in India. State-managed railways sinned more in this matter in gradually increasing their purchases from abroad since 1932-33 from 58.1 per cent to 62.9 per cent. He took particular objection to the purchase of rails from abroad amounting to 178.9 lakhs in spite of the undertaking given to the House to purchase rails from the Tatas.

Sir *Henry Gidney* made a vigorous attack on many features of the railway administration. He described the budget as colourless, sensationless, thrill-less and ripple-less (laughter). He objected to the heavy interest charges. He proceeded to make a strong plea for the removal of the discrimination between subordinates and officials in the matter of leave reserve and passes. He gave a similar warning against any attempt to impose a cut in salaries. He also strongly criticised the authorities for creating difficulties in the way of employees trying to transfer their service from one State-managed railway to another.

Mr. *Muthuranga Mudaliar* was of opinion that with proper management the surplus could have been doubled. Railway administration was at present being carried on in the interests of the foreign capitalist and the foreign employee. He criticised the composition of the Railway Board, and the force of Indianising the higher ranks of railway service.

Mr. *Nauman* (Muslim League) was not convinced that the Railway administration had been doing all that was expected from it. No indications has been given of economies effected.

Sir Thomas Stewart, replying to criticisms on the Railway Budget, observed that an honest student of the debates in this House would find a great similarity from year to year. Sir Thomas assured the House that even though in his reply he might not be able to deal with every point made in the course of the debate, no suggestion was made in the house of which due note was not taken and which was not analysed and scrutinised. The general impression of the budget appeared to be that it was an uneventful one ; that was not bad when one remembered the saying that the country was happiest which had no history. It had been said by Mr. Basu that a successful Budget was dependent more on extraneous circumstances than on those who administered the department concerned. He hoped, said Sir Thomas, that when evil days came that member would be equally reasonable in apprortioning blame and credit. Sir Thomas assured that the Railway Board did not shut its eyes and make a good guess as to freight policy but did take into consideration the present day tendencies although even these tendencies in the present circumstances should be largely guess work. Administrations, like Railways, said Sir Thomas, were very easy to criticise ; but he urged the Opposition to bear in mind that the Railways were the country's own property, and then criticise. The Assembly then adjourned till the 18th.

INTRODUCTION OF NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

18th. FEBRUARY :—The House took up to-day non-official bills. *Sardar Sant Singh's* Bill to amend sec. 205 Cr. P. C., discussion on which had not concluded on the last non-official day, was referred to a select committee by 49 to 42 votes. The Bill according to the sponsor was meant to meet cases where justice demanded that the personal appearance of the accused in the court be dispensed with but the court was prevented from giving exemption on account of sec. 205 Cr. P. C.

Mr. *N. V. Gadgil* introduced the Bill to amend the Foreigners' Act of 1864. The Bill, in view of the present political situation and developments in the country,

sought to evolve a common citizenship and to remove all obstacles under this Act hindering subjects of native states in this direction.

Mr. *B. Das* introduced the Bill to amend the Indian States (protection against disaffection) Act of 1922 so as to make clear that the prosecution of an offence committed under the Act could only take place in the town or the district where the publications were first printed or where the editor or author of a newspaper or a book or a document usually resided. Cases occurred in the past when powerful interests started the prosecution of an editor in the place where the offending document had been sold, thereby causing undue hardships for the editor or the author to defend his case.

Mr. *Mohanlal Saxena* introduced a bill to safeguard the rights and interests of Indian nationals abroad. The Bill, according to the statement of objects and reasons, was based on the recognised accepted principle of reciprocity while laying down the guiding principle for safeguarding Indian rights and interests against invidious discrimination. It left the Government and the legislature free to exercise unfettered discretion in deserving cases with due regard for special circumstances. It ensured a period of six months for further negotiations in every case and if a delinquent State remedied the wrong and accepted a satisfactory solution during the period it would not be affected.

Dr. *G. V. Deshmukh* moved reference to a Select Committee of his bill to give the right to divorce to Hindu women. Mr. *Bajoria* moved that discussion on Dr. Deshmukh's Bill be postponed till the next day for non-official bills. He explained that he was not actuated by any motives of obstruction but so far he had received only one page of opinions on the bill which had been circulated for opinion. That page contained opinions of obscure croners like Pant, Piploda and Coorg (laughter). The House agreed to postponement of further discussion of the Bill and adjourned.

Voting on Railway Demands

20th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly to-day discussed demands for grants under the Railway Budget. Mr. *Satyamurthi* moved a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand for the Railway Board in order to censure the Government "for their failure to evolve and follow a long range policy regarding Railway finance". Mr. *K. Santanam*, supporting Mr. Satyamurthi, advocated a threefold policy of Railway administration. Mr. *B. Das*, supporting the cut, held that some of the railways since the last four years, had been running at a loss. What special control, he asked, was being applied by the Financial Commissioner to these railways. The House divided on the Congress Party's cut motion and it was passed by 65 to 40 votes. The Muslim League, the European group and the Government voted together against the motion.

Mr. *Avinashilingam Chettiar* then moved another cut of Rs. 100 in the demand under the head of the railway board, to discuss the matter of the Indianization of the higher services of the railways. Mr. Chettiar referred to the appointment of Indians as agents to the railways and as members of the railway board and asked how many more years it would take for complete Indianization. He charged the Government with arranging things in such a way that there should be permanent importation of men from England. This reservation of the policy in favour of the Europeans was totally wrong and should be rejected.

Replying to the debate, Sir *Thomas Stewart* pointed out that the mover had based his case on one or two instances. He, however, asserted that the figures really showed that there had been an honest endeavour to work the policy laid down. Prior to laying down a policy of systematic Indianization in 1926, the percentage of the Indians in 1924-25 was 29.41, while in 1937-38 it was 52.53. This represented an increase from 305 to 508. The number of European officers had decreased from 732 in 1924-25 to 459 in 1937-38. Turning to the recruitment figures—direct or by promotion—he pointed out that out of a total of 185 the number of the Indians was 140, of the Europeans 45. In 1937-38, of the 21 persons recruited only three were Europeans. These figures, he added, were made with reference to the communal proportions prescribed in the 1934 resolution of the House. He added that the figures quoted only referred to recruitment to the State-managed railways. The company-managed railways, though not compelled by the Government, had also fallen in with the request of the Government. The percentage of the Indians in the services of the company-managed railways had risen from 17.74 per cent. in 1924 to 44.39 in 1937-38.

The manufacture of locomotives in India was urged in the course of the debate on the next cut of Rs. 100 to censure the Government for not starting this industry. Mr. *Mohanlal Saxena*, moving the cut, referred to Sir Guthrie Russel's remarks in

presenting the budget to the Council of State that the Ajmere locomotive workshops would be working to or near capacity. That showed that locomotives, and meter gauge locomotives could be manufactured at a price not higher than that of the imported ones. One of the locomotive workshops, it had been calculated, would employ 10,000 men. That meant that by starting locomotive workshops the railways would make some recompense for the immense unemployment that they had caused among the men engaged in earlier forms of transport. The Debate had not concluded when the House adjourned.

21st. FEBRUARY :- Opposing the motion to-day, Sir *Thomas Stewart* pointed out that the mover had not made it clear whether the manufacture of locomotives would be a commercial proposition. He was not prepared to admit that the Government had broken any promises and reminded the House that efforts had been made since 1921 to set up such a factory, but this did not prove a success. Referring to the argument of securing self-sufficiency, he pointed out that even with a factory for locomotive manufacture the situation would not be very much different, as a large percentage of materials for the manufacture would still have to be imported. Those who stressed the argument of relieving unemployment, he continued, forgot that for relieving unemployment there must be a constant flow of work coming to such a factory and this could not be guaranteed. It has been insisted that the railways constituted a commercial department and they must be worked on commercial lines. If this was to be followed, the department could certainly not buy for 18 annas what was worth only 15 annas. He therefore opposed the motion. The House, on the contrary, accepted the motion without a division.

A reduction in the salaries of railway officials drawing Rs. 200 or more was urged in the course of the debate on the second cut motion moved, on behalf of the Nationalist party, by Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai*. Mr. Navalrai estimated that a graded cut would effect a saving of Rs. three or four crores which could be used for providing amenities to third class passengers. A Congress Minister, he said, was getting only Rs. 500 a month. *Sir Thomas Stewart* strongly opposed the cut. He was still hazy about the object of the mover. The pay bill of the Railway department was Rs. 35½ crores of which Rs. three crores went to the Gazetted staff and the remainder to the non-gazetted staff, that is, those drawing about Rs. 300 or below. A 10 per cent. cut in these salaries would bring only Rs. 30 lakhs ; and if the cut was extended down to those drawing Rs. 200, between Rs. 60 to 80 lakhs saving would result. This was not a considerable sum. The salary scales had already been reduced during the last three or four years on a graded scale ranging from 30 per cent in the higher and 10 per cent. in the lower salaries. This in due course was expected to effect a saving of Rs. 3½ crores. But it had been stated that the cut was in pursuance of a general theory that nobody should have remuneration on the scale on which the railway officers had. Why, he asked, should the railway officers be singled out for the purpose for this special treatment. Throughout the past months the railway officers had been subjected to very cruel treatment indeed. If on the top of this a suggestion was made that their pay should be cut it would result in demoralisation of the services that deserved better.

The motion was pressed to a division and carried by 58 votes to 43, the Muslim League party voting for it. The House then adjourned.

22nd. FEBRUARY :—The first of the cut motions to be moved to-day by the Muslim League party was moved by *Maulvi Abdul Ghani* to discuss the inadequate representation of Muslims in the railway services. The mover in an elabroate statistical speech gave a detailed information as to the percentage of the Muslims in the different railways and the different railway services, and declared that at the present rate it would take 90 years for the Muslims to obtain their proper quota in the higher services, nearly 120 years for the sub-ordinate services. *Khan Bahadur Piracha*, supporting, said that there were only about one lakh of Muslim out of about seven lakhs of railway employees, making a percentage of 2.26 in 1930. Now it was 22.2. This indicated the inadequacy of Muslim representation which, he said, was an old and unending tale.

Sir Raza Ali had two suggestions for the Government to consider in an endeavour to remedy the inadequacy of Muslims in railway services. He suggested that the Government should take the same steps for raising the Muslim quota as it took in giving effect to the Indianization programme. He admitted that it would rather be difficult to give effect to communal proportions. Another suggestion which he had to offer was that an intermediate recruitment should be instituted instead of waiting for the Muslims to rise from the lowest grade. Where there was a will, he declared, there was always a way.

Sir Thomas Stewart, replying, felt some doubt as to whether there was complete and precise understanding as to the exact obligations and liabilities of the Government of India for the breach of which they were now being accused. He explained the 1934 resolution which was the charter of the minorities under which the Muslims were to get 25 per cent. Referring to the superior services he pointed out that out of 13 recruitments in 1934-35 on the State-managed railways there were three Muslims, giving a percentage of 23.1. In 1935-36 there were six Muslims out of 24 with a percentage of 25. In 1936-37 there were two Muslims out of 18 recruits, or 11 per cent. This was because one of the selected Muslims was disqualified by the Medical Board, and two persons were required for special qualifications. In 1937-38 there were four Muslims out of 18 recruits representing 22 per cent. In the company-managed railways there were five Muslims out of 26 recruits in 1934-35; three out of 18 in 1935-36; nine out of 16 in 1936-37, nine out of 40 in 1937-38. This gave the total average of 20 per cent. in the State-managed, and 26 per cent. in the company-managed railways. Referring to Sir Raza Ali's suggestion to accelerate in the same way as they did in the Indianization programme, Sir Thomas Stewart denied that there was any deliberate policy of extra weightage adopted by the Government in connection with the Indianization programme. In the subordinate services, he continued, it was not possible to apply the 25 per cent. proportions as a flat rate on all the railways. It could only be treated as an overall figure with latitude to vary it according to the density and population of the territories served by any particular railway. The percentages of Muslims therefore varied from 60 per cent. in the N. W. Railway to 11 per cent. on the M. S. M. Railway. He also pointed out that Sir Raza Ali's suggestion of intermediate recruitment had been anticipated and there were orders which enabled 20 per cent. recruitment from outside. In this also appropriate share was given to the Muslims.

Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, replying to appeal not to press the motion, pointed out that there was great anxiety on the part of the Muslim League party on this question and they wanted to leave a landmark to beacon for Sir Thomas Stewart's successor on the records of the House to remind him of the demands of the Muslims. He assured the Railway Member that it was not intended as a censure and regretted his inability to withdraw the resolution. He noted with regret that Mr. Paramanand had introduced the old and hackneyed slogans. He appealed to Mr. Paramanand and the Congress Party, who were dumb all through the discussion and considered themselves above all such considerations, to realise the actualities instead of merely asserting theories of the oneness of the nation.

Mr. *Satyamurthi*, explaining the Congress attitude, declared that they were intent on attaining the freedom of the country as early as possible with the cooperation of all others. They did not want to interfere in the domestic quarrel between the Europeans—the smallest community in this country which enjoyed the biggest representation—and the Muslims. Why should there be a quarrel on this issue? His party would be glad if the whole treasury benches were full of Jinnahs and the railway board filled with Ziauddins. (Loud Laughter). The Congress believed in the need of giving adequate representation to all the communities and the Congress Governments following this policy justified this generosity. (Cheers; cries of 'no, no'). He concluded by appealing to the House to trust the Indians rather than non-Indians and not to put trust in the Princes or the Government of India. The motion was accepted without division.

Mr. *Azhar Ali* moved the last cut motion of the Muslim League party to discuss the detailed administration and the general policy of the Railway Board. He criticized the board on the ground that the power vested in them was transferred to the general managers of the railways with the result that there was no common policy and whatever decisions the general managers took the board endorsed them.

Sir Thomas Stewart said that in the debate there was a mixture of quite a number of subjects which had already been debated in the earlier cut motions. It was like serving the various portions of the debates which the House had already listened to. His reply to these debates was there and he was sure the House did not want him to repeat them. The motion was passed without division and the House adjourned.

24th. FEBRUARY :—Mr. *Miller*, on behalf of the European Group, initiated an interesting discussion over his "cut" motion suggesting the formation of an independent "Safety Squad" for railways. Though he had no criticism to offer in respect of officers deputed to enquire into causes of accidents, he felt that public apprehensions were not unnatural, leading to the demand for judicial enquiries in the cases of major disasters. Much better, he thought it would be, if investigating officers were divorced of all control by the Railway Board and all expectations from that quarter.

Sir *Abdul Halim Ghaznavi* again had a fling against the E. I. R. for their neglect of certain recommendations of the Thom Report particularly for allowing certain officials to continue in service. Mr. *Santanam* made his support to the proposal conditional upon acceptance of a judicial tribunal in every case involving loss of life, which Mr. *James* thought went beyond practicability. Mr. *Joshi* seemed delighted that this proposal should at last have come before the House through the European group, but Mr. *Pande* smelt a rat that the demand was being whittled down in this fashion. Sir *Thomas Stewart* revealed that he had already taken action by asking the Railway Board to submit a scheme for a self-contained cadre of Inspecting Officers, who would be independent of the Railway Board and directly under the Government of India,

Later, Mr. *Joshi*, over a "cut" motion charged the Government of India with breaking promises, particularly as regards the introduction of the Hours of Work Convention. He reiterated the demand made in previous years for the establishment of a provident fund for all railway employees. He considered the extra cost of Rs. 50 lakhs a mere trifle in view of the relief it would bring to thousands of workers. Mr, *Gadgil*, lucid as usual, supported the demands on behalf of railway workers, but Dr. *Ziauddin* came into conflict with Mr. Joshi over his suggestion that communal unions should be granted recognition. Mr. *Ranga* warned the Communications Member that railway labour was seething with discontent on account of the Agents' unwillingness to grant recognition, mentioning in this connection the long delay of over two years for restoring the recognition of the B. N R. Union. The contractors, he observed, exploited workers without scruple, and a minimum wage was essential to safeguard the interests of the poorest paid workers. Sir *Thomas Stewart* seemed not convinced by Mr. Joshi's plea that half a crore per year for provident fund for railway workers was justifiable expenditure out of railway revenues. Even if the proposal was confined to State lines, he said, the expenditure would amount to Rs. 27 lakhs per annum. Regarding the B. N. R. Union, he thought considerable progress had been made towards the establishment of satisfactory relations and the model set of rules, which the Railway Board had recently received, would, he thought, make considerable difference in the future.

Both the cut motions were accepted by the House.

Mr. *K. Santanam* then moved the last of the cuts on the Railway Budget demands, to reduce the demand under the head "Railway Board" by Rs. 70,000 to urge upon the Government the need for effecting economy particularly in working expenses. The motion was opposed by Dr. *Ziauddin* and Mr. *F. E. James*. Discussion had not concluded when the guillotine was applied, and the remaining demands were put to vote and passed. The House then adjourned to February 27.

WEIGHTS STANDARD BILL

27th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly passed to-day the Bill to establish standards of weight and the Bill further to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, 1923 and the Bill to amend the Insurance Act, 1938, after brief debates. Moving for consideration of the first Bill, Sir *Muhammad Zafrullah* Khan, Commerce Member, traced the history of the efforts to establish a uniform standard of weights and explained the constitutional position under which the Central Government was responsible for the establishment of standards of weights while the provincial Governments were concerned with weights and measures. The bill was then passed with minor amendments.

MERCHANT SHIPPING AMEND. BILL (CONTD.)

Sir *Girja Shanker Bajpai*, moving the Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, explained that it was intended to remove the conflict between the Indian Law and the provisions of the International Sanitary Convention, 1926, under which a provision was to be made in pilgrim ships in respect of each person, irrespective of age for an area of about 16 square feet in between the decks over and above the space reserved for the crew. The House passed the Bill.

INSURANCE ACT AMEND. BILL

The Bill to amend the Insurance Act, 1938, moved Sir *N. N. Sircar*, was next passed by the House with minor changes.

INVENTIONS PROTECTION BILL

Sir *Muhammad Zafrullah Khan* then moved for the consideration of the bill further to amend the law relating to the protection of inventions and designs which he explained, was mainly to prohibit the import of articles which infringed the patents already existing in India. The Assembly passed the Bill.

COAL MINES SAFETY BILL (CONTD.)

Sir *Muhammad Zafrulla Khan* then moved that the Bill to make further provision for safety in coal mines, as reported by the select committee, be taken into consideration. Sir Muhammad briefly explained the aims of the Bill which in the first place was intended to secure for safety in coal mines. The necessity for the bill arose out of the conditions that now prevailed in the coal fields in Jharia and Raniganj where the main work of extraction now was from pillars that had been left standing. The Bill would also help in securing conservation of coal resources of these mines. The Bill proposed to confer on the mining inspector the power to provide for safety in mines by sand stowing etc., to levy for defraying the cost of such stowing. Mr. *B. Das*, supporting the motion, hoped that rules be framed under this bill which would be placed on the table of the house. The discussion had not concluded when the house took up Mr. Asaf Ali's adjournment motion.

ADJ. MOTION—DELHI ELECTRIC SUPPLY

Mr. *Asaf Ali* at this stage moved his adjournment motion and characterise4 as scandalous the position in regard to rates for electric energy in Delhi. The company's generating cost was much less than two pies per unit but the company sold it at about 3½ annas per unit at present. If the Delhi municipality were given the distributing license they, it was expected, would be able to sell power at about one anna but even if they had to sell it at a slightly higher rate the profits, if any, would go back to the ratepayer unlike the profits made by the company now. By refusing the grant for distributing licence, the local Government had sold the municipality bound hand and foot to the company. Sir *Mohamed Zafrullah* referred to the enquiry made by Mr. Radcliff and the finding of that independent expert was that the proposal of the Delhi municipal committee was impracticable. Nevertheless, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi took advantage of the opportunity offered by the application for distributing licence and took up the matter with the company who would eventually make reductions in the rates for bulk as well as domestic consumption. For the former category the reduction was from three annas to two annas per unit up to five lakh units and from two to one and half annas per unit above five lakhs unit, while for domestic consumption the reduction was from 3.15 per unit to 2.75 per unit. The Delhi consumer had thus made very good business out of it.

The motion was pressed to a division and lost by 56 to 44 votes. The Assembly then adjourned till the next day when the Budget was presented.

Financial Statement for 1939-40

28th. FEBRUARY :—*Sir James Grigg* introduced to-day his budget for 1939-40. The estimates show a deficit of 50 lakhs, after making provision for—

(1) Introduction of slab system in income-tax instead of step system ; and
(2) reduction of excise duty on Khandsari sugar from Re. 1 to 8 annas per Cwt, yielding a revenue of 5½ lakhs.

The only other change in taxation is the doubling of the import duty on raw cotton expected to yield 55 lakhs which will more than cover the deficit.

The Finance Member hoped that the increased duty would promote the growing in India of the longer staples of cotton (of which over 700,000 bales were imported annually).

Sir James concluded by making a plea for political reconciliation. "Without this," he said, "Central and Provincial Governments alike in India must fail in the great task allotted to them of raising the standards of life of the people."

BUDGET AT A GLANCE

	In crores of Rs. 1939-40 Budget
Revenue	82.15
Expenditure	82.65
Surplus (+) or Deficit	—.50

The following is a summary of the Finance Member's speech :

1. 1937-38.—The financial year 1937-38 closed on balance Rs. 31 lakhs better than was anticipated in the revised estimates owing to a reduction of Rs. 9 lakhs

in expenditure and an increase of Rs. 22 lakhs in revenue. The amount available in the Revenue Reserve Fund to be carried forward to 1938-39 was thus increased from Rs. 75 lakhs to Rs. 1,06 lakhs. Against this, however, has to be set off a balance of Rs. 38 lakhs due to the Provinces on an account of their share of income-tax for 1937-38. The unexpected rise of Rs. 40 lakhs in income-tax receipts (which with a further Rs. 43 lakhs under Corporation Tax counterbalanced the fall of Rs. 82 lakhs under customs raised the amount to be paid to the provinces under the Niemeyer Award to Rs. 1,63 lakhs as compared with Rs. 1,25 lakhs distributed in March 1938.

THE REVISED ESTIMATES

2. 1938-39.—The recession in trade which set in towards the close of 1937-38 was much sharper than was anticipated, and the fall in customs receipts, now estimated at Rs. 3,67 lakhs, is the main factor in the net revenue deterioration of Rs. 2,92 lakhs. There is a net reduction of Rs. 18 lakhs in expenditure, in which the reduction of Rs. 1,18 lakhs in the Civil estimates (due mainly to economy measures) has more than made up for an increase of Rs. 1,00 lakhs for the Defence Services. The result is that an estimated surplus of Rs. 9 lakhs has been turned into a deficit of Rs. 2,65 lakhs.

Under Customs, the only rises of note are in imports of machinery and raw cotton. The total deterioration of Rs. 3,67 lakhs is due to a general shortfall under most other heads, particularly artificial silk fabrics and yarn and certain other textile items. The receipts from motor spirit, taking customs and excise together, though also very much lower than the budget estimates, still show an increase over the actuals of the previous year. On the other hand, the receipts from the jute export duty are now expected to reach the budget figure of Rs. 4,20 lakhs with the result that there should be no reduction in the amount payable to the jute growing provinces. Central Excise duties are likely to show a rise of Rs. 49 lakhs over the budget estimates, the main increase being under Sugar.

The revised estimate for Income-Tax shows an improvement of Rs. 79 lakhs, of which Rs. 35 lakhs go to increase the distributable pool of income-tax. As however the railway surplus is estimated to be Rs 51 lakhs less than the budget figure, the amount payable to the provinces becomes Rs. 1,12 lakhs, as compared to the budget forecast of Rs. 1,28 lakhs, which with the Rs. 38 lakhs due for the previous year, makes the total for distribution this year Rs. 1,10 lakhs.

The increase of Rs. 1,00 lakhs in Defence expenditure is the net result of increase amounting to Rs. 2,16 lakhs and reductions totalling Rs. 1,16 lakhs.

The economy measures which are mainly responsible for the reduction of Rs. 1,18 lakhs in Civil estimates began with the suspension of all new schemes in April 1938, when the trade recession first became serious ; later in the year a committee of Secretaries, presided over by the Home Member, examined expenditure in detail and enforced all possible economies that did not involve the retrenchment of permanent staff or the cessation of valuable activities on the part of Government.

The remainder of the reduction in expenditure is accounted for by a net fall of Rs. 24 lakhs under Interest, owing largely to a decease in the volume of Post Office Cash Certificates presented for payment and in the rate of interest payable on Postal Savings Bank Deposits, partly set off by an increase in the discount on Treasury Bills.

3. Revenue Estimates for 1939-40.—The estimates of ordinary revenue for 1939-40 amount to Rs. 82,15 lakhs.

BUDGET ESTIMATE

The budget estimate for Customs provides for a real incress of Rs 35 lakhs over the revised estimate for 1938-39 (though owing to an accounting change affecting both sides of the Budget there is an apparent decrease of Rs. 4 lakhs).

This is based on the assumption that items such as petrol and machinery will continue to show increasing yields and that there will be further reductions in the receipts for artificial silk fabrics and yarns and other textile fabrics. For the rest, the estimates are based on the revised estimates for the current year, for while there are signs that the present depression should in the ordinary course give way to a general trade revival, the international situation continues to be uncertain, and conditions do not appear to justify the raising of the general estimates above the level of the returns for the current year.

The estimates for Central Excise duties similarly follow the revised figures. Their main component is an estimate of Rs. 4,00 lakhs from the duty on sugar. This figure, together with the estimate of Rs. 20 lakhs under Customs from import duty on sugar, is to be regarded as nominal, for although any loss of excise revenue caused by a shortage of indigenous supplies should be more than made up by the Customs revenue on increased imports of foreign sugar, the various uncertain factors in the situation render it unsafe to assume a total income from both Excise and Customs duties of more than Rs. 4,20 lakhs.

In framing the budget estimates for 'Taxes on Income' it was first necessary to allow for the decline in trade, the effect of which has been taken at Rs. 81 lakhs. On the other hand, the adoption of the Slab System at the scale of rates shown in Appendix 2 of the Income-tax Enquiry Report of 1936 is expected to result in a net gain of Rs. 76 lakhs, a decrease of Rs. 93 lakhs in income-tax paid by individual assessees being more than counterbalanced by increases of Rs. 1,17 lakhs in super-tax from individuals and of Rs. 31 lakhs in income-tax and Rs. 21 lakhs in super-tax from Companies. Furthermore, the legislative changes contained in the Income-tax (Amendment) Bill, together with the abolition of the leave pay exemption, are expected to produce another Rs. 50 lakhs. All told the combined effect of the changes in assessment is an increase of Rs. 1,31 lakhs of which Rs. 21 lakhs is under Corporation Tax, and the final result is an improvement of Rs. 50 lakhs on the revised estimates for 1938-39. After the railway contribution of Rs. 2,13 lakhs has been taken into account the provincial share of Income Tax is estimated at Rs. 1.78 lakhs, which is Rs. 66 lakhs more than the revised estimates for the current year.

Posts and Telegraphs.—In spite of a decline in revenue it has been found possible to make equivalent reductions in expenditure, and a balanced budget is expected both in the current year and in 1939-40.

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE FOR 1939—40.

4. Defence.—The total provision for the Defence Services is Rs. 45,18 lakhs which is the same as the budget figure for the current year but is Rs. 1,00 lakhs less than the revised estimates. The Finance Member repeated his warning that the sums which it had been possible to allocate to the Defence Services in recent years had borne little relationship to military exigencies or to the international situation. He pointed out that the budget estimate for 1939-40 provided merely for standing charges and commitments and that it had only been possible to keep expenditure down to this figure by allowing for (1) the receipt of the addition of £300,000 to the Garran contribution, which he had announced on the 13th September, 1938, (2) the transfer of certain units to the Imperial Establishment and (3) the drawing on sinking funds to the extent of Rs. 49 lakhs for purposes other than those for which they were meant. The budget estimate also allowed for the receipt of £2,150,000, being the first part of the capital grant of £ 5 millions, also announced by the Finance Member on the 13th September, 1938. The Finance Member hoped that the decisions of His Majesty's Government on the Chatfield Report would result in further substantial amounts being made available to bring India's defence forces up to modern standards.

Interest—It is estimated that there will be a large decline, amounting to Rs. 1.96 lakhs as compared with the budget estimate for the current year, in the requirements under Interest. This saving is mainly accounted for by a reduction of Rs. 1,60 lakhs in the amount payable as bonus on Post Office Cash Certificates. The Finance Member pointed out that this substantial reduction in interest charges was largely due to careful management of the public debt on the part of his predecessor and to the policy of sound finance which had been pursued by the Government of India over a number of years.

The total estimate for expenditure is Rs. 3,00 lakhs less than the revised estimate for the current year. This substantial reduction is largely accounted for by the decreases under Defence and Interest which have been explained above, but under the remaining heads also expenditure has on the whole been kept at the level of the reduced amounts shown in the revised estimates by the prolongation of the economy measures brought into operation in the current year. The total figures for 1939-40 are thus :—

	Rs.
Revenue	82,15 lakhs
Expenditure	82,65 lakhs
Prospective deficit	50 lakhs

WAYS AND MEANS

5. Sterling Liabilities.—In the current year a further £3 millions of sterling Railway Debentures are being discharged and it is also expected to complete the transfer of the remaining liabilities in respect of sterling family pensions, which amount to about £6 millions. These further repayments of sterling debt will bring the total amount repatriated since 1935 to something like Rs. 65 crores, and next year the Government of India's sterling requirements are estimated at a little over £27 millions as compared to £36 millions in the current year; £37 millions in 1937-38 and £11 millions in 1936-37.

6. Borrowing Programme.—During the current year the combined cash and conversion issue of 3 per cent 1963-65 stock at 98 had produced Rs. 26,31 lakhs of which Rs. 19,93 lakhs had represented conversions of the 5½ per cent Loan 1938-40 and of the 5 per cent Loan 1939-40. The unconverted part of the 5½ per cent 1938-40 Loan has since been notified for discharge and next year the Government of India will have the option of redeeming the remainder of their 5 per cent 1939-40 Loan, the outstanding balance of which is a little over Rs. 20 crores.

CHANGES IN TAXATION

The Finance Member, detailing his taxation proposals, said:

"I now return to the prospective deficit of Rs. 50 lakhs in the present circumstances; our resources in the way of new taxation are somewhat circumscribed. The yield of increased income-tax goes mainly to the Provinces; even over the revenue part of the field, customs duties in general are as high as is consistent with a maximum yield, while over the protection part, the return is rapidly declining. So far as excises are concerned, a delicate situation has been created by the judgment of the Federal Court which amounts to saying that there is concurrent power in the realm of internal indirect taxation. The full implications of this judgment are not yet apparent to me, but one of the most important of them has been pointed out by the Chief Justice himself, viz., the need for mutual forbearance in this sphere lest the taxing authorities should by the simultaneous exercise of their powers raise the price of the article taxed to a height at which consumption is seriously curtailed. There is also the reminder of the Chief Justice that, in the absence of this mutual forbearance, the ability of the Centre to continue to make or to make new devolutions under Section 140 of the Government of India Act will be jeopardised.

The first subject chosen for the exercise of the concurrent taking power is of course motor spirit and, if I may say so, the "obiter dicta" of the Chief Justice apply with great force in this instance. Certainly for my part, I do not propose to meet our own deficit by an increase in the taxation on motor spirit.

DUTY ON RAW COTTON DOUBLED

However, I must not tax your curiosity any longer—particularly as it will yield no revenue—and so I say that I have finally come down in favour of increasing the taxation on one of the extremely few items of the customs tariff which shows an expanding yield, viz., that relating to raw cotton, and I propose that the duty should be doubled. I shall no doubt be told that by this measure I am indulging my usual vendetta against indigenous industry. I might with a good deal more justice, retort that perhaps the increased duty would do something to promote the growing of the longer staples of cotton in India and this is no contemptible objective when we remember that Indian mills are importing over 700,000 bales of these varieties a year. However, I take neither the blame nor the credit for either of these objectives. My design is simply to balance the budget by the least burdensome means open to me and that I claim to be doing. The increased duty will operate as from to-morrow and we can, I think, safely put the extra yield at Rs. 55 lakhs a year. With this addition to the revenue our final figures become:

	Rs. Lakhs
Revenue	... 82,70
Expenditure	... 82,65
Surplus	... 5

NEED FOR POLITICAL RECONCILIATION

At this stage, I suppose I ought to review the whole financial history of my five years of office or at any rate to try to draw its moral. But I shall do nothing of the sort. For India, as for the rest of the world, the future is much more important than the past. The political outlook has many menacing features both in India and outside.

Many difficult problems face those responsible for the conduct of affairs in India and elsewhere. For India, as for the rest of the world, there is no hope save in a release of the stresses which operate between race and race and between community and community. If that release can take place, India will not only be more prosperous in itself, it will also share in the very much increased prosperity of the world at large and in both cases the potential growth of economic welfare is almost limitless. And I would like the last words of my last budget speech to be simply a restatement of the obvious truth that without political reconciliation—the word appeasement has perhaps become too hackneyed—Central and Provincial Governments alike in India must fail in the great task allotted to them of raising the standards of life of the people.

New Income-Tax Rates

INCOME-TAX

The following is the table showing the rates of income and super-taxes proposed :

A. Individuals, Unregistered Firms, Hindu Undivided Families and Associations of persons (other than Companies.)

	Income Rs.	Rate per Rupee. A. P.
First	... 1,500	Nil.
Next ...	... 3,500	0 9
„ ...	... 5,000	1 3
„	... 5,000	2 0
Balance of income	... ...	2 6

No tax payable on incomes not exceeding Rs. 2,000; Income-tax on incomes just above Rs. 2,000 to be restricted to half the excess of the income above Rs. 2,000.

B. Rate for Companies—2 annas 6 pies in the rupee.

SUPER-TAX

A. Assessees other than Companies.	Rs.	Rate at annas per rupee. A. P.
First ...	... 25,000	Nil.
Next ...	... 10,000	1 0
„ ...	... 20,000	2 0
„ ...	... 70,000	3 0
„ ...	... 75,000	4 0
„ ...	... 1,50,000	5 0
„ ...	... 1,50,000	6 0
Balance of income	...	7 0

B. Companies—1 anna in the rupee on the whole income (no exempted slab).

No surcharge to be charged in respect of either the Income-tax or the Super-tax.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

7th. MARCH :—Before the general discussion of Budget commenced to-day Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* moved an adjournment motion on Kenya. The motion sought to discuss the failure of the Government of India to secure the annulment of the existing practice with regard to the alienation and transfer of lands in the Kenya Highlands to Indians and the disquieting fact that non-British subjects of the European race will receive preferential treatment as against Indians. The motion was accepted without discussion.

General discussion on the Budget was then opened by Mr. *Manu Subedar* from the Congress benches. Mr. Subedar felt that the Indian Financial system was patchwork prepared by opportunists who were anxious to conceal from the people and from the legislature the true position. The Financial arrangements were such that the Government were nervous every time there was a project for the production of something in India. Every assistance asked for and every encouragement or facility sought was turned down because all such requests were considered only with reference to a diminishing revenue from import duties. This was a basic defect in the financial structure which would have continued if the law of diminishing returns had not intervened and compelled the Finance Member to restate policy.

Mr. *Abdul Qaiyum* suggested the raising of a volunteer army from among Indians and Indianisation of the existing British army. That would reduce expenditure and make the army more efficient. He strongly criticised the forward policy on the frontier and said he suspected the object was to gain a foothold for a future war in Central Asia. He opposed the cotton duty and pointed out that the fifty crore gap could have been filled by a cut in high salaries of Government officials.

Mr. *Bhutto* commended two features of the Budget, namely, absence of novel forms of tax and enforcement of internal economy. The cotton duty, he said, was a blessing in disguise to the Indian cotton cultivator. Indian mills should consume only Indian cotton he asserted, and in order to enfore this principle he would even support complete stoppage of all foreign cotton. Dealing with the Sukkur barrage, he stated it was constructed at a time when prices were high and therefore capital expenditure was correspondingly high. He favoured a revaluation of the barrage at a lower figure so as to reduce interest charges.

Mr. *Kailash Behari Lal* criticised what he regarded as denial of equal opportunities to provinces to improve their economic conditions as exemplified in the refusal to open broadcasting stations in certain provinces like Bihar. He emphasised that these stations carried with them economic as well as educative values which should be shared by all parts of the country. He also averted to the paucity of beharis in the Indian army.

Mr. *Azhar Ali* declared that India's credit did not stand very high in the eyes of the people of the country, however high the Finance Member might saw it stood in the international market. He strongly condemned taxing of raw materials such as cotton and also the ban on the export of sugar from India to countries abroad.

Sardar Sant Singh, after referring to the happy news of the Rajkot settlement, said the budget was a business-like one but complained it had not been made interesting to ordinary lay man.

Mr. *Ghiasuddin* unreservedly congratulated the Finance Member on the increase in the cotton duty. He however criticised the expenditure incurred for providing more amenitites for British troops instesd of using the money for buying armaments.

Mr. *R. N. Basu* thought that the budget was featureless and there was nothing extraordinary or striking in it. He regretted that there was no return to the half anna postcard. He was of opinion that the incometax slabs were a bit too large while the new cotton duty was an indirect subsidy of about four percent to lancashire.

Mr. *K. S. Gupta* declared that the Finance Member was a skilful juggler who with a stroke of the pen converted a deficit into a surplus. He criticised the expenditure on defence and said that no other country spends so much as half the income on defence.

8th. MARCH :—Mr. *Aikman* complained of encroachment by Provincial Governments on the field of central taxation and said that there was a very real danger both to the financial structure as a whole and to industrial and commercial development. *Sir Henry Gidney* referred to the economy effected in the Civil Estimates and warned the Finance Member that economy and efficiency were strange bed-fellows. He also pointed out that there was plenty of room for economy in the medical section of the Defence Department.

Mr. *Rafiuddin Ahmed Siddique*, making his maiden speech, stressed the need for a change in the scale of pay of officials, for Indianising the Army and for ending the present military policy in Waziristan.

Mr. *Asaf Ali* sympathised with the position of the Finance Member who "had to adopt a Jekyll and Hyde complex in doing his job" and laid down three criteria for judging the result of his stewardship of the country's finances. Had the average income of the people, the total number of industries and the price of commodities increased during the period of his Finance Membership ?

Sir James Grigg made a long speech replying to the debate. He characterised the Congress Party's complaint of "under-estimating" as "an echo of their master's voice, the voice of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and maintained that the Budget had not been framed on a pessimistic basis. He defended the duty on raw cotton and observed that talk of ruination of the Indian mill industry was "complete rubbish."

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AMEND. BILL

The House next passed the Bill to further amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923. The Bill was intended to remove the doubts occasioned by con-

flicting decisions of High Courts as to whether on account of the expression 'employed on monthly wages' occurring in the definition of a workman in the Workmen's Compensation Act a worker whose wages were paid otherwise than monthly could claim benefits of the Act. The Bill proposed to make it clear that it was never the intention of the Act to debar a worker on such ground. The Bill also sought to enable a workman whose claim had been rejected on this ground to have the investigation of his claim reopened

Cotton Ginning & Pressing Amend. Bill

The second Bill to amend the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act 1925 sought to meet the representations of cotton dealers that under the Ginning and Pressing Factories Act a rigid application of the provision which enabled a purchaser to reject a bale, if it was not marked as required by the law, caused great hardship to the trade. The House then adjourned.

Foreigners' Registration Bill

9th. MARCH :—The Assembly to-day agreed to reference to a Select Committee of *Sir Reginald Maxwell's* Registration of Foreigners Bill. In moving that the Bill be taken into consideration, *Sir Reginald* said that its object was a simple one and its provisions were confined to the creation of the legal machinery necessary for maintaining a register of the foreigners who were at any time present in British India and keeping that register up to date." "I do not, however, pretend that this is the only or even the principal ground for bringing this measure before the House. I have hitherto been speaking only of what is necessary in moral times, that is to say, times of peace. In the present world circumstances however, we cannot ignore the possibility that this country might at some time or other become involved in war, and that in such a war some of the foreigners present in the country might conceivably become a source of danger. I do not say that any special or immediate apprehension exist at this moment, but it is a possibility that must be kept in mind and in such matters the only safe maxim is to be prepared in peace for any measures that may become necessary in war.

"Government have for some time past been engaged in an examination of the measures which might become necessary in a war emergency and the problem of dealing with foreigners is one of the subjects which have come under consideration. Referring to the available figures of foreigners, Sir Reginald stated that in 1931, when the last census was taken, there was a total os 572,000 but a very large number of them were such that by long usuage they were hardly considered foreigners. Sir Reginald announced that in deference to the wishes of party leaders he was prepared to accept the amendment for reference of the bill to a Select Committee on the understanding that it should complete its works in time to enable the Bill to be taken through the final stages in the present session.

Sand-Stowing Bill

The House then continued the debate on the Sand-Stowing Bill as reported by the Select Committee, consideration of which had been moved by Sir *Mohamed Zafrullah* in an earlier litting.

Voting on Budget Demands

10th. MARCH :—The question hour lasted only 15 minutes to-day and the House thereafter took up the discussion on cut motions in the general budget. The European group opened the discussion with a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand under 'Executive Council' to raise a debate on the relationship between provincial and central finances. Mr. *L. C. Buss*, moving a cut, acknowledged that Sir James Grigg's keenest critics could hardly deny that he had been outstandingly successful in his object of providing funds for provincial needs, while at the same time securing a position of stability in his own budget and placing India's credit high. Mr. Buss criticized the petrol sales tax and the employment tax and declared that these were the issues about which there was a very good case for discussion and a reasonable interpretation of the Government of India Act. It would be a sorry state of affairs if the intransigience of provinces over such matters as these should compel the centre through sheer necessity, owing to contracting sources of revenue, to withhold their contributions to the provincial exchequers from such funds as they would normally share with provinces. The prohibition programme, said Mr. Buss, was the immediate source of the difficulties of the provinces and an incentive to look for supplementary revenue in directions which clashed with the interest of the centre. Mr. Buss pleaded for a frank and intimate discussion between the financial authorities at the centre and in

the provinces as the best way of achieving a reasonable interpretation of their respective fields of taxation. Such a discussion was the immediate need, he said, regardless of the probable or improbable date of federation.

Sir *James Grigg*, after stressing the importance of the subject, observed that with all federations there must be a period during which respective taxation in the spheres of federation and units had to be delimited by the Federal Court and India could not expect to escape the process which, however much it might be represented as a fight between the centre and units, was the necessary one. The first step in this process was the case in regard to the C. P. petrol tax. He stated in reply to questions in the House that the Government had been carefully considering the full implications of the judgments in this case and that it was wise to say as little as possible. That in the main must still be his attitude, though he might remind the House of the observations he had made in his budget speech and of the Chief Justice's declaration that there must be mutual accommodation and forbearance between conflicting jurisdictions. As regards the plea for regular conferences of Finance Ministers, the Finance Member said that he had already explained his attitude. The first conference of this kind was held in 1938 at his instance. It then discussed this very problem which had now arisen in an acute form in the C. P. case of the apparent overlapping of excises and sales taxes. He had made certain suggestions which, believing as he then did that taxes on sales of individual commodities were not within the provincial sphere, he then thought, were fair and generous. Those proposals were not acceptable to the provincial representatives. But even now he believed that those proposals were the only possible solution of the problem and were completely appropriate even to the changed circumstances.

The employment tax raised two issues, (1) concurrent jurisdiction, and (2) special responsibilities for the protection of the rights of the services. As there were two questions, it behoved him to be doubly discreet. With preoccupation with the income-tax legislation it was physically impossible to hold a second conference of Finance Ministers, but there was no reason why conferences should not be resumed hereafter. It was, however, no good holding these conferences if they were to be used as a means for a concerted attack by the provinces on the centre. They must arise from and result in a genuine attempt of cooperation. The financial solvency and stability at the centre must be preserved at all costs. It might be possible for a long time to have financial stability at the centre without having it in the provinces, but 'we cannot even for a short time have financial stability in the provinces without having it in the centre'. Subject to this prime consideration, it was the duty of the centre to do what it could for the provinces and he claimed that the Government of India had done and were doing this. In the present budget there were ten or twelve crores by way of assistance to the provinces. When the Niemeyer Award was drawn up nobody supposed that devolution of income-tax would begin for five years but in point of fact devolution started straightaway and with the passing of the income-tax legislation designed to improve the machinery and structure of income-tax it would be possible to devolve further sums. The Niemeyer process was continuous but it was not going to help much. The 'quasi' ultimate issue was that the military expenditure must be reduced, the saving should be given to provinces, pay must be cut and double income-tax relief must be abolished. For that means that they would only arrive at friction and non-cooperation and what was wanted was cooperation to the common end for the amelioration of the condition of the masses of people. If the object was to destroy not only the transitional constitution and force something quite different then all he had said was irrelevant and the outlook for India was not good.

13th. MARCH :—Dr. Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed* moved the first of the Muslim League Party cuts to-day to reduce the demand under the head executive council by Re. 1/- to discuss the inadequate representation of Muslims in central services other than railways. He then proceeded to deal with Muslim representations in the Labour Department, the Archaeological Department, the Central Board of Revenue and the Medical Research Department. He suggested that the percentage of Muslims in each Department should be so fixed that they might obtain the 25 p.c. share within ten years. Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, replying to the debate, divided the arguments advanced into two classes, namely, expression of doubt at to whether the 1934 resolution was being carried out as it stood and, secondly, arguments offering suggestions for further advancing the policy laid down in order to accelerate the achievement of its object. On the question of posts requiring technical quali-

fications he pointed out that this question was being examined afresh to see whether any modifications were necessary. As regards promotion by seniority the general rule was that it was subject to the fitness of the senior man and such promotions occurred only in cases where the promotion was to a post in a superior cadre and here it was not entirely open to a Hindu or a Muslim according to any pre-determined plan. Concluding, he offered to investigate any complaint that was brought to his notice regarding the working of the resolution. Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed* at this stage expressed satisfaction with the assurances given by the Home Member and asked for leave to withdraw the motion. The motion was then withdrawn.

Mr. *Siddique Ali Khan* moved the second Muslim League Party cut of the day to discuss "the departure from the practice of using Urdu script in postal forms." He referred to many instances in which post offices in places such as Sind, where Urdu was spoken by many people, did not have forms printed in Urdu. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned.

14th. MARCH :—Sir *Thomas Stewart*, replying to the debate to-day, pointed out that there had been no departure from the practice of using such forms. The real charge that was raised, according to him, was that the Post and Telegraph department had been endeavouring to suppress Urdu forms and for this purpose had entered into a conspiracy with the Congress. He denied this charge categorically and declared that it was not the practice of the Government or the Post and Telegraph department to take sides in any political or literary disputes. The speeches during the debate, he continued, were an attempt to persuade the Government to take part in propaganda for popularising the Urdu script. The Postal department could not depend on any considerations other than practical.

The motion was pressed to a division and rejected by 41 to 12 votes, the Congress party remaining neutral.

Sir *Ziauddin* moved a cut motion under 'Posts and telegraphs department' to discuss the allowing of 'one-sided propaganda and withholding of telegrams sent by a rival party'. He referred to a telegram published in the press about the recent incidents in the Aligarh University in which it appeared that students had been guilty of burning books. As a matter of fact he found on enquiry that this was entirely wrong and the telegrams giving the other side of the picture had been handed in but withheld by the telegraph authorities.

Sir *N. N. Sircar*, Law Member, explained that the decision whether a telegram was objectionable or alarming was taken by the district magistrate and not by a fifteen-rupee clerk. How salutary and absolutely essential the provision of this power to withhold objectionable telegrams was, would be evident if one reflected on the incalculable harm that will befall for instance by a false telegram stating that a certain bank of Bombay had gone into liquidation.

Sir N. N Sircar pointed out that Mr. *Satyamurti* was correct in holding that the rule was *ultra vires* of the section referred to by him but the rule was not made under that section but under the rule-making powers. The motion, as it stood, however did not refer to rules but the posts and telegraphs department who were only acting on the district magistrate's orders.

The cut motion was pressed to a division and passed by 53 to 41 votes, the Congress party and Congress nationalists voting with the Muslim League party.

Mr. *Muhammad Nauman* next got up to move the last of the Muslim League party's cut motions to discuss the condition to be imposed on subsidized or protected industries in India. He had not concluded his speech when the time allotted to the Muslim League party expired and the Congress Natioualist cut motions were taken up.

The House passed by 57 votes to 46 Mr. *Sant Singh's* cut motion to discuss the constitution and terms of reference of the Sandhurst Committee contrary to the terms in the resolution passed by the Assembly. He considered the composition and terms of reference of the Committee derogatory to the prestige of the House and humiliation. Even if freedom of choice was necessary, it should have been exercised not to satisfy the British Government but Indians who were vitally concerned.

Mr. *Ogilvie*, replying to the charges, pointed out that so far as the terms of reference were concerned they met the demand of the resolution of the House which asked for implementing the recommendation of the Skeen Committee, namely, five years after starting Indian Sandhurst there would be review of pace of Indianisation. These were implemented now by the present committee. He reiterated the views regarding the excellence of material coming into the Army and also about the the difficulty of tapping sources of this material. This question was so important

that the Government included it among the terms of reference. For acceleration of recruitment there should be available sufficient good material. The Government were very anxious about this and in this connection he reminded the House that in 1938 the number of candidates who offered themselves for thirty commissions in the army had fallen to 128 from 226 in 1933 the peak year. Turning to the personnel of the committee, he pointed out that the present membership was based on variety of reasons which included the need for widest possible experience and practical interest in the nature of the problem. The motion was pressed to a division and accepted by 57 votes to 46. The Assembly then adjourned.

15th. MARCH :—Mr. *S. Satyamurti* moved the first of the Congress party's cut to censure the Government for its defence policy and administration. 'What is the Government's defence policy'? asked Mr. Satyamurti in moving the cut. This policy, he declared, ultimately depended on the foreign policy of Great Britain. He condemned this policy as a purely spineless policy. 'We in India who can work out our foreign policy,' he continued, 'are not consulted. He did not see any particular danger to India from Asiatic countries. India, he proceeded, was weak at present in the most decisive arms in the defence of any country, namely, air and arm. He felt that there would be very little difficulty in completely Indianizing the air force in India, because the British were also new comers in this field and could not put forward those claims which were maintained in connection with the land and sea forces. India had no territorial or commercial ambition in any part of the world and as such it would not be difficult for her to remain neutral in wars of future. All that she required was the minimum highly equipped land forces with a first class citizen army as a second line defence. For this purpose the present expenditure was far too high and this country needed only about Rs. 25 crores. The Defence department, however, was not interested in defending India but defending imperialist interests. Another reason in censuring the defence policy and attitude was that the Defence department was consistently refusing to take people of this country and their representatives in confidence. Turning to the defence expenditure, he declared that the bulk of this was wasted on the frontier where wartime and peacetime were identical.

Mr. *Ogilvie*, replying to the debate, referred to the first main contention that the country was not in an adequate state of defence and regular forces were not properly distributed. This, he said, was natural criticism, but it must be viewed from the ultimate point that India had now the largest aggregate human beings, namely, 36 million people and to meet the defence requirements of all these they had only had an income of a Balkan State at the disposal of the central Government. The resources of this country had not been enough to secure the establishment of a first class land, sea and air force such as was necessary to defend the whole country on terms similar to those on which other countries depended. Britain had not defended India, someone else would have to. The advance in the perfection of armaments during the last 20 years was enormous and we could not hope to bear the cost of maintaining a modern army. 'We can, however, be thankful that in the event of a calamity overtaking this country, enormous reinforcements will be available.' Regarding the territorial force, he said that that again was a question of money. He doubted the practical value of a vast national militia as suggested by some members. Referring to Mr. Abdul Qaiyum's assertion that for the British to Indianize the army would be a suicide, the Defence Secretary said that an Indianized army would, they envisaged, be as loyal as its predecessor. The House at this stage adjourned.

16th. MARCH :—Mr. *T. S. A. Chettiar* moved the second of the Congress cuts to-day to discuss the conditions of Indians overseas. Mr. Chettiar narrated at length the conditions of Indians in South Africa quoting from Seth Govind Das's report. He referred to Ceylon where most of the Indians were from Madras. The Government of India's responsibility had now increased, he said, because the new income-tax law provided for taxing these Indians abroad. He assured the Government that the Congress was always prepared to support them in all the steps they might adopt to help overseas Indians.

Sir *Girja Shankar Bajpai*, replying to the debate, dealt with the more salient aspects of the subjects, namely, the questions of the Indians in South Africa, Fiji, British Guina, Ceylon and Malaya and the question of the appointment of agents. Dealing with South Africa, he admitted the difficulty and intensity of the situation and paid a tribute to the heroism of our countrymen there. Referring to the latest problem that the Indians in South Africa were in a state of grave apprehension as regards its outcome, he declared that this

apprehension was fully shared by the Government of India. We are and have been for the last fortnight in close correspondence with the Union Government and we are determined to try our utmost by method of negotiations and he for one was quite hopeful that this matter was being settled amicably and honourably to the satisfaction of all sections of Indians. In Fiji the main trouble was insecurity of land tenure. But this limitation, he reminded the House, applied to all and not merely to Indians. He informed the House about the possibility of throwing open to the development of all land not held by the Fijians with 99 years instead of 21, as a probable lease period. The Government of India had, he added, also taken up with his Majesty's Government the question of appointing an agent. In British Guiana the problem was of marriages and according to the law there, all marriages which were not registered were illegitimate. Mr. Tyson, he said, had been instructed to do his best to obtain a satisfactory solution. The Village Communities Ordinance was a question in Ceylon and he contented himself by reminding the House when the question of true relations would be taken up negotiation would also include the disabilities of Indians. Turning to Malaya, he assured the House that while dealing with the question the wages problem, status, etc. would be kept in view.

The motion was carried without a division.

Mr. *K. Santanam* moved a cut to discuss 'the failure of the Government of India to protect the cocoanut industry.' He said that there were 11 lakhs of acres in India, growing cocoanut, of which 13 lakhs were in the Madras Presidency and South Indian States. The price trend was shown by the fact that from Rs. 23 per cwt. in 1929 it came down to Rs. 6 in 1935 and after a brief period it rose again to Rs. 12. It fell again to Rs. 6. Ceylon cocoanut was being dumped at distress prices and what was essentially a cottage industry in Malabar was being ruined. The remedy was a specific duty on Ceylon cocoanut.

Sir *Muhammad Zafrullah Khan*, replying to the debate, stated that he had considerable sympathy with the view point voiced by the House. He pointed out that prices during the last ten years had shown a tendency to fluctuate, though from 1934 the prices had veered round giving the cultivator a better economic return. Since 1937 there was an unfortunate recession in prices, the decline in account being perhaps more than that in other cases. But adequate relief could be hoped only through a general rise in world prices. The Government, he asserted, was seriously considering the question. The motion was accepted by the House.

Mr. *Mohanlal Saxena* moved the last of the Congress cuts to discuss the question of the state prisoners detained without trial. He confined himself mainly to the question of the three prisoners confined in Delhi. Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, replying, stated that according to the debate there was no support to the mover from any part of the House. He felt, therefore, that his department was not guilty. The discussion was not concluded, when guillotine was applied and the remaining demands were passed without a division. The House then adjourned.

The Finance Bill Debate

17th. MARCH :—The Assembly began general discussion of the Finance Bill to-day the consideration of which was moved by Sir *James Grigg*. Opening the debate with a speech lasting over an hour, Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* described the Finance Member as conservative in estimating the income and socialistic in putting his hands into other people's pockets, and as the worst of the prodigals in expenditure. Taking first the largest source of income, namely, customs, Mr. Desai expressed the opinion that a sum of nearly Rs. 150 lakhs was concealed in the figures presented. This sum would be available from the expected sugar imports. Referring to the paltry sum of five and a half lakhs which was expected to result from the new proposals regarding khandsari sugar, he declared that the Finance Member was really hitting hard the smaller manufacturers and the poorer consumers who depended on these manufacturers. Turning to revenue from the incometax in revitalising which source of income they had not grudged their assistance, Mr. Desai said that the large proceeds which Sir James Grigg had promised when he introduced the Income-Tax Amendment Bill had diminished in the budget. The new law regarding trusts, asserted Mr. Desai, was sure to bring in a substantial income. Mr. Desai continued that the proceeds from the tax on foreign incomes on the accrual basis had not been taken into account while the results expected from tightening up the machinery of collection had not been shown. Sir James had argued that the proceeds

from the income-tax would be affected by deterioration in trade. He would point out, however, that this year's income-tax would be based on last year's profits and Sir James himself had said that last year was a good year. Mr. Desai next criticised the removal of the exemption limit on corporation super-tax. This, he declared, would gravely affect the smaller industries whose income approached Rs. 50,000. Referring to the proposal to tap the rich in order to counter-balance the relief given to the poor, Mr. Desai while not objecting to this principle could not commend the wisdom of the proposal which would involve a tax of nine and half annas per rupee on the last slab—or as it might be called, the last straw. But no added taxation would have been necessary if the resolution passed by the House recommending ten per cent. cut in the higher salaries would have been given effect to. He would repeat his appeal to the officials to make that voluntary sacrifice. Coming to the additional import duty on cotton, Mr. Desai failed to understand how this was going to bring about immediate change in the growth of long staple cotton in India. The effect of the imposition, he reminded the House, would amount according to his calculation to a bounty to the foreign competitors—not only Lancashire but also Japan—of 4 per cent. on finished cloth and 7 per cent. on yarn.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir*, in a trenchant speech, severely criticised Sir James Grigg's new proposals to 'soak the rich' and help Japanese trade with India. Sir Cowasji found fault with the Finance Member's unorthodox methods of drawing upon the military sinking fund to the extent of 49 lakhs. Dealing with the retrenchment of 118 lakhs on the civil side he pointed out that really it was nothing more than a postponement of the civil works. He condoled with the Finance Member and the country on the drop of 367 lakhs of customs revenue but he felt there was no justification for Sir James Grigg to expect an improvement of only 35 lakhs. He believed it would be easily a crore. He strongly criticised the income-tax proposals and pointed out that the budget proposals confirmed his earlier fears that the new accrual basis and other innovations will not yet yield much revenue. He said that only 6,396 persons in British India out of 270 millions earned over Rs. 25,000 annually while only 356 over one lakh. Sir Cowasji then dealt at length with the additional import duty on cotton. Sir James Grigg, he said, clutched at it because it was the only item which was showing increasing returns, and on the ground that it would encourage the growth of long staple cotton in India. The Indian mill industry, he said, was now following the advice of the 1927 textile committee as regards manufacturing a higher quality of cloth the raw materials for which would be coming mainly from East Africa. But surely this action on the part of the mill industry did not warrant the conclusion that long staple cotton could be grown in India. To prove this he quoted the reports of the Indian Central Committee, which showed that hardly 7,000 bales were capable of being spun at the lowest or the highest counts. The Indian mills, he assured the House, were anxious to use Indian cotton because it was cheaper.

Sir *Ziauddin* embraced a vast range of subjects. He contended that reduction in the value of the postcard did not involve as large a loss of revenue as contended. If the price decreased the demand would increase. He also did not accept Sir Cowasji's argument that India was unable to grow any more long staple cotton. He had been assured by the growers in the Punjab that they could produce more long staple if they found the demand. The increase in duty was thus advantageous to the agriculturist. He also dealt with the representation of Muslims in services and army in India, particularly the division of the army in India in two divisions, one for the maintenance of internal security and one for the defence of India.

Dr. Bannerji declared that the heaviness of the burden of taxation could not be denied and the incidence of taxation was far from being equitable. The budget, he lamented, was a very disappointing one and lacked foresight and imagination. The policy of retrenchment did not go far enough and there was no indication of the abolition of superfluous posts or cuts in salaries. There was a very unconvincing defence of the military expenditure while the policy behind the additional cotton duty and khandsari proposals was the continuation of the policy of making the people knock their heads against each other. He made a special plea for the Bengal mills which, he claimed, would suffer great hardships. He next criticised the income-tax proposals, particularly the removal of the exemption limit of 50,000 in case of corporations. He had not concluded when the House adjourned.

18th. MARCH:—Mr. *Abdul Rashid Chaudhury* referred to the solicitude of the Finance Member for the lower middle classes and said that this was at the expense

of the richer classes who were being taxed out of existence. The solicitude of the Finance Member for the lower middle class, however, stopped when members of these classes joined together to form companies. British policy in this country had been to prevent the accumulation of wealth here.

Mr *Muthuranga Mudaliar* pointed out that this was the fifth bill of its nature which the house had to deal with and contained exactly similar provisions, *e. g.*, salt duty, postcard rates etc. He had no objection to the khandsari duty had it not been for the change in the definition of factories. He next dealt with the evil effects of the dumping of foreign salt in this country. Turning to the income tax proposals he welcomed the new slab system but felt that it was no credit to the Finance Member's bonafides because he had left loopheles for highly paid non-Indian officials.

Swami Venkatachallam Chetty reminded the Finance Member that this was the first Finance Bill by Sir James Grigg that had received constructive criticisms from the opposition and he hoped that Sir James would make an effort to profit by it.

Mr. *B. Das* made an attempt to strike a balance sheet of the stewardship of the Finance Member for the last five years. Sir James, he declared, was able to maintain the credit of the Government of India but not the credit of India. Sir James achieved this mainly because of the flight of gold and the high taxation policy of his predecessor. He hoped Sir James Grigg, when at the war office, would stand by the dispatches which he had written to the war office about the reduction of army expenditure and the claim for large contributions.

Mr. *Azhar Ali*, speaking as a representative of the poor people of India, wanted the Government of India to consider the case of the poor people. The under-estimation in this budget had been sufficiently proved. He for his party would merely assert that this budget was devoid of any concession to the poor.

Mr. *Ananthasayanam Ayyangar* declared that the Finance Member should recognise that, since exports were shrinking, customs revenue must decrease year by year. Owing to the advance in the manufacture of synthetic substitutes amongst other reasons, India's exports of raw materials were falling considerably. Only by export of gold has they maintained their credit abroad, but this had had the effect of impoverishing the country. Referring in conclusion to the broadcasting service, Mr. Ayyanger said that there was a considerable amount of patronage. They paid the same people to speak or perform time after time; why did they not obtain the services of people who were ready to speak or perform free? The Assembly at this stage adjourned till Monday the 20th.

20th. MARCH :—Mr. *Kuladhar Chaliha* put forward to-day Assam's claim to greater financial support from the Centre. The present financial position of the province did not permit of the administration being properly run. Without more funds at their disposal, the Government would not be able to develop the great natural resources of the province. As regards representation in the services, the people of Assam were almost completely ignored. This was particularly the case in the Posts and Telegraphs Department, in which in that part of India Bengal had a virtual monopoly.

Championing the claims of Sind, Mr. *Shahban* contested the assertion that long staple cotton could not be grown in sufficient quantities in India. Sind, he said, could grow long staple cotton if the demand arose. But the agriculturists must have the co-operation of the manufacturers. The Sind of to-day, Mr. Shahban continued, was made to shoulder the burden of the Sukkur barrage. It should not be made to accept as great a liability as it was saddled with at present. Were the Central Government bent on seeing the financial collapse of the province before they came to its rescue? Were they determined to commit financial infanticide? If the inadequacy of the present subvention was not realised in time that would be the position.

Mr. *Surya Kumar Som* condemned the British policy which had resulted in the destruction of all Indian industries. The British, he declared, were only concerned with destruction ih this country. They introduced the cinema which affected the morals of India. He compared the per capita income of India and the scale of salaries, with the position in respect of other countries, and declared that a saving of about Rs. 25 to 30 crores would be available for nation-building activities if there was a proper readjustment of military and civil expenditure.

Mr. *K. Santanam* had three tests for judging the merits of the present Budget. The first was whether it had effected an equitable redistribution of the sum of the wealth of the country. Out of the sum of Rs. 80 crores, 35 crores came from the masses, 40 from the middle and richer classes, and only 5 crores from the non-

Indian element. From this sum of Rs. 80 crores collected, only about Rs. 10 crores went to the masses. The remaining 70 crores were equally divided between the richer classes and the foreigner. Secondly, there was the question whether the Budget increased national efficiency. A sum of Rs. 50 crores was wasted on Defence, which did not include a proper Navy or Air Force. With Rs. 40 crores, India could have had a well equipped Army, Navy and Air Force sufficient to defend India and her needs.

Seth Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon, speaking as a representative of a cotton growing area, complained about mill-owners regarding utilisation of the produce. He, however, would not blame the mill-owners entirely, because this type of cotton was not available in abundance. He had no objection to a subsidy as suggested by Mr. Santanam, but, he asked, where was the money for the subsidy to come from ? He had, therefore, to strongly support the additional cotton duty.

Mr. *Sri Prakasa* wanted a reduction of the duty on Indian salt. Turning to the sugar proposals, he felt that the Government's policy would be disastrous to the people. He reminded the Finance Member of his free trade principles, which Mr. Prakasa pointed out, ran counter to the present proposal to double the duty on raw cotton. The treatment as regards post cards—an important item in the poor man's domestic economy—was a positive scandal. He next dealt with the hardships arising from the income-tax proposals and declared that there was discrimination in favour of the Government servants. He condemned the method by which income-tax officers made their demands, and the failure of the Finance Member to set matters aright. Finally, he declared that at present every amenity which contributed to the raising of the standard of living in this country, was taxed.

Haji Chaudhury Muhammad Ismail Khan pointed out that the time had now come for a reduction of the salt duty so as to encourage the Indian industry. He advocated a protective duty. He also urged the need for reducing the post cards rates, and regretted that there was still no hope for a quarter anna post card. Referring to the additional cotton duty, and the hope that it would help in increasing the cultivation of long staple in India, he said that it was small consolation as it was not known how many years it would take for bringing about the desired end. The House then adjourned.

21st. MARCH :—Mr. *Satyamurti* propounded a number of tests for judging the stewardship of Sir James Grigg during the last quinquennium. Were the people of this country, he asked, more prosperous than what they were five years ago ? Had the purchasing power of the millions in this country been increased to any appreciable extent ? Had the standards of life of the people of this country been raised ?

Mr. *Aikman* made a brief survey of the general financial position. Looked at from almost any angle he said it was evident that at no period since the Great war had the Central Government been on so sound a financial footing as it was to-day nor had its general policy in other directions given a greater feeling of confidence. Turning to the heavy burden of taxation, he pointed out that most of the emegency taxes imposed during the crisis year of 1931 continued at least in some part until this day. There could be little doubt that the Budget was to-day based on level of taxation that was high.

Mr. *M. S. Aney* pointed out that while the Finance Bill was intended to secure the money needed for expenditure, it also gave the House the opportunity of considering the stewardship of the Treasury benches. He first dealt with what had been termed "Commercial Departments", because they afford a test of the capacity of those in charge of the management. Turning to the posts and telegraphs department, he pointed out that the extravagance of the telegraph section was the cause of the loss in the department. He emphasised the need for bringing down the level of postcard rates in the interest of the poor man. This, he declared, would be a social service.

Sir James Grigg, in replying to the four days' debate, dealt with many points made by the speakers, particularly by the Leader of the Opposition. Summarising the result of the observations made by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and the Leader of the Opposition on the so-called under-estimating Revenue in the Budget, Sir James said, "on sugar something or nothing of the 150 lakh's extra revenue given by the federation and the Leader of the Opposition may prove to be forthcoming. On income tax there is probably nothing and if there is anything it goes to the provinces. On military expenditure we may have to provide more and certainly shall not have to provide less. Even if we imposed a pay cut, which we have no intention of doing, the centre would gain a few tens of lakhs only. On the other hand, customs Revenue has almost certainly been overestimated especially taking into account the continuing

decline in imports from Lancashire and the Bombay prohibition measure. Altogether, so far from there being six crores of margin to play with, there is almost certainly no margin at all and certainly not enough to enable us to do without the increased supertax on raw cotton." Continuing the Finance Member said: Events in the outside world and in the country had prevented things from being better still but it was idle to deny that things were better. As regards the cessation of the rural development grant after two years, Sir James said that the reason was simple. Under the new constitution, even more than under the old, the responsibility for nation-building rested on the provinces and that was why the annual grants for rural development were abandoned and efforts were concentrated on starting the autonomous provinces on an even keel.

The House passed the first reading on the Finance Bill and adjourned.

22nd. MARCH:—The Assembly began to-day detailed consideration of the clauses of the Finance Bill. Mr. *Ananthasayanam Ayyangar*, on behalf of the Congress party, moved that the proposed duty of Rs. 1-4-0 per maund of salt manufactured in, or imported into, British India should be reduced by four annas. Mr. Ayyangar emphasized that this amendment was not intended as an attack of the Finance Bill but as a token of opposition to the continued operation on the Surcharge Act. This Act was an emergency measure. The Finance Member removed surcharge from income-tax but he continued the surcharge on salt, which commodity was of the greatest importance to the poor in India. Mr. Ayyangar asked the House to regard his amendment as directed towards obtaining the repeal of the Surcharge Act and not as an attempted inroad into the Finance Bill itself.

Sir *James Grigg*, opposing the amendment, stated that he had 'nothing up his sleeve' and as such he could be opposing every amendment of this type. The intention and desire of opposition with regard to this amendment, he pointed out, appeared to be to reduce about 5 as. from duty and then give 2½ as. to the manufacturer. Prof. *Ranga* suggested that if the Finance Member wanted funds he should try to get it by some other means and not to touch salt which affected everyone in this country, particularly the poorest section of the masses. The amendment was pressed to a division and carried by 55 to 33 votes.

Two amendments to the provisions of the Finance Bill dealing with the excise duty on khandsari sugar were rejected. The first amendment moved by Mr. *Surya Kumar Som* which sought to delete the provision amending the definition of 'factory' and the provision reducing the duty from Re. 1—as. 5 to as. 8, was rejected by 42 to 9 votes, the Congress and the Muslim League parties remaining neutral. Moving the amendment Mr. *Som* declared that these provisions would strangulate the biggest cottage industry which had survived the onslaught of British imperialism. The amendment was supported by Prof. *Ranga* and Mr. *B. D. Pande*. Opposing the amendment Sir *James Grigg*, Finance Member, pointed out that if 2,00,000 tons of such sugar was to be taxed at 8 as. per cwt. then there would have been revenue of about Rs. 20 lakhs. But since the revenue would come to only about Rs. 5½ lakhs, it was clear that nearly three-quarters of the producers would be uneffected. This meant that the real cottage industry would have to bear the duty of as. 8 against the duty of Rs. 2 which would be levied on sugar factories.

Mr. *Abdur Rasheed Chowdhury* next moved an amendment to delete the provision affecting the definition of 'factory.' While opposing the amendment Sir *James Grigg* assured the House that working of these clauses would be watched carefully during the coming year and, if any genuine village industry was injured, steps would be taken to amend the definition suitably. The amendment was rejected without division.

Sir *H. P. Mody* moved for the omission of the clause imposing an increased duty on imported cotton. Referring to Mr. A. Aikman's speech, Sir H. P. Mody said that apparently the European group had no objection to others bearing the tax to balance the budget. As for the Finance Member his maxim seemed to be: 'A thing of duty is a joy forever.' (Laughter.) This, he said, was a tax on raw material and as such fundamentally unsound. Giving various grounds of objection to the duty, Sir Homi pointed out that it neutralized the protection given to the yarn industry and cloth. Once protection was granted after enquiry, it was not open to the Finance Member by that means to neutralize that protection.

23rd. MARCH:—The debate was adjourned till to-day when by a majority of 15 votes (voting being 59 for and 44 against), the Assembly rejected the proposal

to double the duty on imported raw cotton. The Muslim League party remained neutral in accordance with the direction from its leader. Still Dr. *Ziauddin* was permitted to explain his point of view. Mr. *M. Ghiasuddin* of the Punjab, by way of interruption, expressed the hope that the duty would not only be kept on but continued even next year. This brought Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* on his feet with the vigorous exposition that the duty would not add to the length of cotton staple. The position of Mr. *M. S. Aney*, leader of the Nationalist party, was not clear until he himself declared at the end of his speech that on the balance of advantages and disadvantages, he thought it better to stick to what his patriotism instinctively told him, namely to vote against the proposed duty for that would certainly add to the cost of the manufactured piecegoods by 3 per cent. and to that extent help Lancashire. Incidentally he informed the House that he took his vow of boycotting foreign cloth so long ago as 1895, *i.e.*, 44 years ago, even though Swadeshi came to be introduced with the partition of Bengal.

The amendment to the Finance Bill to reduce the cost of the postcard to half-anna was taken up in the Assembly somewhat late in the afternoon and so no vote could be taken on it. Mr. *N. M. Joshi* joined in raising a protest against maintaining the postcard rate at the prohibitive level of nine pies while allowing the air mail rate to be only at two-and-half annas resulting in a loss of Rs 19 lakhs, which was being suffered because it helped the rich. Mr. *G. V. Bewoor*, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, did not meet the argument of Mr. Joshi and contented himself with working out a loss of Rs. 65 lakhs if the rate of the postcard was reduced to six pies.

24th. MARCH :—The amendment to reduce the postcard rates from nine pies to six pies for a single postcard and from one and a half annas to one anna for a reply postcard was passed by the Assembly to-day by fifty-six votes to forty-two. Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* moved an amendment which sought to vary the rates of supertax. He explained that this amendment was intended to prevent the Finance Member from taking 76 lakhs more than what was necessary to meet the relief given to the poorer classes by the change from the step system to the slab system. Sir *James Grigg*, opposing the amendment, declared that, even if the offer suggested by Sir Cowasji was possible this particular amendment would never be the amendment which he or the House would accept. The amendment was withdrawn.

The House next accepted by 52 votes to 45, Mr. *T. S. A. Chettiar's* amendment by which the first 45,000 of the total income of every Hindu undivided family would be exempted from supertax.

A number of other amendments were moved and rejected. These included one by Mr. *Manu Subeder* who sought to exempt from supertax incomes of Joint Stock Companies up to Rs. 30,000 a year. The amendment was rejected without a division ; but the House accepted by 51 votes to 43 Mr. *Anantasayanam Ayangar's* amendment to fix the exemption limit at 10,000. The House sat twenty minutes beyond five o'clock and disposed of the remaining amendments. The Finance Member thereupon announced that he would not move the third reading of the Bill. The Assembly then adjourned.

Rejection of the Certified Finance Bill

25th. MARCH :—Feelings ran high while Sir *James Grigg's* attitude was called into question at to-day's sitting of the Assembly. Congress members vehemently protested against the policy of certification which governed all the Finance Bills rejected by the House.

The Finance Bill as recommended by the Governor General was rejected by the House by 50 votes to 42. The Muslim League Party and unattached members remained neutral.

Supplementary Demands

A supplementary demand in respect of railways to defray charges which would come in course of payments during the year ending March 31, 1939, in respect of working expenses, was also rejected by 62 votes to 46. A number of speakers criticised the failure of government in this connection to furnish adequate explanations for this demand in the House or before the standing Finance Committee for railway.

Earlier, the House rejected two more supplementary demands in respect of railways. The first in regard to working expenses, maintenance and supply of locomotive power was rejected by 52 votes to 39 while the second relating to expenses of

electrical department was rejected by 50 votes to 40. The three railway demands rejected by the House totalled Rs. 122,55,000, while the two demands passed without a division totalled Rs. 13,55,000. The Assembly then adjourned till the 27th.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT

27th. MARCH :—The Assembly to-day began a two-days' debate on the new Indo-British Trade Agreement. Sir *Mohammad Zafrullah*, Commerce Member, opened the debate with a powerful one-hour speech to which the House listened for the most part with close silent attention. He moved :—

"This Assembly approves of the Trade Agreement signed on March 20, 1939 between his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the India Government."

He gave a detailed account of the advantage that he said India had secured as a result of the agreement. He began with an explanation of the protracted nature of the negotiations which had lasted for three years now. They had certainly taken a longer time than had been anticipated at various stages but the House would appreciate that the search for the basis of a settlement satisfactory to both sides on a wide range of the complex questions naturally took a good deal of time. An illustration of the time required to dispose of even questions which appeared comparatively simple was the subject of Ceylon. It took the Government of India several meetings to persuade the Colonial Office that having regard to Ceylon's proximity to India and to the variety of other questions besides trade involved, the question of Ceylon should be kept apart from these discussions. Sir Mohammad assured the House that there was no lack of anxiety or preparation on the part of the Government of India to secure an earlier settlement of the question. He gratefully acknowledged the assistance of the unofficial advisers. Their help, he said, was of the greatest value : but it was unfortunate that there were differences between their point of view and that of the Government. Nevertheless, if there were satisfactory features in this agreement they would not have been for the assistance of the non-official advisers. He himself took the responsibility for whatever cause there was for dissatifaction the agreement might contain. Explaining the cotton articles, Sir Muhammad referred to the continuous decline since the war in the imports into India of United Kingdom cotton goods coupled with a continuous increase in Lancashire's takings in cotton. The position, therefore, that confronted the unofficial advisers and himself in June 1937 when negotiations began was that if we were anxious to secure free access to the United Kingdom markets something had to be done to assist their imports into India. Against this background Sir Muhammad Zafrullah briefly detailed the provisions of the agreement and rebutted the suggestion that the agreement would place an intolerable burden on the textile industry of India. He said that it was to take an extremely exaggerated view. The resource and enterprise of the industry, the high degree of efficiency it had reached by this time and further improvements that in certain matters it was capable of making were the fullest guarantee that these concessions would not call for any undue sacrifice on the part of the industry. The industry had made a steady improvement in exporting to the United Kingdom and the colonies where it competed on equal terms with the United Kingdom. Without the help of any protection the Indian industry was making headway in the colonies and it confirmed him in the belief that the sacrifice that it was called upon to make in the interests of Indian trade would be a very very small one. The main advantage to India of the cotton articles of the agreement was the continued assurance that the United Kingdom would do whatever possible to take an increased quantity of Indian cotton and improve the percentage of short staple cotton in their takings. In this connection Sir Muhammad Zafrullah gave figures to dispel the impression that Lancashire was not taking sufficient short staple cotton. The percentage of short staple cotton to the total quantity was 41.4 in 1933 and had increased to 61.2 in 1938. It was thus the nearest percentage of cotton interests suggested in the course of conversations with Lancashire.

Proceeding to other parts of the agreement, Sir Zafrullah declared that almost every concession that India had under the Ottawa agreement had been preserved almost intact. Two exceptions were rice and wheat. The modification at present for rice was practically of no concern to India because India exported certain high grades which were not affected ; while as regards wheat, because of the enormous world stocks, India had little chance of becoming an exporting country. Furthermore, Canada and Australia had also surrendered preference on wheat and as long as Australia and India were on the same level Indian industry would not be affected adversely. After explaining the position in regard to other articles, such as chrome, linseed, hides and skins, Sir Zafrulla summed up by stating that the total number of items of the

United Kingdom goods, to which India gave preference under the Ottawa agreement, had been 106 and this had been reduced to 20, representing the withdrawal of preferences amounting to Rs. 11 crores. In the United Kingdom, India would enjoy preferences on 82 per cent. of her export trade.

Looking at it from another standpoint, on 88 per cent. of India's total imports, the United Kingdom would enjoy no preferences, leaving India free to use this large percentage of her imports as a bargaining weapon to make her own arrangements with other countries. Apart from the actual arrangements the value of the trade agreement must also be judged from the quantity of trade between the two countries and exchange and other conditions that prevail in the countries. The United Kingdom, said Sir Zafrulla, was India's largest customer. Of our exports the United Kingdom's share was 27 per cent. in 1933. For the first ten months this year it was 34.7. The balance of trade between the two countries, which was once adverse to the extent of 30 or 40 crores gradually became favourable, till for 10 months in 1938 the favourable balance was 8 crores.

Three amendments to Sir Muhamad's motion were moved. Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta* moved that the considerations of the proposals contained in the trade agreement should be postponed till the next Simla session pending the investigation of their probable effect on the agricultural, Industrial and commercial interests of India by a committee consisting of the Commerce Member, leaders of different parties in the House, one elected non-official member of the House representing commerce, one elected non-official member representing industry, and one attached member.

Mr. *A. S. Aikman* moved that the consideration of the motion be adjourned till the Simla session, pending the report of a committee of the House consisting of a majority of elected members elected by single transferable vote, which committee shall examine the probable effects of the agreement on the agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of India.

Sardar Sant Singh moved the substitution of the following for the original motion : 'Having considered the trade agreement made between his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India, this House is of the opinion that the enforcement of the agreement be postponed till his Majesty's Government agrees to modify the same by guaranteeing the purchase of 650,000 bales of Indian cotton in the first year, raising it to one million bales within three years, with the proportion of 37 'between the long and short staple'.

Urging the need for postponing the agreement, Mr. *A. C. Dutta* pointed out that the subject was so vast and complicated as to take three years for completing the negotiations. Besides, such postponement would not have any adverse effect, because under article 16 of the agreement, the two Governments could apply the provisions, as far as might be possible, pending the coming of the agreement. The whole question, he said, in short was the protection of the Lancashire industry as against the protection of the Indian textile industry and between the two competitors one had to be sacrificed and the sacrifice was of India's textile industry. Unlike the Ottawa agreement this went to the extent of touching India's protected industries. The effect would be dumping from Lancashire, and a fall in prices coupled with an increase in the burden on the Indian textile industry.

Mr. *Aikman* stated that the European group felt strongly and unanimously that the new agreement was overwhelmingly in India's interest. He believed that time would prove the value of the agreement to the masses of the country and to the industries. Therefore, the committee as proposed by the amendment, should help to prove this benefit. Britain and India, he continued, had a common objective in the economic field, namely, the maintenance of export trade, in one case of the manufactured goods and in the other of agricultural produce and semi-manufactured goods. There was, therefore, an opportunity for safeguarding the trade between the two countries and for increasing it to the fullest extent by a policy of mutual cooperation, which involved a policy of give and take. He felt that the importance of the United Kingdom market to Indian was perhaps more obvious than the importance of India's market to the United Kingdom. The agreement did not give everything to India. But neither Britain nor India was satisfied.

28th. MARCH :—The neutrality of Mr. *Jinnah's* Muslim League party greatly helped the Congress in combination with the Nationalists to reject the Indo-British Trade Agreement by 59 votes against 47 to-day. Previous to this when the House divided on the European group's proposal for the postponement of the decision till the Simla session, four members of the Nationalist group, namely,

Messrs. Aney, Sant Singh, Lalchand Navalrai and Baijnth Bajoria, remained neutral. The reason, as given by Mr. Aney, was the refusal of the Government to abide by the verdict of the Assembly. The House then adjourned till the 30th.

FOREIGNERS' REGISTRATION BILL (CONTD.)

30th. MARCH :—Sir *Reginald Maxwell's* Bill for the registration of foreigners as reported by the Select Committee was taken up in the Assembly to-day. Sir Reginald, moving consideration of the Bill, briefly explained the changes made by the Select Committee, particularly to exemption of private householders from the obligation to give information to the authorities of any foreigners residing with them.

The House having adopted the motion for consideration took up the clauses. Mr. *Ananthasayanam* moved the Congress party amendment to enlarge the scope of the definition of foreigner as follows :—

"The word "foreigner" shall denote a person who is not a British subject domiciled in the U. K. or a British Indian subject, or a Ruler or subject of an Indian State or a person duly appointed by a foreign Government to exercise diplomatic function or a Consul or a Vice-Consul."

He rebutted the suggestion that the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act had conferred any benefit on Indians and pointed out that under its exemption clause Indians had been treated as helots in the dominions.

Sir *Reginald Maxwell* explained that Government had every sympathy with the object intended by the mover of the amendment but declared that the question at issue was what was useful in the present case. He had not concluded when the House adjourned.

31st. MARCH :—The amendment was passed by 63 votes to 42, the Muslim League Party and Congress Nationalists voting with Congress for the motion.

Prof. *Ranga* sought to amend the exemption clause so as to give power to the Government to exempt individual foreigner but not any class or description of foreigners. Mrs. *Subbaroyan* supported the amendment as it would prevent the Government from using its power of exemption in favour of people such as those from South Africa.

The House passed Prof. *Ranga's* amendment to provide that a copy of every order passed under the Act shall be placed on the table of both Houses of the Central Legislature. The House then agreed to Sir *Reginald Maxwell's* motion that the Bill as amended be passed.

CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT AMEND. BILL

Sir *Mohd. Zafrullah* next moved that amendments to the Employment of Children's Act made by the Council of State be passed. After a short discussion the House accepted the motion and resumed general discussion on the Coal Mines (Stowing) Bill. Mr. *Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury*, who continued his speech, had not concluded when the House adjourned till Monday April 3.

TWO TARIFF BILLS INTRODUCED

Two Tariff Bills were introduced to-day by *Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan* to give effect to the Government of India's decisions on the reports of the Tariff Board on sugar, paper and magnesium chloride and continue the duties on silk and broken rice.

The first Bill is intended to continue the protection of import duty on sugar for a period of two years at the rate reduced from Rs. 7-4 to Rs. 6-12 per cwt. pending further enquiry of the industry in 1940.

The second Bill refers to magnesium chloride, paper, silk, and broken rice. The Tariff Board, says the statement of objects and reasons, recently submitted its report on the sericulture industry also. As there was not sufficient time to complete the examination of that report before March 13, when protective duties on silk and certain manufactures of silk expired, it was proposed to continue the existing duties for another year under this Bill.

Since the passing of the Indian Tariff Amendment Act, 1938, the Government had maintained a careful watch on the position of rice in the Indian market and they were satisfied in the interests of the Indian rice grower that the protection duty of as. 12 per maund on broken rice should be continued for another year. This proposal was also incorporated in the Bill. The bill continues for seven years and at as. 12 instead of Rs. 1-5 the duty on magnesium chloride and recasts the schedule relating to paper in accordance with the Government's

decisions on the Tariff Board report announced yesterday. All the above provisions are to have immediate effect.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT BILL

To give immediate effect to the changes in tariffs consequent on the new Indo-British Trade Agreement, Sir *Muhammad Zafrullah Khan* introduced a bill which *inter alia* provides for a contingent variation of the rates of import duty on cotton piecegoods of British manufacture and empowers the central Government to make these variations as occasion may arise in conformity with the terms of the Agreement. The Bill removes the standard rate of 30 per cent. and the preferential rate of 20 per cent. advalorem on 14 articles and substitutes the standard rate of 25 per cent. It also abolished the preferential rate on a number of other articles in favour of the United Kingdom, while retaining the preferential rate in favour of the produce of the colonies. Protection on cotton goods is extended upto 1942. The cotton duties will have immediate Tariff effect. Forty-four articles on which the standard rate of 25 per cent. is to be imposed include lead pencils, essential oils, rubber tyres, asbestos articles, iron and steel articles and German silver, and aluminium articles. The articles on which preference in favour of the colonies have been retained, include canned or bottled coffee, fruit juices, bottled fruits and vegetables.

The preferential rate is removed without a varying standard rate on the following among other articles : Silk and artificial stockings, electric light bulbs, plated cutlery and toys. The preferential rates on ale and beer have been removed and the standard rate on these commodities has been brought into line with that of other fermented liquors. Preference is given in favour of the colonies only in soda ash. Preferences are abolished and standard advalorem rates reduced from 35 per cent. to 25 per cent. in the following among other cases :—

Toilet soap, woollen yarn, woollen fabrics, woollen hosiery and knitted apparel textiles. The Bill removes the preferential rate on carriages, retains such rate on cycles and gives preference is respect of motor cycles.

COAL MINES STOWING BILL

3rd. APRIL :—The Assmbly today before lunch concluded the general discussion on the Coal Mines (Stowing) Bill. Mr. *Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury*, who continued his speech when the general discussion was resumed, emphasised the need for making some discrimination between the different mines. Otherwise, he said, it was possible that the better worked mines would be penalised and the producers of inferior type of coal would benefit at the expense of the producers of better class of coal. He also pointed out the danger to smaller collieries which are likely to be driven out of existence. He felt that the cess, if levied, ought to be from the producers of the inferior quality of coal and from those whose mines were more in need for stowing. It was the duty of the State to study all the implications and effects of such measure before introducing it.

The House then passed the first reading and took up the detailed consideration of the clauses of the Bill. Out of the ten amendments moved one was withdrawn, while the two moved by Mr. *N. M. Joshi* were rejected. The first amendment moved by Mr. Joshi to provide for labour representation on the Board to administer cess that would be levied, was pressed to a division and rejected by 45 votes to 5, the Congress party remaining neutral. Mr. Joshi's amendment was supported by Prof. *Ranga* who strongly protested against the one-sided representation which the Government had proposed. The House next accepted without division the amendment moved by Mr. *Bajoria* to reduce the maximum rate of cess from four annas to three annas per ton. The second amendment moved by Mr. *Joshi* sought to apply section 11 of the Indian Mines Act of 1923 with regard to the composition of the committee of enquiry to consider any reference made on the orders passed under the provisions of the bill. Mr. Joshi urged for a division on the amendment but when the Chair directed those in favour of the amendment to stand up only Mr. Joshi was found in the House in favour of the amendment. The House had not concluded the discussion when it adjourned.

4th. APRIL :—During the detailed discussion of the Bill which continued today, Mr. *N. M. Joshi* pressed for division on Prof. *Ranga's* amendment to give two seats to labour on the committee of enquiry to consider any reference made on the orders passed under the provisions of the Bill. On the Chair directing those in favour of the amendment to stand up, only Prof. *Ranga* and

Mr. *Joshi* were found to favour the amendment. The House thereafter rapidly passed the remaining clauses of the Bill and accepted Sir. *M. Zafrullah's* motion that the Bill as amended be passed.

CONSIDERATION OF TARIFF BILL (CONTD)

The Tariff Bill relating to broken rice, silk, paper and pulp and magnesium chloride was then taken up. Sir *Mahomed Zafrullah Khan*, Commerce Member, outlined the provisions of the Bill which he said sought to continue for one year the duties on broken rice, duties on silk goods for a period of three years and duties on wood pulp and protective duties on certain classes of paper and also to regulate for a period of seven years protective duties on magnesium chloride. Referring to silk goods, he pointed out that the report of the Tariff Board which recently conducted an enquiry into the sericultural industry had been received so late that there had not been time for a complete examination of it before March 31 when the protective duties were to expire. The duties were therefore being continued at the rate at which they stood at the end of last year. The Commerce Member went on to explain in detail the reason why the Government differed from the recommendations of the Tariff Board on wood pulp and why the Government felt that no case had been made out for the extension of protection to grass pulp and the rate of protection for paper should be 9 pies per pound and not 11 pies as suggested by the Board.

Mr. *Satyamurti* animadverted to the indecent haste with which the Government had flung at members the three Tariff Board reports and the Government resolutions thereon and were proceeding with the Bills dealing with questions of fundamental importance. All within less than a week. He asked that the Tariff Board reports should be published as soon as they were received by the Government so that the public could judge by themselves the recommendations and reasons given in support of them. Instead of an independent, impartial and permanent board that was required, the Government had appointed a series of *ad hoc* bodies, composed of their political dependents, but had now practically dissolved the last of these and had constituted themselves into a tariff board to decide for themselves what amount of protection was or was not needed. When the Government differed from the recommendations of a properly constituted tariff board they should leave the matter to the verdict of the House and abide by that verdict. Would the Government adopt that principle, he asked, with regard to the present Bill.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* confined himself to magnesium chloride. He challenged the Government's suggestion that the Tariff Board had erred in their recommendations in this respect. The whole point, he submitted, was the question of freight. He felt strongly that the Government was wrong in stating that it was the Tariff Board which had erred. He hoped that the Government would realize this and rectify the mistake,

Dr. Sir *Ziauddin Ahmed* at the outset urged the need for the immediate publication of the Tariff Board reports as soon as they were received by the Government. These reports, he said, ought to be public property and not to be treated as confidential. He next turned to the taxation policy of the Government and declared that the whole policy required re-examination and revision. Whatever protection might be given to any industry, he continued, should be considered as a loan to the industry concerned and ought to be returned ultimately to the consumer. He had not concluded when the House adjourned.

5th. APRIL :— Continuing the general discussion on the Bill to-day, Mr. *Avanasilingham Chettiar* pointed out that though the protective duty on rice had achieved the object of preventing the Siamese imports, the price still remained depressed because the price in India of rice was effected by heavy imports from Burma. He, therefore, felt that Government ought to do something to remove the adverse effect of Burmese imports on the price of rice in India.

Mr. *P. N. Bannerjee* commented on what he considered to be unfairness in springing on the House on a short notice three different tariff bills. After enunciating the main principles of protection as outlined by the Fiscal Commission, Mr. Bannerjee criticised the Government's attitude in the matter. Remarking that the discriminating protection had worked successfully for the last 15 years, Mr. Bannerjee asserted that this was not being attacked from behind and slowly destroyed.

Prof. *Ranga* gave a warning against the grant of indiscriminate protection to the Indian manufacturer. Steps must be taken to make sure that such protection

would not be at the expense of the consumer, that the manufacturer was giving sufficient attention to the utilisation of the Indian talent and Indian capital and was patriotic enough to use Indian raw material. He found the Indian industries like textiles, iron, steel, paper and others were all interlinked, each of them being interested in extending the protection to the other. He also noticed the curious fact that things like magnesium were being sold by Indian manufacturers to far-off places like Czechoslovakia at competitive prices. Government should go into these particulars before extending the protection.

Mr. *Muhamad Nauman* dealing with bamboo pulp and paper industry pointed out that no convincing case had been made out by the Tariff Board for the continuation of protection. Dealing with rice, he narrated with the help of statistics the conditions of the poor rice-grower in Southern India and how the grower was effected by heavy imports at low prices. He criticised the step-motherly attitude of the Government of India and declared that the life of poor agriculturist was becoming very precarious. He asserted that tariffs were manipulated in this country merely to give better markets for the British goods in Burma or Ceylon but never in the interests of Indian goods.

Sir *Zafrullah Khan* said that criticism had been directed not against what was proposed to be done but against what had not been done. It had been pointed out that imports of rice from Burma depresed the prices in India and nothing had been done to correct that. But that, said the Commerce Member, really had no connection with the import duty which was imposed in order to reduce and, if possible, to stop the imports of broken rice from Siam. Referring to magnesium chloride, the Commerce Member dwelt on the many factors including reduced cost of production which in Government's opinion justified reduction in duty from 15 annas proposed by the board to 12 as fixed by the Government. As regards paper, Sir Mohamed said that in 1938 the Tariff Board sought to extend protection to paper mills using grass in face of the findings of the previous boards and without any facts to justify departure from these findings. The 1931 board found that grass mills had not made out a case for protection but they enjoyed and would even now continue to enjoy the benefits of protective duty imposed on the imports of bamboo pulp. In any case the revenue duty was quite enough to give protection to both. The Commerce Member justified the reduction in protective duty on paper from 11 pies per lb. recommended by the board to nine pies. He submitted that Government had not acted arbitrarily in either case and their conclusion had been arrived at after a careful consideration of all the factors. The motion for consideration of the bill was passed without division and the House adjourned.

6th. APRIL :—The Assembly began to-day a detailed consideration of the clauses of the Bill. The first amendment to be accepted was Mr. *T. S. A. Chettiyar's* seeking to convert the duty on wood pulp from revenue to protective duty. The House then rejected without a division *Sir Ziauddin Ahmad's* amendment to reduce the duty on woodpulp from 25 to 20 per cent.

The objection on the ground that the sanction of the Governor-General was required was raised by Sir M. *Zafrullah* on Mr. Chettiar's amendment to provide for an alternative rate of duty on woodpulp so that it would be 25 per cent. advalorem or Rs. 35 per ton whichever was higher. The chair ruled that the amendment did not require the sanction of the Governor-General. Moving the amendment, Mr. *Chettiar* urged the need for having a minimum figure for duty in order to provide against any fall in the price of imported pulp.

Opposing the amendment, *Sir Ziauddin Ahmad* asserted that there was no justification for raising the quantum of protection especially when the industry had passed the stage of protection entirely. The amendment was pressed to a division and accepted by 63 votes to 46. Mr. Chettiar's amendment fixing the period of duty as up to March 31, 1942, was also passed. The House disposed of the remaining clauses of the bill and accepted Sir Zafrullah Khan's motion that the bill as amended be passed.

PROTECTION FOR SUGAR INDUSTRY

Sir *Zafrullah Khan* next briefly moved the bill to provide for continuance for a further period of protection conferred on sugar industry in British India be taken into consideration. Sir Muhammad traced the history of sugar industory since the first Sugar Tariff Board report of 1930-31 which recommended protection for a period of 15 years. The Government, he continued, had accepted the recommendation that there would be a duty of Rs. 7-¼ per cwt. for the first seven years and later in 1937 had

instituted an enquiry as recommended by the 1930-31 Tariff Board. Since the submission of the report of the 1937 board the conditions in the industry had fluctuated so much that the Government felt that any application of the recommendations of the last Tariff Board at present would not be fair. The Government therefore decided on the continuation of protection for a further period of two years at Rs. 6-12 per cwt. If the decision on merits was to have been arrived at, he concluded, there was sufficient justification for a greater reduction in duty.

Mv *Mohanlal Saxena* criticised the manner in which the Government had arrived at their conclusions and the decision on the report which had been submitted in Dec. 1937. He commented on the Government's failure in placing all information at the disposal of the Tariff Board as, for example, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research had not tendered any evidence before the board on this important agricutural commodity. He reminded the house of the fact that according to the Tariff Board there were inadequate facilities for research work and lack of statistical details regarding the industry.

Mr. *S. K. Som* said that few industries could show more brilliant response to protection than had the sugar industry. Within two years of tariff being first imposed in 1932 a number of sugar mills in India had increased from around 30 to over 100. Similarly in the year before the establishment of protection about one million tons of Java sugar were imported, while in 1937 Indian mills produced more sugar than required for home consumption. The international sugar agreement which restricted Indian exports to Burma and Ceylon was an unholy alliance between the British and Dutch and the aim of which was to favour Java by preventing the expansion of the Indian industry. The Tariff Bill represented the second attempt to thwart the Indian industry.

Mr. *Manu Subedar* said that Tariff Boards should have almost the same status as the Federal Court. They should consist of independent people and their advice should not be rejected. The suggestions of this Tariff Board had been unceremoniously repudiated. It was no use, Mr. Subedar declared, surrounding the country with a wall in which holes were left for enemies to enter. Either kill the sugar industry or protect it adequately. Mr. Subedar deplored the introduction of tariff changes in the middle of the season and quoted from the report to show that this was apt to lead to a disturbance in the industry. The House at this stage adjourned till the 11th.

Parsi Succession Amend. Bill

11th. APRIL :—Before Dr. *Deshmukh's* Bill was taken up to-day, the House passed after ten minutes' debate the Bill to amend the Indian Succession Act of 1925 in respect of intestate succession among Parsis moved by Sir *Cowasji Jehangir*. Sir Cowasji explained the antecedents of the Bill since its introduction in the Council of State by the late Sir Pheroze Sethna. At present he pointed out that the law which governed the Parsi intestate succession was that laid down by Act 21 of 1865. It had been felt for a long time by Parsis that this enactment was more than 70 years old and needed amendment both in form and substance in order to remove doubts and supply deficiencies to incorporate as far as possible judicial decisions which the community accepted, to make changes commonly desired and to make arrangements more systematic it had been thought best to redraft the enactment. This Bill, he assured the House, had the complete support of the Parsi community and the Parsi panchayat.

Hindu Women's Divorce Bill (contd.)

Dr. *Deshmukh* was cheered as he rose to move for reference to a select committee his Bill to grant the right of divorce to Hindu women. He spoke with nerve and delivered some hard thrusts at the orthodox opponents and at the Law Member who he anticipated was going to oppose the Bill. Dr. Deshmukh made it clear at the outset that the Bill was an enabling measure. The women who did not want to make use of it and who preferred to bear the misery, the agony and the wrong of a married life were free to do so. The Bill would not interfere with them. It, he claimed, was a hundred per cent Hindu measure entirely within the four corners of the Hindu Law. It was entirely in accord with the spirit of Hinduism which was one of change. Hinduism, he declared, had been doing nothing else but a change to adapt itself to the changed circumstances. Examples of changes were not far to seek. Mr. Bajoria himself was an example in the house. He said that Dr. Deshmukh was a Vaishya (third caste) speaking and championing religion in spite of the scriptural injunction that none but Brahmins or Kshatriyas could do so (laughter). The Bill, proceeded the Speaker, had secured the approval of orthodox Ministers like Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. Then, again, if it was not entirely in

consonance with the sprit of Hinduism how could it have secured the approval of Mr. Savarkar, the president of Hindu Mahasabha. Referring to the expected opposition, Dr. Deshmukh reminded the Treasury benches of the attitude adopted by the Home Secretary in the Council of State on Mr. G. S. Motilal's Bill relating to monogamy and asked them to follow the principle enunciated there that the Government itself might not be in a position to bring forward a social reform measure but might help a private member who did so provided there was sufficient public opinion in favour of it. The Government should also recall that in 1856 on the Widow Remarriage Act the Government spokesman had declared that even if it helped one little girl to escape the dreadful fate of forced *brahmacharya*, the Government would be justified in supporting it. The circumstances were more favourable now.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* referred to the help which he had given to Dr. Deshmukh in drafting measures relating to social reform and to the fact that an official day had been given to Dr. Deshmukh earlier in the session for the Bill. He admitted that the question raised by Dr. Deshmukh's bill was one of great importance and deserved every sympathy but Dr. Deshmukh had done no service to the Hindu woman whose cause he had championed by the present Bill. Sir N. N. Sircar continuing said that onus was heavy on the protagonists to prove that a majority of the community affected by this measure wanted it and that there was a genuine demand for it. Dr. Deshmukh had analysed the opinions on the Bill into three classes, namely, those in favour, those against and those which had adopted a neutral attitude. Dr. Deshmukh went wrong in assuming that there was a majority of opinion in favour of the Bill. He would remind the House that those opinions, which while agreeing in principle, insisted on a condition that could not be inserted in the Bill by the select committe, could not be considered to be in favour of the Bill. There should not be a confusion of issues. The right to divorce was the issue but the bulk of opinion on the Bill was that unless certain conditions were introduced the Bill was unacceptable. From this it must be construed that such opinions were against the Bill. Taking the province of Madras, for instance, Dr. Deshmukh had analysed that eight opinions were in favour and three against, while three were neutral. He referred to the House a number of opinions and declared that there was some doubt about Dr. Desmukh's mathematical accuracy because there were not less than 10 opinions which could only be taken as against the Bill. Sir N. N. Sircar said that there could be no doubt that a preponderating bulk of Hindu opinion was severely against the measure as it was before the House. Sir N. N. Sircar next clarified the Government's attitude towards such measures. The only exception which the Government had made in the rule of not interfering religion and social customs and practices on the people of India was when the ordinary sense of morality, etc., was impinged even though the majority of opinion was against interference. In the present instance, however, this condition justifying interference did not exist. It could never be brought within the same category as infanticide, for instance. Something more than a mere division in the House, he pointed out, was necessary before the Government could take steps for forcing the opinion of the reforming minority down the throats of the majority. He next analysed the provisions of the Bill and pointed out the difficulties which lay in the way of a woman seeking shelter under the provisions of the Bill. The issue of the type of impotency or incurability, he said, could not be easily decided in a court of law. As for the ground of divorce based on change of religion, he wanted to know why life should be made undesirable by the mere change of religion. 'What of the case when a husband tolerates a wife to practise a different religion ?' It might be easily argued that what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander. (Laughter).

Another ground urged for divorce was that of husband marrying another woman while the first marriage was in force. But could not a scoundrel get round this by maintaining concubines ? The last ground put forward by the Bill was desertion for a period of three years. What would Dr. Deshmukh say to a husband who returned to his wife after a lapse of two years 11 months and 29 days ? (Laughter). Further, Dr. Deshmukh had not provided for a case of cruelty by a husband or a case of a husband leading improper life who would remain beyond reach of law. Another important matter which this 'one-clause Bill' overlooked was the question of custody of children. Nine out of ten women, he asserted, would rather not have recourse to this law for the sake of children. In the face of all this he also reminded Dr. Deshmukh that Hindu Law as it was, was more generous than Dr. Deshmukh's measure. He pointed out that the existing law gave the right of judicial separation, and the right of maintenance in cases when concubines were kept in the same house as the

wife, when the cruelty of the husband was such as could be a danger to her life. Besides, there was also elasticity in the practical application of the law by c ourts. Dr. Deshmukh, he continued, had apparently left to the select committee a lacuna regarding the provisions relating to succession in the Bill, for example, as regards five or six different classes of *stridhan* property. The motion before the House, proceeded the Law Member, was for reference to a select committee. If this was accepted, he pointed out, it would mean that the House accepted the principle of right to divorce for women under certain circumstances, while there was no such law for men and this would be in spite of overwhelming opinion to the contrary.

Concluding, Sir N. N. Sircar said that as a member of the Government in his opinion the whole question must be left to a change in social ideas between the Hindus themselves. Obviously ideas were changing and if a change in the desired direction was to be effected it must be through reasoning, persuasion and propaganda. He was quite certain that this was a distinct possibility but in the meanwhile he would advise those ladies who relied on the Bill to get a better champion for their cause than Dr. Deshmukh. (Laughter). The House at this stage adjourned.

STATUS OF HINDU WOMEN (CONTD.)

12th. APRIL :—A packed ladies gallery awaited the resumption of the debate on Mr. *Hegde's* resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to examine and report on the present position of women under the existing laws with special reference to rights and disabilities in regard to ownership, disposal of property, rights of guardianship over children, rights to maintenance, rights in respect of joint family property, rights of inheritance and succession and marital rights.

When the discussion began Dr. *Deshmukh* moved an amendment which sought to substitute for the original resolution the apointment of a committee of a chairman and six members of whom not less than four would be non-officials and of whom one at least would be a woman to report on the reforms which were necessary for improving the right of Hindu women to residence and maintenance, and the legislative measures necessary to give effect to such reforms.

The debate which was opened by *Dr. Deshmukh* resolved itself into a continuation of the overnight discussion on Dr. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Divorce Bill.

Commending his amendment, *Dr. Deshmukh* suggested that as far as the personnel of the proposed committee was concerned it should not be restricted to members of the house. There were, he said, very many competent persons outside the House whose knowledge and experience on the subject could be availed of.

Supporting the amendment Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* referred to the trend of yesterday's debate on the question of divorce and alluded to the historical dilemma over the burning of the library in Alexandria. India, continued Mr. Desai, in these matters, required co-ordinated and homogeneous progress. He sympathised with Sir N. N. Sircar's criticism of those parts of the resolution which were considered to be far too wide to serve any useful purpose. Mr. Desai analysed briefly the personal law in the country as regards Muslims and Hindus and warned the house of the futility of making new wide changes except in certain individual respects. It would, he declared, not only be futile but almost dangerous. He next criticised the connotation which was attempted to be given to the term divorce. To think that there was a "right" to divorce, he asserted, was entirely to misunderstand the relation between man and woman and the meaning of the term "marriage." The issue of the matter was that one might come across a difficulty or a danger but from that it could not be construed that a right to something followed.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* accepted the amendment on behalf of the Government. He said that it was no secret that the amendment was drafted by him and Doctor Deshmukh tabled it at his instance. The Law member said that it looked strange that the deputation of women, which waited on him the other day, had felt that the original resolution would not do any good to them and had accepted the modifications embodied in the resolution. Sir N. N. Sircar, explaining theim plications of the amendment, said that although it restricted the scope of enquiry it focussed attention on certain crucial aspect of question. The Law Member explained at considerable length the present position of Hindu women in regard to maintenance and residence. The question of residence and maintenance of a wife whose husband had married a second time or was keeping a concubine in the same house also required investigation, continued Sir

N. N. Sircar. It was often felt that a Magistrate should have larger powers to order maintenance for a wife whose husband, short of using actual violence, maltreated her in every other way. Sir N. N. Sircar said that although he would not give an undertaking, the Government hoped to set up a committee, which might help Hindu women and the country to a large extent.

Mr. *Bajoria* said he had no objection to Dr. Deshmukh's amendment. Mr *Asafali* deprecated the tone which the debate was tending to take. He referred to the resolution and the change made by the amendment and reminded the House of the principle for which the Congress stood.

The House accepted without division Dr. *Deshmukh's* amendment to Mr. *Hedge's* resolution and then adjourned.

Protective Tariff and Non-Indian Concerns

Mr. *N. V. Gadgil* next moved a resolution recommending to the Governor General in Council that measures, legislative or otherwise, be taken to prevent companies or concerns the capital, membership, control or management of which was not predominantly Indian from taking advantage of protective tariffs imposed to foster industrial development of the country. Protection, Mr. Gadgil said, was never asked for the benefit of the foreigner. He referred to the list published in the '*Harijan*' of the number of companies which operated under the guise of 'India Ltd.' These companies numbering 180 dealt in all sorts of articles and this number would convince the House the extent to which foreign capital was coming into India. Unless proper precautions were taken, he warned that the benefits that accrued to the country would be more than counter-balanced by disadvantages. India had more than sufficient capital within it which was only waiting for opportunities of prudent investment. But now European capital, owing to unstable international conditions, was seeking safer fields like India. This would result not in temporary but permanent loss to India.

Mr. *Essak Sait* moved an amendment which sought to apply these restrictive measures also to companies which did not employ all Indian communities in due proportion in their services and labour. He reminded the House of Mr. Nauman's cut motion to discuss the conditions to be imposed on subsidised and protected industries to attain the object which the amendment had in view. Though these concerns were essentially private yet it must be remembered that they were supported by public funds, because it was the consumer who paid for protection. If all the communities did not share whatever benefits were available then something ought to be done to change to a more equitable basis. He had not concluded when the House adjourned till April 14.

The Second Tariff Bill (contd.)

14th. APRIL :—The Assembly resumed to-day the debate on the first reading of Sir *Mohamed Zafrullah's* second Tariff Bill to reduce the protective duty on sugar from Rs. 7/4 to Rs. 6/12 and continue it till 1941, pending a further enquiry into the industry in 1940. Sir *Ziauddin*, continuing his speech from last Thursday, dealt critically with what he characterised as the exceedingly unkind manner in which the industry built up by heavy protection had been treating the sugar-cane producers and the skilled and unskilled labour employed by it. Mr. *A. C. Dutta* said he would give the other side of the picture, and dwelt on what he described as the series of blows dealt on the industry by the Government. Sir *Mohd. Zafrullah*, in replying to the debate, maintained that the speeches had disclosed nothing to indicate that the action that the Government proposed to take was unjustified and that the existing protective duty was more than adequate.

During the detailed discussion two amendments were attempted, one by Prof. *Banerjee* to restore the duty to Rs. 7/4, and the other by *Sir Ziauddin* to reduce it to Rs. 6/12 as proposed by the Government. Both the amendments were rejected without a division and the bill was passed unamended without a division.

Indo-British Trade Agreement Bill (contd.)

Sir *Muhammad Zafrullah* then moved that the bill to amend the Indian Tariff Act of 1934 in order to give effect to certain changes necessitated by the Indo-British Trade Agreement, be taken into consideration. The Commerce Member explained that the bill would give effect to the terms of article 16 of the Agreement by which it was agreed that pending the coming into force of the agreement the two Governments would apply to provisions as far as might be

possible. It was in pursuance of this understanding that the present bill was brought up. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, opposing the motion for consideration, briefly explained the position of his party as regards the bill. Sir *Abdul Halim Ghuznavi*, who was the only speaker who sought to adduce arguments in favour of the motion, declared that as a whole the agreement was good for India. Even Congressmen had supported him in his contention. The only difference was as regards the Lancashire quota because that interest clashed with the interest of Ahmedabad and Bombay. Further the Muslim Chamber of Commerce was also in favour of the agreement. The Muslims in India had to fight to two enemies, number one the Congress, number two the Government. Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* proceeded to reply to the criticisms in a certain section of the press and outside which had blamed the Muslim league party on the ground that it took up a "communal attitude" on the Indo-British Trade Agreement. Mr. Jinnah referred to the remark made by Mr. Desai outside the House that the cotton grown by Mussalmans did not bear the mark of 'Soban Allah'. What did Mr. Desai mean to insinuate? Mr. *Desai*: "No insinuation at all." Mr. *Jinnah*: "What was the meaning of it? Only one meaning can be put upon it and that is that I was thinking of nothing else but of cotton grown by Mussalmans. Is it fair to make this insinuation?" He wished Hindu friends to prosper in the cotton industry still more. Hindus had the main interest in the industry as he had said previously, and he left it to them to give the verdict on the agreement. He knew they were in a majority and would be able to carry the day.

The motion for consideration was rejected by 54 votes to 39, the Muslim League remaining neutral, the Congress Nationalists voting against. Sir A. H. Ghuznavi voted with the Government.

Indian Rubber Control Act

The House next accepted the reference to a select committee of the Bill to further amend the Indian Rubber Control Act of 1934. *Sir Mohammad Zafrullah* explained that the Inter-Governmental Rubber Agreement of 1934 providing for regulation of production, export and control of extension of rubber cultivation was due to expire on Dec. 31, 1939, and the International Rubber Regulation Committee had circulated a draft of the revised agreement for continuance of the scheme to five years more. The provincial Governments and the Indian States concerned were unanimous that the scheme was beneficial to the country.

Protection to Rice, Silk, Paper, Pulp, etc.

Sir Mohammed Zafrullah then moved that the amendment made by the Council of State to the Bill relating to protection to rice, silk, paper, pulp and magnesium chloride be taken into consideration and passed. The amendment by the Council of State reduced the duty per ton on wood pulp from Rs. 35 to Rs. 30. By this amendment the protective duty would be 25 per cent. *ad valorem* or Rs. 30 per ton, whichever is higher. The House accepted the amendment.

Chittagong Port Act

The consideration of the Bill to amend the Chittagong Port Act of 1914 was moved by Mr. *A. G. Clow* and opposed by Mr. *B. N. Chowdhury*. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned.

Official Bills Passed

15th. APRIL:—The Assembly passed to-day *Sir Reginald Maxwell's* bill to amend the penal code and the criminal procedure code, *Sir Mahomud Zafrullah's* bill to reconstitute the Soft Coke Cess Committee and Mr. *Clow's* bill to amend the Chittagong Port Act.

Trade Agreement Bill Rejected

The Assembly next by 50 votes to 37 rejected the recommended Tariff Bill embodying the terms of the Indo-British Trade Agreement. Before the vote was taken Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* in an impassioned speech entered a protest against the procedure adopted by the Government and warned them: "You can bring goods into the country under any conditions of favour you like but to sell them is a very different proposition."

The President at this stage adjourned the House '*sine die*'.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker

1. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Haque, C. I. E.

Deputy Speaker

2. Mr. M. Ashrafali

Ministers

3. The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq (Education.)
4. The Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker (Finance)
5. The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K. C. I. E. (Home)
6. The Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy (Revenue)
7. The Hon'rle Nawab K. Habibullah Bahadur of Dacca (Agriculture and Industries)
8. The Hon'ble Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar (Communications and Works)
9. The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy (Commerce and Labour, and P. H. and L. S.-G.)
10. The Hon'ble Nawab Musharraff Hossain, Khan Bahadur (Judicial and Legislative.)
11. The Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikut (Forest and Excise)
12. The Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Bbhary Mullick (Co-operative and Rural Indebtedness)

I. General Constituencies

13. Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu
14. „ Santosh Kumar Basu
15. „ Iswar Das Jalan
16. Dr. J. M. Das Gupta
17. Mr. Jogesh Chandra Gupta
18. „ Sarat Chandra Bose
19. „ Barada Prosanna Pain
20. „ Tulsi Chandra Goswami
21. Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri
22. Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal
23. Mr. Surendra Mohan Maitra
24. „ Birendra Nath Mazumdar
25. Maharajkumar Uday Chand Mahtab
26. Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee
27. Dr. Sharat Chandra Mukherjee
28. Srijut Manindra Bhushan Sinha
29. Mr. Kamalkrishna Ray
30. „ Debendra Lall Khan
31. „ Kishori Pati Roy
32. Dr. Gobinda Chandra Bhawmik
33. Mr. Iswar Chandra Mal
34. „ Nikunja Behari Maiti
35. „ Dhirendra Narayan Mukerji
36. Mr. Sukumar Dutta
37. „ Manmath Nath Roy
38. Rai Jogesh Chandra Sen Bahadur
39. Mr. P. Banerji
40. „ Haripada Chattopadhyay
41. „ Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal
42. „ Atul Krishna Ghose
43. Babu Nagendra Nath Sen
44. Mr. Satya Priya Banerjee
45. „ Atul Chandra Kumar
46. „ Nishitha Nath Kundu
47. Babu Khagendra Nath Das Gupta
48. Mr. Jotindra Nath Chakrabarty
49. Babu Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty
50. Mr. Manoranjan Bannerjee
51. „ Kiran Sankar Roy
52. „ Charu Chandra Roy
53. „ Birendra Kishore Ray Choudhury
54. „ Surendra Nath Biswas
55. „ Narendra Nath Das Gupta
56. „ Jogendra Nath Mandal
57. „ Dhirendra Nath Datta
58. „ Harendra Kumar Sur
59. „ Mahim Chandra Das
60. „ Damber Singh Gurung

Reserved for Scheduled Castes

61. Mr. Adwaita Kumar Maji
62. „ Banku Behari Mandal
63. Babu Debendra Nath Dass
64. Srijut Ashutosh Mullik
65. Mr. Krishna Prasad Mandal
66. „ Harendra Nata Dolui
67. Babu Radhanath Das
68. Mr. Pulin Behary Mullick
69. „ Hem Chandra Naskar
70. „ Anukul Chandra Das
71. Babu Laksmi Narayan Biswas
72. Mr. Kirit Bhusan Das
73. „ Rasik Lal Biswas
74. Babu Patiram Ray
75. Mr. Tarinicharan Pramanik
76. Babu Premhari Barma
77. Babu Shyama Prosad Burman
78. Babu Upendranath Barman
79. Mr. Puspajit Barma
80. Babu Madhusudan Sarkar
82. Mr. Dhananjoy Roy
83. „ Amrita Lall Mandal
84. „ Monomohan Das
85. „ Birat Chandra Mandal
86. „ Promatha Ranjan Thakur
87. „ Upendranath Edbar
88. „ Jagat Chandra Mandal

II. Mohammadan Constituencies

89. „ M. A. H. Ispahani

90. Mr. K. Nooruddin
91. Khan Sahib Maulvi Md. Solaiman
92. Maulvi Abul Hashim
93. Maulvi Md. Abdur Rasheed
94. Dr. Syed Muhammad Siddique
95. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Alfazuddin Ahmed
96. Maulvi Abul Quasem
97. Khan Sahib Maulvi S. Abdur Rauf
98. Mr. Jasimuddin Ahmed
99. Yousuf Mirza
100. Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdur Rahman
101. Mr. M. Shamsuddin Ahmed
102. Mr. Mohammad Mohsin Ali
103. Maulvi Aftab Hosain Joardar
104. Maulvi Abdul Bari
105. Sahibzada Kawan Jah Syed Kazem Ali Meerza
106. Mr. M Farhad Raza Chowdhury
107. „ Syed Nausher Ali
108. Maulvi Waliur Rahman
109. Mr. Serajul Islam
110. Khan Bahadur Maulana Ahmed Ali Enayetpuri
111. Mr. Abdul Hakeem
112. „ Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy
113. „ Syed Mustagawsal Haque
114. Maulvi Maniruddin Akhand
115. Maulvi Mohammad Amir Ali Mia
116. Maulvi Moslem Ali Molla
117. Maulvi Mafizuddin Choudhury
118. Maulvi Hafizuddin Choudhury
119. Maulvi Abdul Jabbar
120. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mahtabuddin Ahmed
121. Khan Bahadur A. M. L. Rahman
122. Haji Safiruddin Ahmed
123. Mr. Shah Abdur Rauf
124. Kazi Emdadul Haque
125. Mr. Mia Abdul Hafiz
126. Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar
127. Mr. Ahmed Hossain
128. Maulvi Rajibuddin Tarafdar
129. Maulvi Mohammad Ishaque
130. Dr. Mafizuddin Ahmed
131. Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali
132. Maulvi Azhar Ali
133. Mr. A. M. Abdul Hamid
134. „ Abdur Raschid Mahmood
135 „ Abdulla-Al-Mahmood
136. Mr. Mohammad Barat Ali
137. Maulvi Zahur Ahmed Chowdhury
138. „ Idris Ahmed Mia
139. Mr. Khwaja Shahabuddin
140. Maulana Muhammad Abdul Aziz
141. Mr. S. A. Salim
142. Maulvi Mohammad Abdul Vikrampuri
143. Mr. Razaur Rahman Khan
144. Maulvi Aulad Hossain Khan
145. Maulvi Abdul Latif Biswas
146. Maulvi Mohammad Abdus Shaheed
147. Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Hafeez
148. Mr. Fazlur Rahman (Muktear)
149. Mr. Mahammad Abdul Jabbar Palwan
150. „ Giasuddin Ahmed
151. „ Abdul Karim
152. Maulvi Abdul Majid
153. Maulvi Abdul Wahed
154. Maulana Shamsul Huda
155. Maulvi Abdul Hakim
156. Maulvi Masud Ali Khan Panni
157. Mr. Mirza Abdul Hafiz
158. „ Syed Hasan Ali Chowdhury
159. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Kabiruddin Khan
160. Mr. Abul Hossain Ahmed
161. Maulvi Mohammad Israil
162. Maulvi Abdul Hamid Shah
163. Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmad
164. Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed Khandakar
165. Maulvi Ahmed Ali Mridha
166. Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan
167. Mr. Yusuf Ali Chowdhury
168. „ Mahammad Abul Fazl
169. Al-Hadj Gyasuddin Ahmed Choudhury
170. Mr. Abdul Kader *alias* Lal Meah
171. Khan Sahib Maulvi Hatemally Jamadar
172. Khan Sahib Maulvi Syed Muhammad Afzal
173. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hashem Ali Khan
174. Mr. Sadaruddin Ahmed
175. „ Abdul Wahab Khan
176. Maulvi Mohammad Mazammel Huq
177. Haji Maulvi Tofel Ahmed Chowdhury
178. Maulvi Mustafa Ali Dewan
179. Nawabzada K. Nasarullah
180. Mr. Maqbul Hosain
181. Maulvi Mafizuddin Ahmed
182. Mr. Ramizuddin Ahmed
183 „ Asimuddin Ahmed
184. Maulvi Mahammad Hasanuzzaman
185. Maulvi Jonab Ali Majumdar
186. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Abidur Reza Chowdhury
187. Mr. Shahedali
188. Maulvi Mohammad Ibrahim
189. Maulvi Aminullah
190. Mr. Shah Syed Golam Sarwar Hosaini
191. „ Syed Ahmed Khan
192. „ Syed Abdul Majid
193. Maulvi Abdur Razzak
194. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad
195. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Anwarul Azim

196. Maulana Mahammad Maniruzzaman Islamabadi
197. Al-Haj Maulana Dr. Sanaullah
198. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fazlul Qadir

III. Women's Constituencies

199. Miss Mira Dutta Gupta
200. Mrs. Hemaprova Majumdar
201. Mrs. Hasina Murshed
202. Begum Farhat Bano Khanam
203. Miss P. B. Bell-Hart

IV. Anglo-Indian Constituency

204. Mr. J. W. Chippendale
205. „ L. T. Maguire
206. „ C. Griffiths

V. European Constituency

207. Mr. W. L. Armstrong
208. „ J. R. Walker
209. „ R. J. Hawkings
210. „ F. C. Brasher
211. „ C. Millar
212. Sir George Campbell
213. Mr. G. Morgan
214. „ R. H. Ferguson
215. „ W. C. Patton
216. „ J. W. R. Steven
217. „ L. M. Crosfield

VI. Indian Christian Constituency

218. Dr. H. C. Mukherji
219. Mr. S. A. Gomes

VII. Commerce and Industry Constituency

220. Mr. P. F. S. Warren
221. „ L. M. Blomenstok
222. „ M. A. F. Hirtzel
223. „ F. T. Homan
224. „ R. M. Sassoon
225. [Vacant]
226. Mr. W. C. Wordsworth
227. „ K. A. Hamilton
228. „ H. R. Norton
229. „ W. A. M. Walkar
230. „ I. G. Kennedy
231. „ H. C. Bannerman
232. „ G. G. Macgregor
233. „ R. B. Whitehead
224. Sir Hari Sankar Paul
235. Mr. Debi Prasad Khaitan
236. Rai Moongtu Lall Tapuriah Bahadur
237. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi

VIII. Landholders' Constituency

238. Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray
239. Maharaja Sashi Kanta Acharjya Choudhury, of Muktagachha
240. Rai Kshirod Chandra Roy Bahadur

IX. Labour Constituency

241. Mr. J. N. Gupta
242. „ Aftab Ali
243. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee
244. Mr. Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar
245. „ Sibnath Banerjee
246. „ A. M. A. Zaman
247. „ B. Mukherjee
248. Babu Litta Munda Sirdar

X. University Constituency

249. Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee
250. " Fazlur Rahman
Advocate-General
251. Sir Asoka Kumar Roy

The Bengal Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. Mr. D. H. Wilmer
2. Mr. E. C. Ormond
3. „ T. Lamb
4. Rai Radhica Bhusan Roy Bahadur
5. Mr. Naresh Nath Mookerjee
6. The Hon'ble Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, *President, Bengal Legislative Council.*
7. Mr. Narendra Chandra Datta
8. „ Nagendra Narayan Roy
9. Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur, of Nashipur
10. Mr. Sachindra Narayan Sanyal
11. „ Bankim Chandra Datta
12. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee
13. Mr. Sailesswar Singh Roy
14. „ Kamini Kumar Dutt
15. Maharaja Sir Manmatha Nath Ray Chowdhury, of Santosh
16. Rai Surendra Narayan Singh Bahadur
17. Seth Hanuman Prosad Poddar
18. Khan Bahadur M. Shamsuzzoha
19. Mr. Mesbahuddin Ahmed
20. Khan Sahib Subid Ali Molla
21. Mr. Muhammad Hossain
22. Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan
24. Mr. Humayun Kabir
24. „ Kader Baksh
25. Nawabzada Kamruddin Haider
26. Mr. Hamidul Huque Chowdhury
Deputy President, Bengal Legislative Council
27. Khan Bahadur Syed Muazzamuddin Hosain

Proceedings of the Bengal Assembly

Budget Session—Calcutta—15th. February to 28th. June 1939

Financial Statement for 1939-40

The Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly commenced at Calcutta on the **15th. February 1939** with a fairly large attendance of members inside the chamber and a good many visitors in the galleries.

The Finance Minister, Mr. *N. R. Sarker* delivered his budget speech. Mr. Sarker stated that the revenue receipts for 1939-40 were estimated at Rs. 13.78 crores and expenditure at Rs. 14.65 crores. "We have", he said, "sufficient reserves to cover this difference (of Rs. 87 lakhs) but we propose to conserve them by resort to a loan." Credit has been taken under the appropriate deposit head for the sum of one crore on account of the long-term loan, which the Government proposes to raise. The exact terms of the loan will be settled in due course in consultation with the Reserve Bank. Of the one crore of rupees to be raised by loan the Government will spend Rs. 93 lakhs in making up the deficit of Rs. 87 lakhs and on grants by way of agricultural loans, leaving a budget surplus of seven lakhs. Speaking about new sources of revenue, Mr. Sarker said that if trade conditions improved they might tap an extra thirty lakhs or so under the jute duty, income-tax and non-judicial stamps; but they had to remember, in that connection, that their expected revenue from the jute duty in the coming year was nearly a crore in excess of what it would be if they again struck slump conditions as bad as those of 1921-22. "We must also be prepared for a decrease in excise revenue if the idea of prohibition gains strength. As regards further retrenchment we plan to make a further reduction of salaries and to revise the pension rules; but the consequent savings will only accrue gradually. There is nothing for it, therefore, but to resort to new taxation."

Referring to the current year's budget, Mr. Sarker said: "My estimates of receipts for 1938-39 were based on my revised estimate for 1937-38 plus the hope that world conditions would get no worse. On the contrary, they deteriorated considerably. I believe that the deterioration has now been checked, at least temporarily, but there is no hope of our touching the figures which I ventured to forecast for 1938-39. Our revenue receipts are likely to be fortyone lakhs below the original estimate. About half of this drop is due to world causes and the rest to a mixture of economic and political causes much nearer home. The deterioration in the world position was of course due almost entirely to the threat of war in Europe and its paralysing effect upon confidence in general; but the Munich settlement was happily followed by a recovery of confidence that checked the slump. It is, however, on the prospects of peace or war in Europe that the fate of world markets in 1939-40 will mostly depend." Mr. Sarker mentioned some outstanding domestic events which had in one way or another affected the budgetary fortunes of the current year. These include floods, the Bengal Tenancy Act, the appointment of special committees and the release of detenus. The abolition of landlords' fees on transfer had an adverse effect on the transactions under the debt deposit section of the Budget. In regard to landlords' transfer fees, the Government inherited a liability of Rs. 49 lakhs on April 1, 1937, which was reduced to Rs. 45 lakhs on April 1, 1938. Since the further inflow of landlords' fees has stopped, the liability will have to be met from the reserves. An increase of about Rs. 70,000 in the estimates of the expenditure for the year had been due to a post-budget decision to appoint a number of committees and special officers to investigate various matters affecting the welfare of the people.

Mr. Sarker continued: "When introducting the budget for 1937-38, I expressed the hope that it might be possible in the near future to effect considerable reduction in the expenditure which the Province had to incur on accouut of measures taken to combat the anarchist movement. My hopes in this respect have been largely fulfilled. The release of detenus has made it possible to reduce the pitch of abnormal expenditure by no less than Rs. 22 lakhs. Further economies to the extent of about Rs. 3 lakhs have been proposed in next year's budget, and it is hoped that if the situation continues to be satisfactory it will be possible in due course to effect further reduction in expenditure. Among the reasons which make larger savings impracticable at the moment is the need to keep a careful watch upon certain forms of subversive activity which are making themselves manifest in different parts of this

Province. "The existence of an illiterate and uninformed labour force in the Province and the recent release of political prisoners on a large scale are, according to the department concerned, providing a fruitful combination for the preaching of Communism by a group of persons who derive their political sustenance from the theories of foreign doctrinaires. The department considers that constant vigilance is required to be exercised over the activities of those among them whose avowed object is to cause a violent upheaval of the existing social order and whose method is to sow seeds of disruption amongst the illiterate workers and peasants of this country, by insidious and underground propaganda. The greater part of this work inevitably falls upon the police force with the result that the bulk of the unavoidable expenditure in this section occurs in the police budget. From the public also there has been more demand for police protection."

The largest increase on the expenditure side of the Bengal budget for 1939-40 is under civil works, totalling Rs. 24 lakhs, which is due to an extensive programme of building projects and of Road Development Fund works. Among the larger provisions for building may be mentioned two lakhs for a purdah college, two lakhs for the Eden Girl's High School in Dacca, two lakhs for a reformatory school, two lakhs for a civil court at Howrah and five and a half lakhs for police buildings. As regards road fund works out of a total assignment of one crore and five lakhs since the subventions were first received, the provincial expenditure upto the end of 1936-37 was only Rs. 62 lakhs. The unspent balance in hand on April 1, 1937 was Rs. 43 lakhs, out of which all but Rs. 10 lakhs will be spent by the end of the current year. The next year's programme of road expansion involves an expenditure of Rs. 29½ lakhs, out of which ten lakhs will be met from the balance in hand and the remainder will be available from the Central Government. The education budget contains the biggest increase under service expenditure. It includes provision of five lakhs for supplementing local efforts for the improvement of primary education in areas where primary education cess is realised. In addition to provisions made for other institutions, Rs. 71,000 has been provided to enable a purdah college to be started next year in a rented building pending completion of its own building, for which provision has been made under civil works.

Adj. Motion—Burdwan Floods

16th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly discussed to-day the adjournment motion sponsored by Mr. *Pramatha Nath Banerjee* to the effect that this House do now adjourn to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, the situation arising out of the notification No, 656B, in the Calcutta Gazette, dated February 10th, 1939, extending the provision of section 7 Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932 and the promulgation of Section 144 Cr. P. C. on February 13th., 1939, for operation in certain parts of Burdwan District. It was stated that drastic action was taken by the Government for non-payment of rent and taxes in the canal area of the Burdwan District. After a prolonged discussion the motion was lost.

General Discussion of Budget

20th. to 25th. FEBRUARY :—General discussion of the budget estimates of the Government for the year 1939-40 began on the **20th. Feb.** Mr. *Pramatha Nath Banerjee*, on behalf of the Congress Party, initiated the discussion. After discussions had continued for about one hour and a quarter, in which half a dozen speakers representing the Congress, the Krishak Proja Party and the Scheduled Caste party took part, the quorum failed and the discussions were continued on the next day, the **21st. Feb**, when the quorum also failed and the House adjourned. Sixteen members took part in to-days discussion of whom more than half a dozen belonged to the Coalition Ministerialist Party. Strong criticism of the Ministry's conduct by several members of the Ministerialist Party was the most unexpected feature of the day's proceedings. Continuation of dog racing, failure to introduce free compulsory primary education and enormous provision for new building projects were the main grounds of attack. Mr. *Abdul Bari*, a prominent Coalitionist, remarked that it was astonishing that the Government had failed to utilise the huge sums of money which had been provided in the last year's budget for want of projects and definite schemes. Another Coalitionist, *Maulvi Idris Muhammed* also attacked the Ministry for its failure to introduce free primary education in the province. He told the Government that they had uptill now supported it in season and out of season, but the Government should realise that there was a limit to their patience. They were often told, he continued, that the Ministry was led by the Ministerialist Coali-

tion Party, but the Speaker considered the position vice versa. Opposition members concentrated their attack on the lack of any programme and policy to further the works of the nation-building departments. They thought that the outlook which had found expression was the same old outlook that prevailed in the bureaucratic days. "It is an unimaginative budget without any policy or programme based on patronage and placating" remarked one member. Next day, the **22nd. Feb.**, Mr. *Jagat Chandra Mandal* criticised it as one where the money was being squandered away on costly and useless buildings. The Finance Minister had found provision for an increased expenditure so far as the valiant myrmidons of law and order were concerned. The budget as a whole was an aristocratic budget. Mr. *Maniruddin Ahmed* said that the budget was not the people's budget but for feeding some contractors and high officials. Sir *George Campbell* said that while the proposed taxation on trades, profession, occupations and callings was an ungraduated tax, it was still based on income-tax and might create hardship in border-line cases of those just within the reach of income-taxes. The dull monotony and the lack of interest which were the main features of the atmosphere of the House during the course of the general discussion for the next three days, were made livelier and interesting on the **25th. Feb.** when Mr. *T. C. Goswami* dwelt at length on the main features of the budget, in winding up the general discussion. He said :—"The Hon'ble Finance Minister has complained of the lack of funds in the provincial exchequer. This, indeed, is not due to the bankruptcy of the province but the bankruptcy of the good feelings and well-wishes of the ministers." Thus ended the general discussion and the House adjourned till the 27th.

Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill

27th. FEBRUARY to 6th. MARCH:—For nearly four hours, the Assembly debated on the **27th. Feb.** the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill introduced by the Government. The Bill declares that the practice of reserving Muslim seats in the general constituencies has failed to satisfy Muslims and so it reverts to separate electorates. The Bill increases Muslim seats from 19 to 22, creates a Labour electorate and gives it 2 seats. It does not increase the number of General (Hindu) seats (46) but it reserves 7 seats for the Scheduled Castes in the General constituencies. There was no such reservation for Scheduled Castes before. The Bill does not reduce the number of nominated members (10) ; nor those earmarked for the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Calcutta Trade's Association and the Port Commissioners (12), nor those of Aldermen (5), who are elected by the elected councillors. The hon. *Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur* of Dacca, Minister in charge of Local Self-Government Department, introduced the Bill and moved that it be referred to a Select Committee consisting of 18 members, including four members from the Congress Party, with instructions to submit their report by March 6. As many as ten amendments were moved by members of the Opposition, including the Congress Party, the Krishak Proja Party, the Independent Scheduled Caste Party and also by an Anglo-Indian member, which wanted circulation of the Bill to elicit opinion thereon. More than a dozen speakers from the different sections of the House participated in the debate on these amendments, when the House adjourned till the next day, the **28th. February**, when loud bursts of protest, stormy scenes and open defiance of orders of the Chair met the *Speaker's* ruling over the point of order raised by Sj. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, who objected to the consideration of the Bill being continued to-day which was fixed for non-official resolutions. He took his stand on the rules of the House. Thereupon the *Speaker* directed that the House should proceed with the consideration of the Bill and asked Sir *George Campbell*, Leader of the European group, to state his views in connexion with the said Bill. Following his ruling, the House flared up and Congress members dubbed it as 'illegal'. An adjournment of the House for 15 minutes was declared from the Chair for a settlement. But after the re-assemblage the House did not seem to have changed the atmosphere. The *Speaker* ordered somebody to walk out, some to be silent and some to meet him in the Chamber but the Congress members were firm in their attitude. While the *Chief Minister* was shouting forth some remarks on the Congress members, the *Speaker* declared the House adjourned till Monday the **6th. March**, when Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* again rose to a point of order and maintained that the House could not proceed with the debate in continuation of the discussion held on February 28, as it was in Mr. Bose's opinion illegal. Mr. Bose held that the only course left open to the Government if they wanted to proceed with the amendment of the Municipal Bill was to bring forward a fresh Bill.

The *Speaker* ruled out Mr. Bose's order and the House then proceeded with the debate. Sir *George Campbell*, Leader of the European Group, spoke supporting the

Municipal Bill. He said that his group felt that if one strong political party remained in complete control of a Municipal body for a number of years, the work of that body was bound to deteriorate. Mr. *T. C. Goswami*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Assembly Party, characterised the Bill as a Bill of injustice to not only the Hindu citizens but also to Muslims. He drew the attention of the Leader of the European Group to the fact that the Labour Party in the London County Council had dominated it for a number of years, but had they in any way jeopardized the cause of the civic administration ? Dr. *Syama Prasad Mookerjee* characterised Sir George Campbell's message as a parting kick to the city which had stood him in good stead for the better part of his life. The *Chief Minister* justified the introduction of separate electorates in the present circumstances and maintained that it was not a fact that the introduction of separate electorates had resulted in dividing the people in so many divisions. An Opposition motion urging circulation of the Bill was put to vote and was rejected by 131 votes against 79. The motion referring it to a Select Committee consisting of 18 members, including four Congress members, with instruction to submit their report by March 25, was carried without a division.

MR. HUQ AND HINDU OFFICERS

Earlier, after question hour, Mr. *J. C. Gupta* wanted leave of the House to move an adjournment motion to discuss "a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the expression of want of confidence and charge of disloyalty levelled against the Hindu officers in the province, as alleged by the Chief Minister, and the inevitable discontent and demoralisation of the officers which was bound seriously to affect the administration of the province." The hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Premier, expressed his regret for the remarks he had made in a letter to Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, an ex-Minister, and tendered his apologies to the Hindu officers of the Government for what he had said in the letter against them. He hoped that they would continue to give him the same service as they had done previously. The adjournment motion was put to vote and lost by 138 votes against 62, 15 members belonging to the Krishak Proja Party and the Scheduled Caste Party remaining neutral. The European Group voted with the Government.

THE FINANCE BILL 1939

7th. MARCH :—The Bengal Finance Bill, 1939, as sponsored by the Honble Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sircar*, Finance Minister, with a view to make an addition to the revenue of Bengal by imposing an ungraduated tax of Rs. 30 per annum on professions, trades, callings, and employments, excluding those who do not pay incometax, was subjected to trenchant criticism by the Oppositionists including an Anglo-Indian Member, Mr. *J. W. Chippendale* to-day. As many as seven motions by way of amendments for circulation for the purpose of eliciting public opinion on the Bill were moved. Two amendments to the motions of the Finance Minister for referring the Bill to a Select Committee were also moved. Justifying the imposition of the taxation the *Finance Minister* said that the sum of Rs. 12 lakhs, which they hoped to realise by resort to this taxation, was a mere drop in the ocean, because there was a large gap to be filled up between their resources and their requirements. The sum that would be realised from this source of taxation would be necessary for financing only one scheme namely, the water-supply scheme in the rural areas. The motion for circulation was lost by 119 to 71 votes, while motion for referring to the Select Committee was lost without division. The House then accepted the motion for consideration of the Bill as moved by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

8th. to 25th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the **8th. March.** The apathy of the Government to popularise Salt industry in Bengal was severely criticised to-day when the Hon. Mr. *Prasanna Deb Raikut* moved for a grant of a sum of Rs. 12,000 for expenditure under the head "Salt" as provided in the budget estimate for the year 1939-40. About five cut motions were moved to reduce the demand by Rs. 100 to discuss the policy of the Government with regard to the improvement of the Salt industry in this province. All the cut motions were lost without division. The demands for grants under heads 'Stamps,' 'Forest,' and 'Registration' were also granted by the House. Cut motions levelled against all the demands followed suit and the House was adjourned till the **9th. March** when, excepting a few supplementary questions, the House evoked no excitement and the whole proceedings were dull

and uninteresting. The attendance was thin and towards the end the Opposition benches, particularly the Congress benches, were almost deserted.

The failure of the Government to ensure better price of raw jute for the cultivators and to adopt any comprehensive scheme for agricultural improvement was subjected to severe criticism in the course of a debate in connection with the budget demand for a grant of Rs. 15,78,000 for expenditure under the head, 'Agriculture' moved by the Hon'ble Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*. All the cut motions moved by the oppositionists were negatived and the entire demand for grant was sanctioned by the House. The House also sanctioned the demand of Rs. 5,90,000 for expenditure under head, "Veterinary". Next day, the **10th March**, the Assembly voted without a cut, the budget demand of a sum of Rs. 28,96,000 for expenditure under the head "Land Revenue", and a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 for expenditure under the head "Famine Relief" moved by Sir *B. P. Singh Roy*, Revenue Minister. Emphasising that the "no-rent" mentality was responsible for the deterioration of collection of land revenue, the Minister said, "It appears from the report submitted by district Officers and Commissioners of Divisions that attempts were being made by some ex-detenus, members of the Krishak Samities, local agitators and Congress workers to foster a spirit of discontent and hostility towards the Government and Zamindars amongst the cultivating classes. I will request the House to bear these facts seriously in mind. If the position does not improve or no steps are taken to control the 'no-rent' mentality, I am afraid, before long, the whole land revenue system of the province will collapse and the Government might find it difficult to substitute a new system for the old one." After referring to the areas which were most affected by such agitation, the Minister said, "These are the places where we find the ex-detenus and the members of the Krishak Samities are most active in preaching their hymn of hate".

The otherwise dull proceedings of the Assembly were considerably enlivened when Mr. *Abdul Jabbar Palwan*, a ministerialist of Coalition Party, crossed the floor in the course of the debate of the revenue budget and moved a cut motion, coming over to the Opposition side. Mr. Palwan declared, in moving the cut motion, that the Ministry had miserably failed to redeem its election pledges so far as the redress of the grievances of the peasantry were concerned. He paid a warm tribute to the activities of the Congress Ministries in this connection and remarked that the Bengal Ministry "only shed crocodile tears for the cultivators and indulged in all talks." Mr. Palwan then took his seat with the Krishak Proja Party in the Opposition benches. Next day, the **11th. March**, allegations that Government was responsible for the deterioration of the standard of efficiency of the staffs of the Calcutta Medical College and Campbell Medical School and other medical institutions and its apathy for giving sufficient medical relief to rural Bengal were seriously put forward by the members of the opposition including some of the coalition party by way of cut motions over the demand of the Government of Rs. 51,30,000 under the head 'Medical.' All the cut motions were lost and the entire demand for grant was sanctioned by the House. The House then stood adjourned till Monday, the **13th. March**, when a dull discussion centred round the cut motions moved on the demand of the Government of Rs. 1,53,56,000 for expenditure under the head "Education, General." Most of the time of the debate was taken up by the coalition members who discussed the policy of the Government in general and some members laid special stress on the necessity of introducing primary education in the province. The discussion had not concluded when the House was adjourned till the next day, the **14th. March**, when following a debate which lasted for two hours and in which seven cut motions were moved and 29 speakers participated, the Assembly sanctioned without any cut, the demand of the grant for expenditure of Rs 1,53,56,000 under the head "Education," moved by the hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Chief Minister. Dr. *Syamaprasad Mookerjee*, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, criticised the Government for lack of a programme or policy for the educational advancement of the country. He said, "there are 16 millions of adults in this province of 18 years of age who are completely illiterate and what is the magnificent provision the Government had made in this year's budget? The Government had given a sum of Rs. 13,000 for the adult education. It is less than half of the sum of Rs. 30,000 which you are going to give to the 'Azad' which mainly devotes itself for spreading libellous propaganda and communal spirit in this province." The *Education Minister* in his reply declared in his usual gestures that the province of Bengal within 18 months or less than that would have primary education without any education cess. He added, "I feel great relief to announce at the present moment before the members of this House and the public that we have been able to solve completely the problem of primary education in Bengal." Next day, the **15th. March**,, charges of defalcations,

corruptions and nepotism were brought against the Co-operative Department and the societies of the Government by way of cut motions in respect of the demand for grant under the head 'Co-operation,' moved by the Hon'ble Mr. *Mukunda Behari Mullick*. The members belonging to the Opposition moved cut motions and those belonging to the Coalition took part in the general discussion with regard to the policy of the Government to spread the co-operative movement in the province. Members of both the parties charged the Government for failure to provide proper facilities for rural credit and the settlement of rural debts. All the cut motions were negatived by the House and the entire demand of Rs. 15,33,000 for expenditure under the head — Co-operative' was granted by the House. The House later sanctioned a demand for a sum of Rs. 16,18,000 for expenditure under the head— 'Industries' moved by the Hon'ble *Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur* of Dacca. Next day, the **16th. March**, the demand for a grant of Rs. 1,19,29,000 for expenditure under the head, "General Administration" was moved by Sir *Nazimuddin*, Home Minister. An Opposition cut motion, which sought to raise a discussion on the subject, was withdrawn in view of the assurance given by the Finance Minister. The House than proceeded with conside.ation of other cut motions moved by the Opposition. Opposition speakers alleged that the policy of the Ministry had led to an encouragement of communalism in the province. Charges were also levelled against the Ministry that they were trying to suppress legitimate criticism of the activities of the Government. Reference was made to the disturbance that took place in Calcutta during the last no-confidence motion debate when Opposition members sought shelter in the Bengal Legislative House. The debate had not concluded when the House was adjourned till the next day, the **17th. March**, when the House sanctioned without any cut the General Administration demand. Altogether nine cut motions were moved by the Opposition and division was demanded on three. All of them were either rejected or negatived. Four Ministers of the Government participated in the debate towards its closing stage. The *Chief Minister* told the House that, as previously announced in the House, several attempts had been made to arrive at a settlement over the percentage question in public service at a confernce of the leaders of the different parties in this House, but so far their attempts had proved unsuccessful. They proposed to convene another sitting of the conference of the leaders of the various communities at an early date, to make a final attempt to arrive at a settlement. If a settlement was reached, the Government would lose no time in implementing that decision. If no decision could be arrived at, the Government would come to its own decision and announce it. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Labour Minister, accused Labour members of the House, amidst strong protests from such members, that they were spreading communal slogans in the labour areas. Winding up the debate, the *Home Minister* told the House that whereas there had been communal riots in the Congress Provinces, involving shooting and lathi charges by the police, Bengal had been singularly free from such communal riots and there had been only one instance where the police had been compelled to open fire. He declared that Hindu officers were treated most justly and fairly by the Bengal Government. The Chief Minister had written to four papers in Calcutta, inviting them to single out a single instance where injustice had been done to any Hindu officer of the Government. None of the papers had the courage, declared the Home Minister, to come forward with a single instance. An important speaker on the Opposition side to-day was Mr. *Nausher Ali*, ex-Minister, who raised a constitutional point that the Ministry had not yet announced their decision on the resolution of the Assembly passed eight months ago on the percentage question, and that the alternative left to the Ministry was either to accept that resolution or to reject it or get it rescinded or to resign. The House at this stage adjourned till Monday, the **20th. March**, when the Government was severely criticised for its failure to effect adequate reduction of expenditure in the administration of Police Departments in the course of a debate on the Opposition's cut motion in connection with the demand for grant of a sum of Rs. 2,14,55,000 for expenditure under the head "Police" moved by the Hon'ble *Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin*. In his speech, Sir Nazimuddin drew a picture of Secret Societies and Rovolutionary parties which, in his opinion, still remained in existence and intact and were as well organised to-day as ever they were, probably better. He said that the declared aim of those societies was rebellion, to be followed by social revolution. Though ostensibly in the ranks of the Congress, they were no followers of Congress and they were no followers of the creed of non-violence.

The best contribution in to-day's debate came from Sj *Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty* (Congress) who in his elegant Bengali and masterly style kept the House spell-bound for about half and hour, that the Police Department ought to have a smaller sum provided for it this year, in view of the non-release of Detenus and State prisoners and a number of political prisoners.

About half a dozen cut motions were moved by the Opposition. The cut motions sought to raise a discussion about the "abnormally high expenditure in the Police Department, "the alleged inefficiency of the Department", and to urge a change in the present system of recruitment and administration of the Police Department. Mr. *J. G. Kennedy* (European Group) thanked the Home Minister for appraising the public with the state of affairs in this province and said that the Government must act fearlessly and expose the designs of those who were poisoning the minds of the youth, the peasants and the industrial workers with an insidious propaganda of hatred and contempt for all established forms of law and order.

Next day, the **22nd. March**, the Police Budget was passed, 135 members voting for and 75 against the demand. The demand of the government for Rs. 74,09,000 under the head 'Administration of Justice' was also taken up for consideration and passed by the House without any division. Cut motions relating to these two demands were all lost without division and the House then adjourned.

An adjournment motion was sought to be moved by Mr. *Shib Nath Banerjee* for discussing the situation arising out of the hunger-strike resorted to by 125 workers of the Radhakissen Jute Mills, Belur. The *Speaker* ruled it as out of order, as the mover failed to indicate the responsibility of the Government in this connexion.

23rd. MARCH :—Trenchant criticisms were levelled against the Irrigation policy of the Government to-day by way of cut motions moved against the demand for a grant of Rs. 34,14,000 for expenditure under the head 'Irrigation,' moved by the Hon'ble *Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandy* of Cossimbazar. All the cut motions were negatived without division and the House sanctioned the entire demand for grant moved by the Maharaja. The House also sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1,50,78,000 for expenditure under the head 'Civil Works' moved by the Hon'ble Maharaja. The Assembly had a very dull sitting to-day and the debates on the cut motions were still more dull and uninteresting. Next day, the **24th. March**, the House sanctioned without any cut the entire demand of Rs. 20,58,000 for expenditure under the head 'Provincial Excise,' moved by the Hon'ble Mr. *Prasanna Deb Raikut.* Only two cut-motions, one by Mr. *Biren Dranath Majumdar* and the other by Mr. *Maqbul Hossain* (Krishak Praja) were moved and in both these cut motions the failure of the Government to introduce prohibition in the province was severely criticised. The cut motion of Mr. Majumdar was negatived without any division while the cut-motion of Mr. Hossain was pressed to a division and was lost by 67 against 108 votes. The House later sanctioned the entire demand for grant of Rs. 21,12,000 for expenditure under the head "General Administration-Debt Conciliation", moved by the Hon'ble Mr. *Mukunda Behari Mullick.* Next day, the **25th. March**, voting on Budget demands concluded and the remaining demands for grants under minor heads were passed without any cut. The otherwise dull proceedings of the day were enlivened when charges and counter-charges were exchanged between Labour members and the Labour Minister. Two Labour members, Mr. *Shibnath Banerjee* and Mr. *Niharendu Dutt Majumdar*, who participated in the discussion that was raised by the former on the question of grants to labour welfare organisations, charged the Labour Minister with spreading communalism in labour areas through his agents and with attempts to establish rival communal unions with a view to crushing the growing labour movement in the province. The *Labour Minister* replied that if anybody was responsible for the spread of the communal spirit in the labour areas, it was those who 'posed as Labour leaders." The Minister stoutly denied that any money from the Labour Welfare Fund was spent for any other purpose than labour welfare work.

CALCUTTA MUNCPL. BILL—CONGRESS WALK-OUT

27th. MARCH :—The Assembly held a brief sitting to-day. After question hour, Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (Congress) enquired of the Speaker if it was a fact that Congress members of the select committee on the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill had walked out as a protest against the 'uncompromising attitude' of other members of the committee. The *Speaker* said that he had no information in the matter. He would, however, make an enquiry. The *Congress members* in the select committee, it was stated, had been demanding an increase in the number of general seats on a population basis. When the committee met on Monday morning, they were understood

to have been informed that the Coalition Party members were not agreeable to any increase in the number of general seats. The Congress members present, thereupon, it was understood, walked out of the meeting. Forty-six seats had been provided for the general constituencies in the present Bill, with seven of them reserved for the Scheduled Caste.

The House sanctioned without any cut the supplementary budget estimates amounting to Rs. 31,19,000 for the year 1938-1939 including the grant of a sum of Rs. 6,50,000 for famine relief.

POOR & UNEMPLOYED RELIEF BILL

28th. MARCH :—The Bengal Rural Poor and Unemployed Relief Bill, 1939, as passed by the Bengal Council on February 20, 1939, was passed by the Assembly to-day after a discussion of about two hours with certain amendments. The object of the Bill *inter alia* was to set up a machinery for keeping regular records of distressed and unemployed persons in the rural areas and requiring each Union Board to collect and maintain the statistics of the poor and unemployed in different areas. It also provided to establish a nucleus of fund through collection of voluntary subscription and contribution from District Boards and Government out of which the distressed and the poor in each area might be given some relief.

The point as to whether the very fact of the introduction of a Money Bill in the Upper House constituted an infringement of the rights and privileges of the Lower House, even if the Upper House might have subsequently changed the character of the Bill, so that it no longer remained a Finance Bill, was raised by the hon. the Speaker, *Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque*, when the Assembly was about to take into consideration the Bill. The Speaker said that while he was anxious to safeguard the rights and privileges of this House, he was not at the same for doing anything that might make the relationship between the two Houses strained, especially at the stage of Parliamentary Government in this province. What he had decided, therefore, was to refer the constitutional point he had raised to the Committee of Privileges of the House and if the Committee recommended any action, to make their recommendations applicable in regard to any such Bill in future. In the meantime, without making it a constitutional precedent, as a special circumstance as being the first instance of its kind, he would ask the House to proceed with the consideration of the Bill.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

29th. MARCH:—The Bengal Jute Bill, 1937, which sought to fix a minimum price of jute at Rs. 10 per maund and compulsory restriction of growing it, was rejected by 88 to 55 to-day, the Coalition members *en bloc* opposing the measure. The Bengal Medical Amendment Bill 1937, sponsored by Mr. *Anukul Chandra Das* (Scheduled Caste), making provision for doing away with certain disabilities of the unregistered medical practitioners and enabling them to get their names entered in the Register of 'Registered Practitioners,' decided to be circulated for eliciting public opinion by December 31, 1939.

The Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1937, moved by *Moulavi Abdul Hakim*, was sent for eliciting public opinion by March 31, 1939, and the Bengal Municipal (Amendmend) Bill, 1937, moved by *Rai Harendra Nath Choudhuri* was also sent for the purpose of eliciting public opinion by March 31, 1939. With the consideration of the above Bills, the non-official business concluded to-day.

THE FINANCE BILL 1939 (CONTD.)

30th. MARCH :—By 106 against 69 votes, the Assembly to-day passed the Bengal Finance Bill, which sought to impose an ungraduated tax of Rs. 30 on all professions, trades, callings and employments, exempting persons who did not pay incometax. The provisions of the Bill are to come into effect from April 1 1939. Mr. *Dhirendra Nath Dutt* (Congress) moved an amendment urging that the tax should be imposed on incomes exceeding Rs. 3,000 a year. The amendment was negatived by 113 against 76 votes, Anglo-Indian members also voting with the Opposition. About a dozen other Opposition amendments, some of them seeking to reduce the tax, were negatived without a division.

OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

31st. MARCH :—The Assembly dealt to-day with three Government Bills, one of which was passed, the second referred to a Select Committee and the third was under consideration when the House adjourned. The Calcutta Municipal (Amend-

ment and Validation) Bill, 1939, which was passed by the House, validated the Government order passed earlier extending the life of the Calcutta Corporation by one year, with a view to enabling the next elections to the Corporation to be held under the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, which is due to be considered by the Assembly next week and also effecting some changes in a certain section of the present Calcutta Municipal Act, empowering the Local Government to extend the life of the Corporation for a term or terms not exceeding one year in the aggregate. The Bill was introduced by the hon. Mr. *Suhrawardy*, Labour Minister, on behalf of the hon. *Nawab Khwaja Habidullah Bahadur*, Minister for Socal Self-Govt.

The Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Bill, 1939, introduced by the hon. Mr. *Mukunda Behary Mullick*, sought to remedy certain defects in the present Debtors Act. It was referred to a Select Committee.

The House was considering the Bengal Tenancy (Third Amendment) Bill, 1939, introduced by the hon. Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, which sought to introduce certain changes in the existing Tenancy Act in the matter of a land-lord's claim for an increase in rent, when the Assembly adjourned till the **3rd. April.**

BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS BILL

3rd. & 4th. APRIL :—The hon. *Nawab Musharaff Hossain* moved that the Bengal Money-Lenders Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration. The Bill, as it emerged from the Select Committee, was given a mixed reception on the floor of the House. Mr. *D. P. Khaitan*, representative of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, said that when the Bill had been originally introduced by the Government, it was like a useful horse and when it emerged from the Select Committee, it was like a ferocious tiger. According to Mr. Khaitan, the Select Committee had changed the fundamental character of the measure. Opposing the motion for consideration, Mr. *W. C. Wordsworth*, on behalf of the European Group, urged that the Bill should be recommitted to the Select Committee. He maintained that the measure would give a deathblow to co-operative credit in Bengal. Mr. *Abdul Bari* (Ministerialist Party) supported the motion for consideration and said that the Bill would go a long way in affording protection to the agriculturists, who were hard oppressed by money-lenders and capitalists. Next day, the **4th. April**, the Hon'ble Speaker, Mr. *Azizul Huq*, gave his ruling, regarding the question raised by Mr. *D. P. Khaitan*, to the effect that the provincial legislature was not competent to legislate in relation to banks, corporations or promissory notes and therefore some of the provisions of the Bengal Money Lenders Bill were beyond the powers of any provincial legislatures. The Speaker held that this Assembly was fully competent to legislate on money lending and to include banks, corporations or promissory notes in dealing with money-lending and money-lenders. The Speaker added that his remarks were only about the general aspects of the bill and there were probably some provisions in the bill which looked as if the House was trenching into regions where it had no right to go. But this might be discussed at a later stage when the specific issues would be taken into consideration. After the Speaker's ruling, the amendment moved, on behalf of the European Group, by Mr. *Curtis Miller* for recommitting the Bill to a Select Committee was lost without a division. The amendment was supported by the Independent Nationalist Party. The amendments standing in the name of several members of the Congress Party were not moved. Mr. *Whitehead* (European Group), supporting the amendment, moved on behalf of his party for recommitting the Bill to a Select Committee, criticised the recommendations of the Select Committee for including 'promissory notes', 'banks' and 'trading corporations.' The *Speaker* contended that the Bill would give a death-blow to the co-operative credit in Bengal. After Mr. *Suhrawardy*, Labour Minister, had spoken, *Nawab Musharaff Hossain* explained the various provisions of the Bill and asked the European Group to withdraw their amendment. The Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* assured the European Group that their view-points would receive due consideration at the hands of the Government. He also assured members belonging to other parties, that the Government would carefully consider their view-points also as reflected in the large number of amendments tabled by them. He told the House that although the Government in consultation with the Coalition Party (supporters of the Government) had brought forward this Bill in response to the popular demand for protecting the poor peasants and agriculturists against the excessive rates of interest charged by money-lenders, they were quite prepared to consider the view-points of every section of the House. Although the Coalition Party were in a majority in the House, they were not unmindful of their respon-

sibility towards the minorities in the House. The House agreed to take the Bill into consideration. The amendment of the European Group was lost without a division. The House then adjourned.

BENGAL OFFICIAL RECORDS BILL, 1939

5th. APRIL :—The Assembly to-day accepted the motion of *Roy Harendra Nath Chowdhury* (Congress) for circulating the Bengal Official Records Bill 1939, which sought to penalise unauthorised publication of official records, for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by May 5, 1939. Dr. *Nalinakhya Sanyal*, opposing the motion of the Premier, sponsor of the Bill, characterised the Bill as 'the blackest of the black bills' that the black cabinet under the present Premier could conceive. He added that the Official Records Bill had been one of the most ill-conceived measures because it sought to cut away the very root of democracy. The *Premier*, in reply, stated that within the two years the publications were not meant for helpful criticism but with a very mischievous purpose, namely to discredit the action of the Government. It was with a view to penalise such publications that the Government had brought in this Bill.

In the statement of the object of the Bill it had been stated that a growing tendency had been noticed both in the Press and the platform to give unauthorised currency to the contents of unpublished State documents. The tendency had rendered imperative the necessity of taking legislative measure to suppress the dissemination in the Press and on the platform of the contents of unpublished records of the Government unless after due authorisation.

BENGAL AMUSEMENT TAX AMEND. BILL

6th. APRIL :—Following an expression used by *Moulana Mozammel Huq* (Coalition) in course of his speech in support of a circulation motion relating to the Bengal Amusement Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1939, the Congress *en bloc*, the Krishak Proja Party and a few members of the Independent Scheduled Caste Party retired as a protest against the language used. Subsequently, Mr. *Abdul Bari* moved an amendment to the motion for circulation asking that the bill be taken up for consideration until April 20. This was accepted and the House adjourned till the **17th. April** when it adjourned again without transacting any business, condoling the death of Sj. *Birendra Nath Mazumdar*, a member of the Congress Party in the Assembly who was killed in the railway accident in Majdia.

CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL AMEND. BILL (CONTD.)

18th. APRIL :—Consideration of the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill as reported by the Select Committee of 17 members was taken up to-day. The consideration, however, was limited to motions moved by the oppsitionists mainly proposing for recommittal of the Bill to a select committee. The motions were, however, lost and the motion of the *Nawab Bahadur of Dacca*, the sponsor of the bill, that the bill as recommended by the select committee be taken into consideration was passed without division. The report of the select committee stated that the bill dealing with the electorate had not been altered to the extent of requiring republication. Note of dissents were expressed by all the Congress members and *Maharaj Kumar of Burdwan*, Mr. *Hem Chandra Naskar* and *Mrs. Hasina Murshed*. Next day, the **19th. April**, the Assembly adjourned without transacting business as a mark of respect to the memory of Mr. *Manoranjan Banerjee*, a member of the Congress Party, who died yesterday from injuries sustained in the railway collision at Majdia on Monday.

20th. APRIL :—Angry scenes were witnessed to-day over the adjournment motion tabled by Mr. *Sasanka Sehkar Sanyal* relating to a speech delivered by the *Chief Minister* at the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference held in Calcutta where the Chief Minister was reported to have made observation about oppression of Muslims by Congress and Hindu Governments. In course of the discourse, Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* made a remark, which he was asked to withdraw by the Speaker, when he replied that by this the Speaker would be helping the other side. The *Speaker* took strong exception to it but subsequently he accepted the unqualified apology offered by Dr. Sanyal. He also ruled the motion out of order.

The House next adopted the following resolution moved by *Khan Bahadur Mahomed Ali* of the Coalition Party :—"The Assembly is of opinion that the Secretary of State for India be moved to reduce the scale of pay for all new entrants to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service."

RESOLUTION ON CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Next, the Assembly considered a resolution moved by Mr. *M. D. Abdul Fazal* of the Krishak Praja Party, urging that the Government of Bengal should request the Government of India to forward to his Majesty's Government the expression of opinion of the Assembly, that the Government of India Act of 1935 should be replaced by a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise. Sir *Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, explaining the Government position in the matter, said that they would not take part in the debate, nor express their opinion on it, because this was not a matter which immediately concerned this Government nor one within their control. The Coalition Party (Ministerialist Party) and the European Group opposed the resolution, while the Congress Party and the Krishak Praja Party and the Independent Scheduled Caste Party supported it. The resolution was negatived by 76 against 68 votes.

21st. APRIL :—Majdia Railway disaster was the subject matter of a resolution to-day. Allegations of negligence and inefficiency of the internal administration of the Railway department were made by the members of the House. A resolution to the effect moved by Mr. *Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy* was passed unanimously with an amendment of Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal*.

Earlier the House passed certain amendments made by the Bengal Legislative Council in connection with the Bengal Tanks Improvement Bill. The House also passed the resolution moved by Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, relating to trade and commerce within the province in drugs, medicines and biological products etc. which were among the matters enumerated in the Provincial Legislative List by an Act of the Federal Legislature. The House then adjourned till May 1.

CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL AMEND. BILL (CONTD.)

1st. to 11th. MAY :—The compromise formula evolved by the Ministry in regard to the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill was announced on the floor of the Assembly, when the Bill came up for consideration clause by clause on the **1st. May**. According to this formula, the number of nominated seats have been reduced from ten to eight. One of the two seats thus available has been added to the number of the general constituency seats, which will thus be 46, instead of 47, as provided in the original Bill. The total number of the elected seats will, therefore, be 85 instead of 84. Seven seats were originally reserved for the Scheduled Caste community in the general constituency, while out of the eight nominated seats, four have been reserved for nomination from the Scheduled Caste community. Thus the total number of members of the Corporation, including Aldermen, will be 98 instead of 99, as proposed in the original Bill. This formula was embodied in a number of amendments moved in the Assembly by Mr. *K. Shahabuddin*, Chief whip of the Coalition Ministerialist Party. Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, asked the Government to declare the policy underlying the amendments that had been moved by Mr. Shahabuddin. Mr. Bose also wanted to know from the Government on what basis the new figures suggested in the amendments had been arrived at, whether they had arrived at those figures on the basis of population of the different communities or on some other considerations. The hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Premier, replying, said that if Mr. Shahabuddin's amendments were accepted, in a Corporation of 93 councillors, as many as 47 would be coming through general electorates, or in other words, the Government had given a majority to the general electorates so far as the entire body of councillors was concerned. The Government had decided to increase the number of the elected councillors from 84 to 85. The Government had not, therefore, reduced the majority community, namely, the Hindus, to a minority community. The Government had given them sufficient scope to capture most of the seats of the general constituency. They had given 3 seats to the Scheduled Castes, so that, with other seats the Hindu representation might be more than 50 per cent of the whole House. All those Hindu members might not perhaps belong to the Congress, but the Government wanted that all shades of political opinion should be represented in the Corporation. Six Opposition amendments were moved which sought to increase the number of elected seats. The amendment moved by Mr. *Hem Chandra Naskar*, Leader of the Independent Scheduled Caste Party, suggesting that the number of elected seats be increased from 84 to 100, was rejected by 116 votes to 62. Next day, the **2nd. May**, a protest against what was characterised as "indecent hurry" on the part of the Government to rush the Bill through the legislature was registered by the Opposition. As many as a dozen amendments were before the House. One of these amendments was a short-notice one moved by Mr. *K. Shahabuddin*, Chief Whip of the Government, who

wanted to increase the number of elected members in the Corporation from 84 to 85. Another of the amendments moved by Mr. *Shahabuddin* related to the number of councillors to be nominated by the Government. According to the provisions of the existing Act, 10 councillors are nominated by the Government and this provision has been kept intact in the amending Bill. Mr. Shahabuddin's amendment proposed to reduce the number of councillors to be nominated by the Government from 10 to 8. The other 10 amendments were moved by the Opposition to the short notice amendment moved by Mr. *Shahabuddin*, regarding the number of councillors to be nominated by the Government. Mr. *J. C. Gupta*, Chief Whip of the Congress Party, moved an amendment suggesting that the number of councillors to be nominated by the Government be reduced to one, the Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust being the one councillor to be thus nominated. The other amendments also sought to reduce the number of nominatad councillors. The House eventually passed, without a division, Mr. *Shahabuddin's* amendment raising the number of elected councillors from 84 to 85.

A protest that the Bill was being rushed through was made by the Opposition when closure was moved by a member of the Ministerialist Party during the discussion of the twelve amendments. The Opposition maintained that as it was a very important Bill and as there were nany members willing to participate in the debate on the question of nomination, discussion in the matter should not be stopped. The Ministerialist Party maintained that these tactics were being adopted by the Opposition to delay the Bill. The hon. Speaker said that he would allow such of the Opposition members to address the House as had moved amendments, but had not had opportunity to speak on the amendments. Two Opposition speakers then addressed the House, one of them was still on his legs, when the House adjourned till Thursday next, the **4th. May**, when, against strong protests of the Congress and Krishak Proja Party, Clauses 3 & 4 of the Bill with the amendments of Mr. *K Shahabuddin*, were passed. Clause 3 related to the provision for 10 nominated councillors while Clause 4 proposed 4 seats to be reserved for scheduled caste to be returned by joint electorate. By Mr. Sahabuddin's amendment the number of nominated seats were reduced from 10 to 8 and the words (backward classes) were omitted. By the passing of Clause 4 the joint electorate system introduced by the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee with reservation of seats for Mohammedans was given a go by and the present Bill had changed it to a separate electorate with three more additional seats for the Mohammedans. The House divided on Clauses 3 & 4 for 6 times, the Opposition strength reached the maximum at 81 while the Government strength never came down to 113. The notable feature in the decision was when the House divided on the amendment moved by Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal* to the effect that of the 10 councillors to be appointed by the Provincial Government at least 3 should be women of whom 1 shall be a Muslim, 1 Hindu and 1 Anglo-Indian or European. The amendment in the original stood in the name of Mrs. *Hashina Murshed* but as she did not move, Dr. Sanyal moved it and while the House divided, Mrs. Murshed voted against the amendment. The House was then adjourned till the next day, the **5th. May**, when closure was passed by the House as modified by an amendment moved by the *Nawab Bahadur of Dacca*. All the four amendments to the clause moved on behalf of the Opposition were negatived. According to the modified clause, Muslims will be qualified as electors only of Muslim constituencies, Anglo-Indians will be qualified as electors only of Anglo-Indian constituencies, and those other than Anglo-Indians and Muslims will be qualified as electors of the General constituencies. When the Minister rose to move his amendment, Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu* (Congress), on a point of order, said that Clause 5, as it now stood in the Bill, provided for separate constituencies, but not for separate exclusive electorates. It created three different kinds of constituencies, namely, General, Muslim and Anglo-Indian, but at the same time, it allowed for an elector the option to enrol himself in any one of the three constituencies. But, by this last minute amendment, the Government sought to take away that right and option of the electors and throw them into water-tight compartments by setting up communal constituencies. He wanted the Speaker to declare the amendment out of order. The *Speaker* ruled that the amendment was in order. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **8th. May**, when it further considered the Bill and made quick progress in regard to some of its non-contentious clauses. The House, however, divided three times in connection with the clauses relating to the distribution of seats in the different wards in the general constituencies and the Government proposals were ultimately carried. Next day,

the 9th. May, all the attempts of the Congress and the Krishak Proja Party to modify the Bill, with regard to the distribution and allocation of seats in different constituencies proved abortive and the House affirmed the decision of the Bengal Government with certain amendments of the Chief Whip of the Coalition party in regard to this direction. The allocat on and distribution of seats in the Calcutta Corporation as now amended by the Assembly by this Bill were characterised by the Opposition as wholly unfair and that they betrayed lack of intelligence. A last minute effort was made by Mr. *Shibnath Banerjee* and Mr. *Niharendu Dutta Mazumder* to modify the Labour constituency but that was not agreed to by the House. The distribution of seats in different constituencies came in for trenchant criticism from the Opposition members. As many as six divisions were called from the Opposition Benches on different amendment motions regarding the allocation of seats. In all the divisions the Government won by a large majority of votes. The Krishak Proja Party including Dr. *Harendra Nath Mukerjee* opposed the motion of *Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhury* seeking to reduce the number of seats from two to one in Ward No. 9, Muhammadan Constituencies. The House refused all the amendments moved by the Opposition trying to modify the schedule and accepted the amendments of the Chief Whip of the Coalition Party, Mr. *K. Shahabuddin*. The House now decided that four seats in Ward Nos. 3, 18, 19, and 28, one seat in each Ward would be reserved for the scheduled castes in the general constituencies. Is also increased the number of seats in the general constituencies from 46 to 47. The House concluded to-day the discussion of the clauses of the Bill and adjourned till the next-day, the **10th. May**, when it took part in the debate on the final reading of the Bill. Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mookerjee* (Independent), while opposing the passage of the Bill, said that the Government, by passing the Bill, was doing something deliberately which was nothing but an outrage on Hindu rights and privileges so far as this city was concerned. It was quite clear that the attack was not on the Corporation. The intention really was that the Progressive Muslims would not be allowed to come in the Corporation because the Government were providing separate electorate. Mr. *J. N. Basu*, Leader of the Hindu Nationalist Party, opposing the Bill, said that instead of laying the foundation for unity among the different sections of the people, the Government, by means of this Bill, was paving the way for differences and strifes. The *Nawab Bahadur of Dacca*, Minister in charge of the Bill, claimed that in this Bill they had done no injustice to the Hindus. Mr. *W. A. M. Walker*, Leader of the European Group, supported the passage of the Bill. The Bill, he said, was a step in the right direction and he sincerely trusted that the Government would not stop but would take further steps to improve matters, so that the administration of affairs in the city might be on a par with that of the other large cities in the Empire. Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarkar*, Finance Minister, giving his personal views on the Bill, maintained that the number of the Hindu seats should have been increased to a greater extent than what had actually been done in the Bill. But the provisions of the Bill were not likely to make much difference in the actual administration of the Corporation. While he thoroughly understood Hindu feelings in this matter, he felt that the agitation had been based in part at least on certain fears which might not be real. The debate was adjourned till the next day, the **11th. May**, when the Congress Party, the Independent Scheduled Caste Party and all the Caste Hindu members of the Nationalist Party voted against the Bill. The members of the Krishak Proja Party remained neutral. The amending Bill provided separate electorate for the Mahomedans in place of the existing system of joint electorate with reservation of seats. Three additional seats have been allotted to the Mahommedan Constituency increasing the existing number from 19 to 22. The nominated seats have been reduced from 10 to 8. Two new constituencies have been created, namely the Anglo-Indian and Labour.

The total strength of the Council of the Corporation under the amending Bill are 93 (exclusive of five Aldermen) which have been distributed in the following manner :— General Constituency 47 seats, (of which 4 shall be reserved for the Scheduled Caste), Mahommedan Constituency—22 seats, Special constituency including Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta Port Commissioners and Calcutta Trades Association—12 seats, Labour 2 and Anglo-Indian 2 seats, Nominated seats 8 (of which three shall be nominated from the Scheduled caste members). The provision for five Aldermen to be elected by the Councillors remains unaltered.

In opposing the passage of the Bill, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* referred to what he termed as the three objectionable features of the Bill, namely, the replacement of joint electorate by separate electorate, the perpetuation of the system of nomination and the reduction of the Hindu majority to a minority as regards distribution of seats.

Apart from being anti-national and anti-democratic, he said this Bill was opposed to all reason, to all commonsense, to all justice and fairplay and it was calculated to prejudice the growth of civil consciousness and the expansion of civic freedom. Mr. Bose cited facts and figures to show that men like the present Prime Minister were returned to the Calcutta Corporation under the system of joint electorates, under which also the percentage of Muslim appointments and grants to Muslim institutions had increased by leaps and bounds and it was possible for Muslim candidates to secure the largest number of votes among candidates and for a Muslim Mayor to be elected. In conclusion, Mr. Bose said, "The noble edifice that the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee erected on the foundations of mutual love, mutual toleration and mutual co-operation is now sought to be razed to the ground and in its place a miserable structure is sought to be raised, based on foundations of mutual suspicion, mutual jealousy and mutual unhealthy rivalry. We may lose in this House; I know we are faced with that. But I have the hope, the faith, the confidence and the courage to resist this Bill and to resist this Act, until it is removed from the Statute Book, which it is out to disgrace."

Winding up the debate, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* said, 'It is a matter of the deepest regret that at this stage, when the curtain is about to fall on the passage of this Bill through this House, Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose should think it fit to deliver, what I may call, fighting speeches and particularly, Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, who has challenged to a combat not only the Muslim members of the Coalition but the thirty million Muslims of Bengal. He has referred to us in the most contemptuous language, calling us tin-gods. I reciprocate the sentiment in the fullest measure. I can assure him that we shall be able to demonstrate what the tin-gods are capable of. If they have thrown out a challenge, their challenge would be cheerfully accepted. I want to see the day when the promise is going to be realised that they will remove from the Statute Book this Bill, which will soon be a lasting law of the land, governing the administration of the city." The Prime Minister then referred to the Lucknow Pact and said, 'The Lucknow Pact was the basis of the first Reforms known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and from 1916 onwards, the Indian Congress—I refuse to call it national at the present moment—has not thought it fit to declare from its high pedestal that separate electorates should be condemned and the Muslims should not have separate electorates. Stressing the necessity of separate electorates, the Prime Minister pointed out that the separate electorates had been accepted as essential and necessary for the purpose of representation of the Muslim community. Not merely the leading Muslims throughout India, but leading Hindu politicians had recognised the force of logical facts and had admitted that, in the present state in which the Indian society was rent asunder by various divisions, separate electorates were the only effective means of giving representation to the various communities and various interests. He repeated that separate electorates would hold the field unless all the communities, by mutual agreement, decided that separate electorates should be replaced by any other system of representation. "I can declare that at the present moment, not merely in Bengal, but all over India, 99 per cent of the Muslim community want separate electorates," added Mr. Huq. The principle that had to be accepted, said Mr. Huq, was that the scheduled castes' interests must be protected and protected in a way that they themselves wanted their interests to be protected. After all they were the best judges of their own interests.

The Bill was passed by the Assembly by 128 votes to 65. The Congress Party, the Independent Scheduled Caste Party, members of the Hindu Nationalist Party, Mr. *Nausher Ali*, ex-Minister, and another Muslim member, Mr. *Waliur Rahman*, voted against the passage of the Bill. Those who supported it were members of the Coalition Party and European group and one Indian Christian member. The Krishak Proja Party, consisting mostly of Muslim members, which all along had been working with the Opposition, remained neutral. The Assembly then adjourned till the **17th. May.**

THE BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS BILL

17th. to 25th. MAY :—The Assembly considered the Bengal Money-lenders Bill on the **17th. May** and adjourned without taking up the measure. The *Speaker* said that he was adjourning the House in order to enable the members to hold discussions on the Bill among themselves, which they had been unable to do in view of the recess. **Next day, the 18th. May,** the House proceeded with consideration of the Bill clause by clause. The first clause, providing that the Bill should come into force on such date as the Provincial Government might by notification in the Official Gazette appoint,

came in for criticism by the Opposition. An amendment, suggesting that the Bill should come into force on the date of its receiving the assent of His Excellency the Governor, was negatived by 112 to 72 votes. The hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Labour, moved three short-notice amendments on behalf of the Government seeking the exclusion of banks, considered as scheduled ones on 1st January 1939, from the purview of the Bill and from the various regulatory measures to which money-lenders would have to conform and empowering the Government to declare any bank to be a notified bank, which would mean that, after such notification, such a bank would not come under the various provisions of the Bill. Moving the amendments, the Minister pointed out that the Bill, as first introduced by the Government, excluded all banks. The Bill, as modified by the Select Committee, had included all banks within its purview. But, he remarked, there was a large section of opinion in favour of the exclusion of scheduled banks from the purview of the measure. The *Opposition* asked the Government to indicate their attitude to the provisions of the Bill in general, in order to help the various sections of the House to come to a decision in regard to Mr. Suhrawardy's amendments. The *Chief Minister* pointed out that the Government had come to decisions on certain points. But they were, he added, still continuing their deliberations, and he hoped to give the House an indication of their attitude on the next day. Expressing the Congress view-point, Mr. *Sasanka Sekhar Sannyal* said that they were bound by the Congress constitution to help any measure which was calculated to help the scaling down of debts ; and from that point of view they had welcomed the different provisions of this Bill. But to-day a surprise had been sprung upon them by the Government proposing to exclude scheduled banks from the scope of the measure. He said that, whatever Mr. Suhrawardy or Mr. Huq might say, people outside would understand that the Coalition Party had to surrender themselves to the European Party "to keep alive the poor souls of the Ministers." Next-day, the **19th. May**, by 116 votes to 68, the Assembly accepted the amendment moved by Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, excluding the scheduled and notified banks from the purview of the Money-lenders Bill. The Congress Party and the Independent Scheduled Caste Party voted against Mr. Suhrawardy's amendment, which was supported by the European Group, the members of the Coalition Party except one, and most of the members of the Hindu Nationalist Party. Some amount of heat was imported into the discussion when Mr. *Abu Hussain Sircar* (Krishak Proja), while opposing the Government amendment, remarked that it now appeared that Mr. Suhrawardy was the keeper of the conscience of the Coalition Party. The *Chief Minister* intervened, and remarked that it had been decided by the Cabinet and the Coalition Party to conduct the discussion in a spirit of compromise. (Question from Opposition benches : Compromise with whom ?) But that day and the previous day attacks had been made on the Cabinet and the Coalition party, and now he would like to warn Mr. Sircar that if such attacks were made, they knew how to repel them, and how to level counter-attacks (Applause from the Coalition benches). The House then adjourned till Monday, the **22nd. May**, when it accepted by 106 to 60 votes, the Government amendment excluding co-operative societies, life insurance companies, mutual insurance companies, provident insurance societies, and provident societies from the purview of the Bill. The Congress, the Krishak Proja and the Independent Scheduled Caste Parties voted against the Government amendment. Those who supported the amendment included members of the Coalition Party, the European group and the Hindu Nationalist Party and the Anglo-Indian members. Next day, the **23rd. May**, the House discussed the short notice amendment of Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* seeking to exclude the 'Loans advanced for the purchase or construction of a House' from the operation of the Bill. Along with it was also taken up the amendment of Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal* fixing the rate of interest on such loans and restricting the loans advanced by the Building Societies. The House was apparently confused over the matter and the *Speaker* adjourned the House. In this connection the Speaker observed that the business of the House was progressing very slowly. He suggested that it would be better to adjourn the House for two days so that the Government might come to a decision, with regard to the difficult clauses. That would, he thought, would expedite the consideration of the bill. After all, this was a strain on the department. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* replied that he would place the Government view on the next day, the **24th. May**, when it was explained on behalf of the Government that they had placed on the agenda all the amendments that they wanted to move. But the Government would like to bring forward fresh amendments or modify the ones given notice of in the light of criticisms made on the floor of the House, especially in regard to a Bill of such a complicated nature. The House then adjourned till the next day,

the 25th. May, when after further discussion, the house accepted the amendment of Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* to the effect that in clause 2 (19) after the word "proceeding" the following be inserted, namely "instituted or filed on or after the first day of January, 1939, or pending on that date." Much heat was generated over this question of extending the scope of the Bill, the *opposition* was mainly on the ground that it would cause hardship on a certain class of money-lenders who had not rushed to the court with the motive of avoiding the effect of the bill and some also pleaded that the meaning of the word "proceeding" unless clearly stated was vague and might result disaster.

THE BENGAL FINANCE BILL 1939 (CONTD.)

26th. MAY :—The Bengal Finance Bill, 1939 as amended by the Upper House, came in for consideration to-day. It may be recalled that the Bengal Finance Bill was passed by the Assembly on 30th March, 1939. Thereupon it was sent to the Legislative Council (Upper House). The Upper House passed the said Bill on May 12, 1939 with two amendments in Section 7 and 9 regarding the framing of rules for exempting a person or a class of persons, from the payment of the tax under that Act. Section 7 of the original Bill provides that the Provincial Government may prescribe exemption of any person or class of persons from the operation of that act, but the Upper House passed an amendment to the effect that the provincial Government may frame rules subject to the approval of the provincial legislature for the exemption of any person or class of persons from the operation of that act, or the remission, in whole or in part, of the tax payable under that act by any person or class of persons. The Upper House also made an amendment in Section 9 of the original Bill which provides that the Provincial Government may make rules for carrying out the purposes of this act but the Upper House added that the Provincial Government may 'after previous publication' make such rules. The amendments of Mr. *Biswas* were lost without division and the amendments passed by the Council were accepted by the House.

THE BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS BILL (CONTD.)

26th. MAY to 2nd. JUNE :—The House then resumed the discussion of the Bengal Money-lenders Bill. The House made a considerable progress with regard to Clause 2 of the Bill which dealt with definition of capital, interest, loan etc. A large number of amendments were moved by the *Opposition* members but all of them were lost. The House accepted amendments of Mr. *Suhrawardy* with regard to the definition of Company, Co-operative Societies, Insurance Company, Co-operative Life Insurance Society. Mr. *Surendra Nath Biswas* (Congress) moved the following amendment "That a widow or a fatherless minor whose total advances in loans do not exceed the sum of Rs. 500/- is not a money-lender". On the assurance of Mr. *Suhrawardy* that he would sympathetically consider the motion further discussion was postponed. The House stood adjourned till Monday next, the **29th. May**, when it disposed of seven clauses. According to the provisions agreed to by the House, a person will have to take out a licence from the Government for carrying on the business of money-lending. Such a licence will be valid throughout the province for a period of three years and will be issued by the Provincial Government on payment of Rs. 15 as fee for each licence. Consideration of the controversial question, whether commercial loans should be brought within the purview of the Bill or not, was postponed to a later date on the suggestion of the Government. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **30th. May**, when by 86 votes to 17, it accepted the Government amendment excluding commercial loans from the purview of the Bill. The Congress Party and three members of the Coalition Party remained neutral. Those who voted against the amendment included the members of the Krishak Proja Party and the Independent Scheduled Caste Party. On the next day, the **1st. June**, the House made a considerable progress when it disposed of clauses 15 to 24 relating to the court's power to cancel a licence, no compensation for cancellation or suspension of licence, disqualification of a person whose licence has been suspended or cancelled, licence fees and penalties recoverable as public demands and offences in respect of licences. The House discussed fully two important clauses, namely clauses 20 to 21, and arrived at no conclusion. On the next day, the **2nd. June**, the question of the language in which a money-lender will be required to keep his books of account was decided. After discussion, the hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy's* amendment providing that a money-lender could keep his books of account in Bengali or in English was carried by 99 to 62 votes, the Congress and the Krishak Party opposing the amendment. Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal's* (Congress) amendment urging that a money-lender should be permitted

to keep his books of account in any language he liked was lost without a division. Mr. Suhrawardy's amendment suggesting that the statement of the conditions of the loan at the time of advance and annual statement of accounts to be submitted by the lender to the borrower, might be written either in Bengali or in English as the borrower might desire, was passed. A Congress party amendment that such statements should be in the language of the borrower was rejected. The House then adjourned till June 15 next.

15th. to 27th. JUNE :—The Assembly reassembled on the **15th. June** to resume consideration of the Bengal Money-lenders' Bill and adjourned till the next day, after a brief sitting, as the Government wanted time to arrive at a decision in regard to a clause relating to interest. Next day, the **16th. June**, it disposed of some more amendments with regard to Clauses 31, 32 and 33. Progress was not however satisfactory as the Government could not come to any decision with respect to certain amendments to these clauses moved by the opposition. The House then adjourned till Tuesday next, the **20th. June**, when by an amendment moved by Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, a provision was made regarding the unsecured loan for annual instalments for possible extension of time for 20 years and decree without interest was to apply only to unsecured loans before the commencement ot the Act so that future loan might be given without a danger of having the realisation held up, for a period of years. Another provision was made which provided that in case there was any failure to pay the instalments the court might give time for the payment of the instalments which should not be less than one year, if the court found that the failure had been due to circumstances beyond the control of the debtor and that it was necessary that the debtor should be given time to collect the money till the harvest. The House was then considering the question of penalties to be inflicted if the loan which had been described as commercial was found to be not commercial loan. Mr. Suhrawardy said that the Government had made this provision very stringent. They did not want the law to be evaded. The House was considering this when it was adjourned. On the. **22nd. June**, a vital part of the Bill, namely clause 28, laying down that the rate of interest should not exceed 8 and 10 cent per annum simple, in the case of secured and unsecured loans respectively, giving the rate of interest so proposed retrospective effect and extending the "rule of damdupat" to apply to interest already paid or included in any decree, came up for consideration. The Government did not move any amendment to the clause of the Bill, as reported by the Select Committee. As many as 19 amendments were, however, moved to the Clause by members belonging to the Congress Party, the Krishak Proja Party, the European Group, the Hindu Nationalist Party and the Independent Group. The amendments moved by Congress members wanted to lay down a lower rate of interest both in respect of secured and unsecured loans than that provided in the Bill. The amendments moved by the Krishak Proja Party members wanted to lower the rate of interest still further. The amendments moved by Mr. *D. P. Khaitan* (Independent), representing the Indian Chamber of Commerce, wanted to give a rate of interest higher than that proposed in the bill, opposed the application of the "rule of damdupat" to past transactions, desired to make provision for payment of compound interest which has been altogether abolished by the Bill and urged restriction of the provisions of the Bill regarding the rate of interest and application of the "Rule of Damdupat" to future transactions only. The amendment moved on behalf of the European Group opposed the giving of retrospective effect to the provision of the Bill regarding the rate of interest. The amendment moved by Mr. *J. N. Basu* (Hindu Nationalist Party) desired to make provision for compound interest. The debate on these amendments, which lasted nearly three hours and in which about a dozen speakers representing different parties took part, was adjourned till the next day, the **23rd. June**, when all non-official amendments demanding lower rates of interest than 8 to 10 per cent per annum simple for secured and unsecured loans respectively as proposed in the Bill and opposing the application of the rule of "damdupat" and retrospective effect to the proposed rate of interest and urging the levy of compound interest were rejected by the House. In opposing the amendments, the hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Labour Minister, told the European group, which had opposed retrospective legislation, that the Government realised that retrospective effect given to law was bad in principle and that the Government were justified in this case because, the conditions of the people in this Province were such that without retrospective application, there was no possible hope of saving the people from the clutches of the money-lenders.

The House then adjourned till Monday, the **26th. June**, when it finished consideration of all amendments to all the clauses of the Bill. The most important clause which was discussed to-day and which evoked controversial discussions empowers the court to reopen all transactions in connection with money-lending unreasonably closed or adjusted for a period of twelve years previous to the passing of this Act and reopen any decrees in a suit, to which this clause applies, which was not fully satisfied by the 1st of January 1939 and provides, that if anything has been paid or allowed on account of or after the 1st of January 1939 in respect of the liability, the court shall order the lender to repay any sum which the court considers to be repayable in respect of that sum. The Sub-Section providing for refund after the 1st of January 1939 was opposed by the Congress Party, which moved an amendment urging its deletion. The Congress amendment was lost by 82 to 30 votes, the European group remaining neutral. The Congress Party also opposed the giving of retrospective effect to the provisions of the clause in respect of the court not fully satisfied by the 1st of January 1939. Reassembling on the next day, the **27th. June**, the Assembly passed the Bill without any opposition. Explaining that the Congress party did not propose to obstruct the passage of the Bill, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* pointed out that the attitude of his Party towards the Bill was one of co-operation. The Congress Party supported certain provisions of the Bill which were consistent with the Congress policy and principle. Such a Bill would lose its utility without provisions for cheap credit facilities which must be provided by the State. The *Speaker* regretted that in the matter of supply of cheap credit facilities, there was nothing so far to the credit of the Bengal Government. Mr. Bose further explained that his Party did not see eye to eye with the Government or with the European group in the matter of distinction that had been made in the Bill between banks and banks, in regard to some of the penalty clauses and also in regard to some of the retrospective provisions. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Labour Minister, who piloted the Bill, claimed that the Bill was going to do real good to the poor and down-trodden people of this Province. As regards the Opposition criticism of discrimination between banks and banks, Mr. Suhrawardy pointed out that the scheduled banks which had been excluded from the operation of the Bill were Indian Banks with Indian capital. He repudiated the suggestion made by the Leader of the Opposition that the Government had not taken steps for the purpose of establishing rural credit. He pointed out that they were overhauling the co-operative credit societies. The Minister told the House that when the Assembly would meet next, the Government would be in a position to place before the House a well considered scheme for rehabilitating the rural credit. The main provisions of the present Bill are, that the lender is required to take licence from the Government for carrying on the business of money-lending after such date, not less than six months after the commencement of this Act, as the Provincial Government shall, by notification in the Official Gazette appoint in this behalf. Compound interest is totally abolished and the maximum rate of interest recoverable from a borrower is reduced to eight per cent per annum for secured and ten per cent per annum for unsecured loans irrespective of whether such interest accrues before or after the commencement of the Act. The Bill provides for the application of the rule of "Damdupat" and gives retrospective effect to the rate of interest prescribed and to the application of the rule of "Damdupat."

CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL AMEND. BILL (CONTD.)

28th. JUNE :—The Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill 1939, which had been passed by the Council with two amendments on Wednesday morning was returned to the Assembly, when it met this evening. The House will take up consideration of these two amendments when the House re-assembles on July 6 next.

CALCUTTA POLICE AMEND. BILL

The Assembly next passed the Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill 1939 in the form in which it had emerged from the Upper House, where it was introduced by the hon. Sir *Khwaja Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, on behalf of the Govt. The Bill provides that the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta, by anorder in writing, can depute one or more police officers below the rank of head constable or other persons to attend any public meeting to take down the proceedings of such meeting if in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police the meeting is likely to promote sedition or disaffection or to cause a disturbance of the public peace and tranquillity. The House then adjourned till the **6th. July** next.

Proceedings of the Bengal Council

Budget Session—Calcutta—8th. February to 28th. June 1939

Non-official Resolutions

The Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Council commenced at Calcutta on the **8th. February 1939** with the Hon'ble Mr. *S. C. Mitter* in the Chair. Condolence resolutions were moved from the Chair on the death of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Dr. Sir Brjendra Nath Seal, Mr. Girish Chandra Bose and Maulana Shaukat Ali. The Hon'ble the *President* then communicated the Calcutta Official Receivers Bill, 1938, passed by both the Chambers of the Bengal Legislature, which have been assented to by his Excellency the Governor under the provisions of Section 75 of the Government of India Act, 1935. Next day, the **9th. February**, the House adopted two non-official resolutions. One of these urged the Government to absorb those who had been discharged from service owing to stoppage of settlement work in various districts by giving them preference while recruiting new hands in various departments of the Government. The other resolution urged the Government to levy a pilgrim tax on tickets sold by the different railways to passengers intending to travel to Nawadwip on the occasion of the solar and lunar eclipses, and to make available the proceeds therefrom to the local municipality in order to enable them to undertake adequate precautionary sanitary and conservancy measures for the welfare of the pilgrims.

Indian Planning Committee

Explaining the attitude of the Government towards the Congress National Planning Committee, the *Nawab Bahadur of Dacca*, Minister for Industries, said that the Government were asked to co-operate with Congress National Planning Committee and to make financial contributions towards its expenses. In the absence of any precise information as to the nature of the co-operation expected or the amount of the financial liability involved, the Government could not arrive at any decision. The information required by the Committee, he added, was being asked for and the matter would be further considered after it was collected. The Nawab Bahadur informed the House that they had set up an Industrial Survey Committee to advice them in regard to the balanced development of industries in Bengal.

Official Bills

10th. to 13th. FEBRUARY:—The House met to-day to consider official business. The Revenue Minister, Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, moved that the Bengal Tenancy (Second Amendment) Bill of 1938 as passed by the Assembly be taken into consideration. On a point of order, Maharaja Sir *Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury* of Santosh said that under the rules at least seven days' notice of a motion should be given to the House, but in this case the conditions of the rules had not been fulfilled. Sir *B. P. Singh Roy* said that this rule had been relaxed by the President on more than one occasion in the past. He also submitted that being a Minister who was not a member of the Upper House, it had not been possible for him to give notice of the motion till February 8 when the Council first met. He hoped that the President would relax the rules in the present instance also and allow him to move his motion. The *President*, while admitting that relaxation of the rule had been made in the past on certain occasions, ruled that in the present case he was not going to do so. In this connection, he once more stressed the desirability of the Upper House having its representatives in the Cabinet. The Council then adjourned till Monday, the **13th. February**, when the Hon'ble *Nawab Musharruf Hussain* moved that the Bengal Repealing and Amending Bill, 1938 be taken into consideration. The Bill was then passed by the House as passed by the Assembly in the last session. The House then adjourned.

Recruitment to Indian Services

14th. FEBRUARY:—The Council to-day adopted a non-official resolution deciding, under Section 108 of the rules and standing orders, to present an address to H. E. the Governor of Bengal through the President of the Council, requesting His Excellency to take necessary steps to move the Government of India to fix a definite quota for the recruitment of Bengalis—Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists and

other communities—in all branches of civil as well as defence services under the India Government. An amendment, moved on behalf of the Congress Party by Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutta*, Leader of the Opposition, which opposed the idea of fixation of any quota, was negatived by the House without any division, only members of the Congress Party supporting the amendment. Explaining the Government point of view, the Home Minister, *Sir Nazimuddin*, said that the subject-matter of this resolution was not primarily the concern of the Bengal Government and, therefore, this Government had decided not to take any part in this debate or express any opinion on this subject-matter but they would forward a copy of the proceedings of the House to the Government if the resolution was passed by the House.

DEVELOPMENT OF SALT INDUSTRY

The House next adopted without any division a resolution of the Congress Party deciding to present an address to H. E. the Governor, through the President of the Council, expressing the opinion that with a view to encouraging indigenous manufacture of salt and the development of the salt industry in Bengal it was essential that the salt excise preventive department be not transferred from the Government of Bengal to the Central Government and to move the proper authorities concerned in this behalf.

IMPORT DUTIES ON RICE

Another non-official resolution, moved by a Muslim member of the Ministerialist Party, which wanted to present an address to the Governor expressing the opinion that his Excellency should move the authorities concerned to take steps to impose import duties on rice and paddy imported from foreign countries was withdrawn after non-official members had strongly objected to the imposition of such an import duty and after the Finance Minister had pointed out that it would be inopportune on their part to pass such a resolution at this stage, because as was clear from the statement made by Sir Zafrullah Khan in the Central Assembly, the question of the Indo-Burma trade agreement was receiving the active consideration of the Central Government. The Council then adjourned till the **16th. February** when the Hon. Mr. *N. R. Sarkar*, in presenting the budget estimates of the Government for 1939-40, made some comments on the present condition and outlook for trade, on which the economic prosperity of the Province, including that of the Government's exchequer, was very materially dependent.

RELIEF FOR THE POOR BILL

20th. FEBRUARY:—The Council passed to-day a non-official Bill to provide relief for the poor in rural parts and the unemployed. The Bill will depend for its working on the collection of funds on a charitable system which will be managed by a committee consisting of members of Union Boards with such others as may be co-opted. The House accepted a resolution moved by Dr. *Radhakumud Mookerjee* criticising the Ministry for not having taken any action on the report of a Special Committee set up for the conduct of the business of the House.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

21st. to 28th. FEBRUARY:—The general discussion on the Budget commenced on the **21st. Feb.** Opening the discussion, Dr. *Radha Kumud Mukherjee* observed that the Budget that the Hon'ble the Finance Minister had presented was more like the budget of an accountant than that of a statesman. The Bengal Government budget had shown that it had hardly undergone any change in its character in consequence of the Government of India Act, 1935. Its budget was still the child of the old order which had not yet yielded its place to the new, the product of the people. What future could there be for a country on the basis of a 3 per cent literacy and a 3 annas daily income per head ? What future could there be for Bengal when her basic key-industry of agriculture, on which depended two-thirds of her population, about 33 millions, was hardly an economic concern ? It was impossible to build up the country on the basis of mass-illiteracy and insolvent peasantry. Next day, the **22nd. February**, Mr. *Kamini Kumur Dutt*, Leader of the Congress Party, dealing with the budget said, "The problem of Bengal to-day is not the problem of the police or jails, it is the problem of hunger,—of starvation, of semi-starvation sapping the vitality of the nation. The problem of Bengal further is a problem of he educated middle-classes who in spite of decent education do not know how to earn a living wage. The problem of Bengal is the problem of illiteracy and agricultural backwardness." Prof. *Humayum Kabir* said that it was a striking feature in the reve-

nue side of the Budget that excise revenue had gone up by almost 20 lakhs in the course of the last 4 or 5 years. Referring to the imposition of the proposed new tax, Prof. Kabir asked if it was fair to extort from a person drawing Rs. 2000/- a year the same amount as that from one who was drawing Rs. 2000/- a month. Khan Sahib *Abdul Hamid Chowdhury*, who could not conclude his speech yesterday, made a passing reference to the subsidy of Rs. 3000/ to the Calcutta Daily "Azad". The debate was continued day to day till the **27th. February** when the *Nawab Bahadur of Dacca*, Minister for Industries, gave a brief review of the activities and achievements of the industries department during the last two years and concluded on the next day, the **28th. February**. Rai Bahadur Keshub Chandra Banerjee, Mr. Kader Bux, Rai Bahadur Surendra Narain Singh, Mr. Indu Bhusan Sarkar and Mrs. K. D. Rezerio, Honble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar delivered speeches.

Town Hall Meeting Rowdyism

28th. FEBRUARY :—A reference to the rowdyism in the Town Hall meeting last evening, resulting in injuries to about a dozen persons and the arrest of 40 others, was made in the Council to-day when Prof. *Humayun Kabir* wanted to move an adjournment motion to discuss the matter. Prof. Kabir said that the object of his motion was to discuss the "failure of the Government to take adequate steps to prevent rioting and hooliganism at a public meeting held at the Town Hall last evening, resulting in injuries and the arrest of a large number of persons who attended the meeting." Asked by the *President* to explain the urgency of the matter, Prof. Kabir said that the meeting was organised by a group of people who wanted to record their protest against the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill. It was broken up by a number of people who posed as or were the supporters of the present Ministry. He gave several concrete instances, including one in which the hon. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister for Local Self-Government (not a Minister then) had to leave a meeting in Faridpur, which was dispersed by the police. This meeting also wanted to criticise the Ministerial policy. In spite of all these known facts, Prof. Kabir observed, the Government did not take any steps to prevent recurrence of such incidents. Sir *Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, replying, thought that there the occasion did not call for any action on the part of the Government. The meeting was a public meeting, and how could the Government anticipate that there would be trouble and take precautionary steps as suggested by the mover ? He, therefore, said that the motion was not in order. The President, however, held that the motion was in order, and consulted the House for leave being granted to the mover. Less than 13 members (the requisite number) having stood up in support of the mover, leave was refused by the House to consider the motion.

Congress Walk-out Mahatma's Fast

6th. MARCH :—Congress members staged two walk-outs in the course of this afternoon's sitting, over the question of an adjournment motion relating to Rajkot affairs. When the House met, Dr. *Radha Kumud Mukherjee* sought its adjournment for the evening in consideration of the "grave situation created in the country by reason of Mahatmaji's fast." The *President* left the matter for the House to decide. A member of the Coalition Party having raised an objection, the Congress members left the House in a body. Later, they returned and sought an adjournment on a different subject. The motion was allowed, but it fell through owing to lack of support. Dr. *Mukherjee* then made a statement that as his proposal to suspend business had not been accepted, they had no option but to withdraw and abstain from taking part in its business. The House then proceeded with official business. The Bengal Tenancy (Second Amendment) Bill, 1938, the Bengal Rates and Interest Bill, 1938, as passed by the Assembly, were passed. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **7th. March**, when it passed two Bills namely, the Bengal Tanks Improvement Bill, 1938 and the Bengal Dentists Bill, 1938, as passed by the Assembly, with slight modifications.

Calcutta Police Amend. Bill

13th. MARCH :—The Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill, 1939, was discussed to-day. The Bill sought to give power to the Commissioners of Police, Calcutta, to depute one or more police officers to attend any public meeting for the purpose of reporting the proceedings of such meetings. All the motions for circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion, which had been moved by Opposition members on Saturday, were put to vote and rejected. Three motions for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee were under discussion when the Council adjourned. While Prof. *Humayan Kabir*, who moved reference of the

Bill to a Select Committee, characterised it as a "Fascist measure", Dr. *Radhakumud Mukherji*, moving another motion for reference to Select Committee, described it as a "Black Act which would shake the very foundation of the civil liberties of the people." Supporting the measure, Sir *Edward Benthal*, Leader of the European Group, said the opinion of their Group on this measure had already been expressed. They supported the Bill because they believed that it was reasonable. Another reason why they supported the Bill was that the principle of the Bill had been in operation for several years and there was no complaint. The *Home Minister* was replying to the debate when the Council was adjourned till the next day, the **14th. March**. when for the first time since the inception of Provincial Autonomy, the Government sustained a defeat. There was a tie over an Opposition amendment and the President cast his vote in favour of the amendment. The amendment, which was moved by Dr. *Radhakumud Mukherji*, (Congress) sought to delete the explanation defining a public meeting. The Bill laid down that a "public meeting" was a meeting "which is open to the public, or any class or any portion of public, and the meeting might be a public meeting notwithstanding the fact that it is held in a private place and notwithstanding that admission thereto is restricted by ticket or otherwise". Eighteen voted for and eighteen against the amendment. The *President*, in giving his casting vote in favour of the amendment, remarked that the measure was a new one under which powers were sought to be given to the Commissioner of Police which powers did not exist before. In the case of a tie the President should give his casting vote to maintain the *status quo*, he declared, amidst cheers from the Opposition benches. Next day, the **15th. March**, in a twenty minutes' sitting, the bill was passed by the House. In moving that the Bill as amended by the Council be passed, the hon. Khwaja Sir *Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, said : "The Government have decided to accept the decision of the House and no effort will be made for the inclusion of the amendment, which was carried by the House yesterday urging deletion of the explanatory clause that defined a public meeting (Opposition Cheers), but on the definite understanding that no attempts will be made to circumvent the provisions of this measure. The Council at this stage was *prorogued.*

INCIDENT DURING A. I. C. C. SESSION

5th. MAY :—An adjournment motion of Mr. *Kader Bux* (Ministerial Coalition) to discuss 'the failure of the Government" to give adequate protection to persons during the disturbances on the occasion of the recent A. I. C. C. session in Calcutta was withdrawn when the Council re-assembled on the **5th. May.** In moving the motion, Mr. Bux made an attack on the Congress and on Mahatma Gandhi. He was, on more than one occasion, pulled up by the President. Mr. Bux said that the Government must have been fully acquainted with the feelings of indignation in the Bengal Congress, which had found vent in the local Press. Knowing full well the trend of events, since the Tripuri Congress, the Government should have anticipated that the momentous session of the A. I. C. C. at Wellington Square might, in all probability, give rise to an occasion necessitating adequate protection. The Government were expected to know that the Gandhian policy of strict adherence to the principle of non-violence and observance of toleration and strict discipline in the Congress rank and file was but a "delusion." He then proceeded to refer to instances of "Congress Hooliganism" in the "Congress-governed provinces" Khan Bahadur *Moulvi Mahomed Ibrahim* (Coalition) said that, if after the way in which Bengal and Bengal's leader, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, had been "humiliated" in Tripuri, some young men of Bengal had got out of control and done something, their action was not one, which merited very severe censure from them. Their action paled into insignificance in comparison with the highly provocative action of the leaders at Tripuri and the wanton manner in which an attempt was made to "humiliate" Bengal and its leader. Pandit Pant's resolution was conceived in a vindictive spirit, and if there was a reaction to that in Bengal and as a result some of Bengal's young men did something, he, for one, would not condemn them very much. Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutta*, leader of the Congress Party, said: "It is regrettable, that the mover, under the cloak of an adjournment motion, should avail himself of the opportunity of calumniating the great national organisation, the Indian National Congress. Recounting the events preceding the A. I. C. C. meeting, he said that a very keen feeling was roused in the public mind, the like of which one had not witnessed in the annals of the Congress movement ever before. During the meetings of the A. .I C. C. the public mind was profoundly agitated.

But though there was deep feeling running in the mind of the Calcutta public, which was highly agitated, the people in general maintained a dignified and calm attitude, and only a small section of the public was over-powered by feelings and lost all balance and control. Even Congress volunteers were assaulted when trying to check the excesses on the part of a section of the public. Replying to the debate, Sir *Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, said that the treatment that had been meted out by the A. I. C. C. to the leaders of the Bengal Congress should be an eye-opener to those who were asked to join the Congress and have faith in its sense of justice and fairness. Leaders of the A. I. C. C. came to Calcutta with the avowed intention of bringing about a settlement of the differences among them. But Pandit Jawaharlal's 'peace proposal' was, in the opinion of the Home Minister, like saying "Heads I win, tails you lose". It was quite natural, that, under the circumstances some young men lost their heads. The Home Minister did not approve of their actions and he condemned them. But he would like to say this, that the provocation that was offered to Bengal was, from her point of view, great. Proceeding, the Home Minister maintained that there was no justification whatsoever for the criticism that the authorities failed in the discharge of their duties as regards maintenance of law and order. The Home Minister was surprised at the attack levelled against the authorities by the Leader of the Opposition. The facts were that, so far as the Congress was concerned, they resented all kinds of interference by the police. Despite all this, the police, out of a sense of their own responsibility, were there. They were not only there. He might tell the House that but for police help, it would have been difficult for Gandhiji to get down from his compartment and go to his car at Howrah station. The Home Minister claimed that, but for the presence of the police, persons would have been more seriously assaulted. He would submit that it was not possible for the police to do anything more, because they were not allowed to go inside the pandal. In view of the facts stated by him the Home Minister asked the mover to withdraw his motion which was done.

The Finance Bill Debate

9th. to 12th. MAY :—The Council devoted the whole of its time to-day to a discussion of the point whether the Finance Bill, as passed by the Lower House, empowering the Provincial Government to levy an ungraduated tax of Rs. 30 per annum on all trades, professions, callings and employments, was a tax on income and therefore *ultra vires* of the Provincial Legislature. Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker*, Finance Minister, moved that the Finance Bill, as passed by the Assembly, be taken into consideration. Raja *Bhupendra Narayan Singh Bahadur* of Nashipur, rising on a point of order, maintained that the Bill was *ultra vires* of the Provincial Legislature. He contended that the tax proposed in the Bill was not a tax on profession, callings, etc., but was a tax on the whole income of a man engaged in professions, callings, etc., such income also including the income a man might derive from sources other than his profession or calling, etc. He maintained that, as it was a tax on income, it came within the sphere of Federal Subjects, and therefore, the Bill was *ultra vires* of the Provincial Legislature. Mr. *O. C. Ormond* (European) suggested that since differing views were being expressed in the matter, he would like to suggest, as a practical proposition, so that the Government might not be in difficulty after they had begun collecting the tax, that they might before enforcing the provisions seek the views of the Federal Court. Prof. *Humayun Kabir* suggested that some changes in one of the clauses of the Bill might meet the difficulty. Sir *K. Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, maintained that the very fact the Bill sought to impose a flat rate, an ungraduated tax, showed that it was not an income-tax. Next day, the **10th. May**, giving his ruling on the point of order raised by the *Raja Bahadar of Nashipur*, the *President*, Mr. *Satyendra Chandra Mitter*, said that the matter was not free from doubt. But he would like to give the matter the benefit of doubt and rule in favour of the Bill being not *ultra vires* of the provincial legislature. The announcement drew repeated applause from the Ministerial benches. The House then proceeded with the consideration of the Bill. Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* (Congress) moved that the Bengal Finance Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 30th July 1939. His motion was lost without division. Mr. *Humayun Kabir* moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of nine members including himself. This motion, too, was lost without division. Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das's* amendment to restrict the operation of the Bill within the city of Calcutta was also lost without division. Mr. *Humayum Kabir* then moved that the Bill shall not remain in force for

more than one year from the date of commencement. The motion was put to vote but was lost by 18 to 20 votes. The Congress Party and the Progressive party voted for the motion, 5 members of the Coalition Party and Rai Bahadur *Manmatha Nath Bose* (Progressive Party) remained neutral. Next day, the **11th. May**, the Government sustained a defeat over an Opposition amendment, moved by *Raja Bahadur Bhupendra Narayan Sinha*, Leader of the Progressive Party, imposing a tax on trades, callings, professions and employments. The amendment was carried by 25 to 22 votes. The amendment sought to make some verbal alterations in a particular clause. All the other amendments moved to-day were lost. The House divided on two occasions. When an amendment standing in the name of Mr. *Nur Ahmed* was pressed to a division, Rai Bahadur *Keshub Chandra Banerjee*, who had supported it, however, remained neutral. The hon. Mr. *N. R. Sarker*, Finance Minister, while refusing to accept the amendments to the Bill, said that the scheme sought to bring in money with the least amount of expenditure. By the imposition of this tax nobody would be hard hit. Nexday, the **11th. May**, the Council passed the Finance Bill. Replying to the criticisms by the Congress party, the hon. Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker*, Finance Minister, said that the previous day the Congress Party by exploiting the European group made certain changes in the Bill. He would have to go to the lower House again in respect of the same, but that would not very much delay the imposition of the tax.

The House next passed the Bengal Excise (Amendment) Bill. The Calcutta Police (Amendment) Bill as passed by the Assembly yesterday was laid on the table. The Council adjourned till Wednesday next, the **17th. May**, when it also passed the Calcutta Municipal Amendment and Validation Bill, the Bengal Tenancy (Second Amendment) Bill and the Indian Stamps (Bengal Amendment) Bill, as passed by the Lower House.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

18th. MAY:—The Council dealt to-day with non-official Bills. Of the ten measures on the agenda, only one was passed, The House resolved to circulate six of the Bills for eliciting opinion. One Bill was "killed" and one was withdrawn. As for the other, a motion was moved referring it to a Select Committee. The House adjourned for the day before it had concluded discussion thereon. The *Bengal Rural Poor and Unemployed Relief Bill*, 1939 was passed without a division as amended by the Assembly. The following are the measures in the case of which circulation was decided on : (1) The *Bengal Public Demands Recovery (Amendment Bill*, 1937, seeking to amend the Bengal Public Demands Recovery Act, 1913 so as to protect honest debtors from detention in civil prisons and to confine such detention to debtors proved to be recalcitrant or fraudulent and dishonest ; (2) the *Bengal Juvenile Smoking (Amendment) Bill*, 1938, (3) the *Bengal Food Adulteration (Amendment) Bill*, 1938, seeking to amend the existing Act in order to make it elastic enough, so that no real offender can escape the punishment prescribed by the law ; (4) the *Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic (Amendment) Bill*, 1938, seeking to effect a slight change in the definition of brothels ; (5) the *Bengal Estates Partition (Amendment) Bill*, 1938 ; and (6) the *Bengal Land Alienation Bill*.

RISING TIDE OF COMMUNALISM

19th. MAY:—The need for taking early steps to "stop the rising tide of communalism" in Bengal and to this end, substituting separate communal electorates by joint electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities, was emphasised in a resolution moved by Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* (Congress) to-day. Mr. Das moved that an address be presented to his Excellency the Governor of Bengal, through the President of the Bengal Legislative Council, requesting His Excellency to recommend to the authorities concerned that very early steps should be taken in this behalf. Mr. Das strongly condemned the activities of the Bengal Ministry, and particularly the utterances of the Chief Minister as being responsible for rousing communal passions. Prof. *Humayun Kabir* (Krishak Proja) said that the policy of the British Government had always been to set up one community against another in India in their own interest. This policy of 'divide and rule' was responsible for the present state of affairs in the country. But he did not believe that any useful purpose would be served by appealing to others to settle the differences existing between the two great communities. The hon'ble *Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, replying, repudiated the charge made against the Ministry and the Chief Minister. He contended that compared to the conditions prevailing in provinces like Bihar and the U. P., the people in Bengal were living in amity and peace. "It

appears to the Government", remarked the Home Minister, "that there is a deliberate move to stir up communal passion by some interested parties especially the Nationalist papers, and those who are now directing the activities of the Congress in Bengal. In spite of the activities of newspapers and Congressmen, the Government had been able to maintain peace and order in the province. He apprehended that if the House adopted the resolution, it would rather help in accentuating the communal differences. The Government would welcome criticisms of their actions, but surely nobody could condemn the Government on the issue which was the subject matter of discussion in the House. The Government, however, would not take part in the discussion, and would simply forward the proceedings of the debate to His Excellency the Governor; because it was a matter which was not the immediate concern of the Local Government. Mr. Das's resolution was lost without a division.

Indian Immigration into Burma

The Council thereafter passed a resolution, moved by Mr. *Nur Ahmed*, deciding to present an address to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal through the President, Bengal Legislative Council, requesting His Excellency to make a representation to the Government of India protesting strongly against the Government of Burma's move to impose restrictions on Indian immigration.

Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* moved a resolution recording the Council's complete disapproval of the attempt being made by the British Government to amend the Government of India Act 1935, with a view to concentrating all powers, in the event of a war emergency, in the hands of the Central Government. But the Council adjourned till the 22nd. before the motion was taken into consideration.

Calcutta Municipal Amend. Bill

22nd MAY to 28th. JUNE :—The Calcutta Municipal Amend. Bill came up for consideration on the **22nd. May.** Dr. *R. K. Mukherjee* made a stringent criticism of the Bill while moving an amendment that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 30th June, 1939. "It is part of a larger scheme to reduce the power of the Hindus all over India because the Hindus and specially the Bengal Hindus have been the foremost in the fight for the freedom of their country. But was politics a mere matter of counting of heads", asked Dr. Mukherjee, "and of infant heads? The great Moslem majority of 55 per cent. dwindled into 25 per cent as tax payers and further shrank into 12 per cent. in the sphere of higher education and into similar positions of minority in the sphere of independent profession, legal, medical or commercial. An important phase of world-politics was fought out on the principle of "No representation, no taxation" and led to the emergence of the United States of America. If the Bengal Hindus were kept out of their representation in proportion to taxation, a separation of Hindu Bengal from Moslem might be inevitable. If the Moslems must separate from Hindus at elections and sat separately in the Legislature, let them separate in education and other maters, let them part with their purses". Next day, the **23rd. May**, opposing the hon. Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker's* motion that the Bill be taken into consideration, Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* (Congress) launched a severe attack on the provisions of the Bill. Mr. Das said that the principle underlying the Bill was obnoxious and there was no justification. He pointed out that the facts and figures given on the previous day by the hon. Sir Nazimuddin were wholly misleading. Mr. *H. C. A. Hunter*, Leader of the European Group, maintained that the system of separate electorates would not have the bad results predicted about it. On the contrary, it should tend to eliminate communal strife. The European Group agreed that consideration should be given to the important factors of numerical strength and financial contributions, but they also held the view that any considerable party majority in the Corporation was an evil and that only by the abolition of that considerable majority could the welfare of the city be properly safeguarded. Their group supported the motion. Mr. *Hamidul Huq Chaudhury*, Deputy President of the Council, criticised the attitude which the Hindus had taken up with regard to this measure, and said that the Hindus looked at the Bill with a perjudiced mind and did not try to realise the attitude of the Muslims. *Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim*, Leader of the Coalition Group, said that he did not like separate electorates but he felt that there was a necessity for Muslims for working separately at present. Prof. *Humayun Kabir* (Krishak Praja) criticised the line of argument of Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim that separate electorates were bad and yet it should be worked and maintained that it was in its interests that British imperialism set up one community against another. Affairs in the country at present were most deplorable, but the only solution of that problem was the creation of an atmosphere in which the two commu-

nities might realise the stupidity of their action in standing separate from each other. He maintained that their salvation lay in the unity of interests of Hindus and Muslims. Continuing his speech on the next day, the **24th. May,** Prof. Kabir reiterated his opinion that separate electorate afforded no protection to the minority community and pleaded for the acceptance of his formula, which provided for joint electorates with the condition that every successful candidate should secure at least twenty-five per cent of the votes cast both by the Hindus and the Muslims. Prof. Humayun Kabir said that it was the first duty of the Government to do everything which promoted good relationship between the different communities. He appealed to the Chief Minister, as the head of the Government, not to do anything which might accentuate the differences existing between the two great communities. Intervening in the debate, the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, said that he had never put himself forward as a Congress candidate. But some years back, while one party in the Congress supported the candidature of his rival, he thought it was open to him to get the support of the other section. There was no need for him to sign any Congress creed, because at that time he was already a member of the Congress (ironical cheers from the Opposition). He had been so for more than twenty-five years. But later he severed his connection with the Congress along with Mr. *Jinnah*, the late Mr. *Mahomed Ali*, the late Mr. *Saukat Ali* and others because "they were thoroughly convinced that the Congress was indulging in communalism of the worst kind." (Cries of 'question', question', from the Congress benches). The Chief Minister said that under the present circumstances in India, separate electorates for the various communities were the only solution. At the present moment, he remarked, the opinions of different communities were so sharply divided, and prejudices were so strong in the mind of one community against another, that there could be no alternative to separate electorates. He asserted that the Bill might not be acceptable to Calcutta Hindus, but it was acceptable to Hindus outside Calcutta. Regarding threats of civil disobedience, he said that if any unconstitutional agitation was started, they would know how to meet the situation. He declared that the Congress administration of the affairs of the Corporation had been most lamentable, and the time had come to set matters right. At this stage, there were interruptions from the Opposition and the Chief Minister flared up and said : "We want to turn the Congress out". Next day, the **25th. May**, the House agreed to take the Bill into consideration, on the motion of the hon. Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker*. Dr. *Radha Kumud Mukerjee's* amendment that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon was rejected without a division. Altogether six speakers participated in the debate, including two Ministers, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* and Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarkar*. Mr. Sarker said that he personally felt that a just treatment had not been meted out to the Hindus. He said that by giving the Hindus three more elected seats it would be possible to pacify the resentment expressed by the Hindus throughout the province, if not to satisfy all sections of them. This could be done without in any way affecting the strength of representatives of the Muslim community in the House. Referring to the demand for the resignation of the Caste-Hindu Ministers, Mr. Sarker said that he did not consider that the stage had come when the extreme steps of resignation should be taken. The provisions of the Bill were severely criticised by Khan Bahadur *Sheikh Mahomed Jan* of the Coalition Party. He sounded a note of warning to the Government against the danger of the introduction of separate electorates with regard to the Calcutta Corporation. He stressed the necessity of satisfying the demands of the Hindus by giving them two or three additional seats. Mr. *Ranjit Pal Choudhury* (Congress), welcomed the "threat of retaliation" held out by the Chief Minister on the previous day, because such a threat would compel the disintegrated Hindus to combine for the sake of self-preservation. The Bill was taken up for consideration clause by clause on Monday, the **29th. May**, when for the third time the Government sustained another defeat by 21 to 20 votes on the amendment moved by Khan Sahib Abdul Hamid Choudhury (Coalition). By this amendment the Khan Sahib sought to reduce the number of 8 nominated seats to 4 as provided in sub-clause 2 of clause 3 of the Bill, in the proposed clause (b). The Krishak-Praja Party, the Congress Party, the Progressive Party and the mover (Coalition) voted for the motion. The House then adjourned and re-assembled on the **14th. June** and resuming consideration of the Bill, dealt with only one non-official amendment seeking to introduce certain principles on which the Government should fill up the four nominated seats in the Corporation. The amendment was, however, lost. Next day, the **15th. June,** a strong reproof that no member of the House, whether a Minister or anybody else, should interrupt another member who did not give way, was administered by the hon. Mr. *S. C. Mitra*, President when Prof. *Humayun Kabir* was interrupted by Mr.

. *S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Labour. Discussion on the Bill was then conti-
ıed. Five non-official amendments were moved to the clause regarding
›mination, but all of them were rejected. The House then adjourned till
e **20th. June** when, by 35 votes against 15, it rejected an amendment of Prof. *Huma-*
:n Kabir, which wanted to retain the system of joint electorate under certain
nditions. The amendment provided that a Hindu or a Mahomedan candidate, in
der to be declared duly elected, must secure not less than 25 per cent of the
tes cast by voters of his own community and not less than 10 per cent of the
tes cast by voters of the other community. Prof. Kabir claimed that if his
rmula was accepted by the House it would go a long way towards solving the
mmunal problem that had assumed such alarming proportions to-day. Under
e existing Calcutta Municipal Act, there were joint electorates in which Mahome-
n seats were reserved. But the amending Bill now under discussion sought to
away with the present system and have separate electorates for the Mahomedans.
his amendment was carried then they would have joint electorates for the whole
Calcutta and would at the same time have necessary protection for the minority
mmunities. It was desirable, the speaker emphasised, that only such persons
ould be returned who enjoyed the confidence of all the communities. Khan
ıhadur *Saiyed Muzzamuddin Hosain* (Coalition) and the hon. Mr. *Tamizuddin*
han, Minister for Local Self-Government, opposed the amendment. Next day, the
st. June, the Council dealt with four non-official amendments to Clause III of
e Bill relating to the system of nomination. All the four amendments which
ught to make an allotment of the four seats available, as a result of the
ceptance by the House of Khan Saheb *Abdul Hamid Chaudhury's* amendment,
ducing the number of nominated seats from eight to four, were negatived. The
'st amendment moved by Khan Saheb Abdul Hamid Chaudhury, which sought to
ve three of these four seats to the Scheduled Castes to be reserved for them in
e general constituency and one seat to the Mahomedans was negatived by 31
ainst 25 votes. The Congress Party, the Progressive Party, the Krishak Praja
ırty and one nominated member voted in support of the amendment, while the
›alition Party and the European Group voted against it. The three other
ıendments moved by Mr. *K. K. Dutt*, Mr. *R. Paul Choudhury* and Mr.
C. Das were lost without a division. Next day, the **22nd. June**, barring
e change that the clause had undergone following the acceptance of Khan
hib *Abdul Hamid Chaudhury's* amendment, all other non-official amendments to
e clause were negatived. An attempt on the part of non-official members to make
allotment of the four seats released out of the nominated bloc failed and the
ause was passed with the only modification relating to the number of nominated
ats. An amendment moved by Prof. *Humayun Kabir*, seeking to raise the number
elected seats from 85 to 99, was lost without a division. By another amendment
Clause V of the Bill, Prof. Kabir wanted to do away with the provision for
parate electorates and increase the number of Muslim voters. Prof. Kabir thought
at any Muslim paying rent should be treated as a voter. He also emphasised that
ult franchise should be introduced as that would increase the number of Muslim
ters in the city. Replying, the hon. *Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin*, Home Minister,
d that there could be no question of adult franchise for local bodies, specially
ınicipalities where the whole principle was based on the fact that those who paid
· the upkeep of the city should have a say in the matter of the administration of
› affairs of the city. He said that the Government proposed to deal with the
estion of lowering the franchise and with that object in view they proposed to
›roduce a Bill very shortly and when the franchise was lowered the number of
tes would become more. Prof. *Kabir's* amendment was negatived by 35 against 12
tes. Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* also moved an amendment seeking to delete the
›vision for separate electorates. The amendment was lost without a division. Prof.
ıbir by another amendment wanted to add a new provision to Clause V that
ery woman shall be qualified as an elector of the women's constituencies and every
dian Christian shall be qualified as an elector of the Indian Christian consti-
ıencies. The amendment was rejected. Clause V of the Bill was still under consi-
ration when the House adjourned till the next day, the **23rd June**, when opposition
ıendments urging representation of Indian commercial interest on the Calcutta
›rporation were rejected. Clause 5 of the Bill, laying down qualifications for fran-
ise, was thereupon passed with only a verbal modification. Prof. *Humayun*
ıbir (Krishak Proja) severely criticised the Ministry for ignoring the legitimate
ıims of Indian commercial interests in the City to be represented on the Calcutta
›rporation. He pointed out that the European community had got more seats in

the Corporation than they were entitled to get The amendment was pressed to a division and negatived by 33 against 14 votes. Mr. *Naresh Nath Mukherji* of the Congress Party also moved an amendment pressing the claims of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, the Muslim Chamber of Commerce and the Indian Chamber of Commerce for representation in the Calcutta Corporation. Mr. *Scott Kerr* (European) opposing the amendment repudiated the suggestion that the Europeans had a larger representation than what they were entitled to get. He said that the Europeans paid 15 per cent of the consolidated rates and also paid, in addition to that, licence fees on trades etc. estimated at 12 lakhs of rupees per annum. A decrease in the representation of the European community would not only be unsatisfactory but also be unjustified. Mr. *Mukherji's* amendment was lost without a division. Clause 6 of the Bill laying down the qualification for election as Councillor was under consideration when the House adjourned till the **27th. June**, when the third reading of the Bill commenced. Previous to this, the second reading was passed. The only amendment moved by *Rai Manmatha Nath Bose Bahadur*, to increase the number of representation from one to two of the Ward No..... relating to Tollygunj, by reducing the number of representation from 2 to one of the Ward No. 31 relating to Satpukur, was put to division and lost. The other amendments were not moved at all, many of which were out of order. Next day, the **28th. June**, the Council passed the Bill without division. The only change effected was the reduction in the number of nominated seats from eight to four. The Bill now goes to the Lower House again for its reconsideration in the amended form. The House then adjourned to meet again on the **7th. July.**

The Madras Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
2. ABDUR RAHMAN ALI RAJAH, ARAKAL SULTAN
3. ABDUR RAHIMAN KHAN, K.
4. ABDUL RAWOOF, D.
5. ADIKESAVALU NAICKER, P. M.
6. ADIMOOLAM, JAMEDAR
7. AHMAD THAMBI MUHAMMAD MOHIDEEN MARACAIR (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
8. AHMED BADSHA SAHIB, M.
9. AMMANNA RAJA, SRIMATHI G.
10. ANANTACHAR, B.
11. ANJALAI AMMAL, SRIMATHI
12. ANNAMALAI PILLAI, N.
13. APPADURAI PILLAI, DIWAN BAHADUR A.
14. ARI GOWDER, H. B.
15. ARUNACHALAM CHETTIAR, MUTHU KR. AR. KR.
16. ATTAKOYA THANGAL, KHAN BAHADUR P. M.
17. BALAKRISHNAN, S. C.
18. BAPINEEDU, M. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
19. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED
20. BHAKTAVATSALAM, M. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
21. BHAKTHAVATHSALU NAYUDU, B.
22. BHASHYAM AYYANGAR, K.
23. BHASKARA RAO MAHASAYO, SRIMAN Y. A. A.
24. BHUVARAHAN, V.
25. BOWER, E. H. M.
26. BUCHAPPA NAYUDU, P.
27. CHANDOO, ARANGLI
28. CHANDRAMOULI, K.
29. CHELNAPATHI CHETTI, G.
30. CHENGAM PILLAI, O.
31. CHIDAMBARA AYYAR, S.
32. CHOCKALINGAM PILLAI, T. S.
33. CHINNAMUTHU, P.
34. DAMODARAM, M. P.
35. D'MELLO, E. M.
36. DORAIKANNU, M.
37. DORAISWAMI NADAR, A.R.A.S.
38. GHOUSE MOHIDEEN, S.
39. GIRI THE HON. V. V. (*Minister*)
40. GOPALA REDDI, THE HON, B. (*Minister*)
41. GOVINDA DOSS, D.
42. GOVINDAN NAYAR, C. K.
43. GUPTA, V. J.
44. GURUVULU, SAKETI
45. HALASYAM AYYAR, N.
46. HODGSON, G. H.
47. HUSSAIN, H. S.
48. ISAAC, D. R.
49. ISHWARA, K.
50. JEBAMONEY MASILLAMONEY, MRS.

51. JOGI NAYUDU, ALLU
52. KADERKUTTI, A. K.
53. KADIRAPPA, D.
54. KALESWARA RAO, A. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
55. KAMARAJ NADAR, K.
56. KANNAN, E.
57. KARANT, K. R.
58. KARUNAKARA MENON, A.
59. KHADIJA YAKUB HASSAN, MRS.
60. KHALIF-UL-LAH, KHAN BAHADUR P.
61. KOLANDAVELU NAYANAR, K.
62. KOTI REDDI, K.
63. KRISHNAMACHARI, T. T.
64. KRISHNAMURTI, G.
65. KRISHNAN, S.
66. KRISHNA RAO, G.
67. KRISHNASWAMI BHARATHI, L.
68. KULASEKARAN, K.
69. KUMARARAJA M. H. MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD.
70. KUMARASWAMI RAJA, P. S.
71. KUNHAMMAD KUTTY HAJEE, P. I.
72. KUPPUSWAMI AYYAR, K.
73. KURMAYYA, V.
74. KUTTIMALU AMMA, SRIMATHI A. V.
75. LALJAN, S. M.
76. LAKSHMANASWAMI, O
77. LAKSHMANASWAMI, P.
78. LAKSHMI AMMAL, SRIMATHI V.
79. LAKSHMI AMMAL, SRIMATHI R.
80. LAKSHMI DEVI, DR. N.
81. LANGLEY, W. K. M.
82. LUKER, F. G.
83. MADHAVAN, P.
84. MAHBOOB ALI BAIG
85. MANICKAM, R. S.
86. MARIEMUTHU, M.
87. MARIMUTHU PILLAI, S. T. P.
88. MARUTHAI, R.
89. MIR AKRAM ALI
90. MOIDEEN KUTTY, P. K.
91. MUHAMMAD ABDUL KADIR RAVUTTAR, K. S.
92. MUHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN
93. MUHAMMAD ABDUS SALAM, DR.
94. MAHMUD SCHAMNAD, KHAN BAHADUR
95. MAHAMMAD RAHMATULLAH, K.
96. MUNISWAMI PILLAI, THE HON. V. I. (*Minister*)
97. MURTI, B. S. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
98. MUTHURAMALINGA TEVAR, U.
99. NACHIYAPPA GOUNDAR, K. A.
100. NADIMUTHU PILLAI, A. PI. N. V.
101. NAGAPPA, S.
102. NAGARAJA AYYANGAR, N.
103. NAGIAH, S.
104. NANJAPPA GOUNDER, K. N.
105. NARASIMHA RAJU, D. L.
106. NARASIMHA RAJU, P, L.
107. NARASIMHAM, C.
108. NARASIMHAM, V. V.
109. NARAYANA RAJU, D.
110. NARAYANA RAO, K. V.
111. NATESA CHETTIAR, M. G.
112. NATESA MUDALIAR, P.
113. H. S. TOWN
114. OBI REDDI, C.
115. D. M. REID
116. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER, V. C.
117. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER, V. K.
118. PALAT, R. M.
119. PALIAM RAJU, M.
120. PANNIR SELVAM, RAO BAHADUR SIR A. T,
121. PARTHASARATHI AYYANGAR, C. R.
122. PEDDA PADALU, P.
123. PERIASWAMI GOUNDER, K. S.
124. PERIASWAMI GOUNDER, K.
125. PERIYASWAMI, M. P.
126. PERUMAL CHETTIAR, V. R.
127. PERUMALLA NAYUDU, B.
128. PONNUSWAMI PILLAI, R.
129. PRAKASAM, THE HON. T. (*Minister*)
130. PRASAD. D. S.
131. RAGHABA MENON, R.
132. RAJAGOPALACHARI, THE HON. C. (*Prime Minister*)
133. RAJAH, RAO BAHADUR M. C.
134. RAJA RAO, J.
135. RAMACHANDRA REDDIAR, A. K. A
136. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU, R. B.
137. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI, T. N.
138. RAMALINGA REDDIAR, D.
139. RAMALINGAM, A.
140. RAMANATHAN, THE HON. S. (*Minister*)
141. RAMASWAMI, D. V.
142. RAMASWAMI GOUNDER, K. S.
143. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, V. M.
144. RAMASWAMI NAYUDU, N. G.
145. RAMI REDDI, A.
146. RANGA REDDI, N.
147. RANGIAH NAYUDU. G.
148. RATNAVELU TEVAR, P.
149. ROCHE VICTORIA, J. L. P.
150. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI, MRS. A. (*Deputy Speaker*):
151. SAHAJANANDA, SWAMI A. S.
152. SAIYED IBRAHIM, D.
153. SAKTHIVADIVELU GOUNDER, K.
154. SAMBAMURTI, THE HON. B. (*Speaker*)
155. SAMU PILLAI, V. J.
156. SAMUEL, DR. M. J.
157. SARMA, P. R. K.
158. SAPTHARISHI REDDIAR, K. C.
159. SATTANATHA KARAYALAR, L.
160, SESHADRIACHARIYAR, B. T.
161. SHAIK ROWTHER, S. K.
162. SHANMUGAM, K.
163. SHANMUGA MUDALIAR, K. A.
164. SHEIK DAWOOD, KHAN SAHIB K. A.
165. SHEIK MANSOOR THARAGANAR, V. S. T.
166. SHETTY, A. B. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
167. SITARAMA REDDI, H.
168. SITARAMA REDDIAR, K.

169. Sitashanmugham Pillai, J.
170. Srinivasa Ayyar, D.
171. Srinivasa Ayyar, P. S.
172. Subba Rao, Kallur
173. Subba Rao, Karunakaram
174. Subba Rao, Marina
175. Subbaraman, N. M. R.
176. Subbarayan, The Hon. Dr. P. (*Minister*)
177. Subbiah, P.
178. Subbiah Mudaliar, C. P.
179. Subbaraya Chettiar, A. M. P.
180. Subramanian, A.
181. Swami, K. V. R.
182. Syamasundara Rao, P.
183. Unnikammoo, Khan Sahib V. K.
184. Valliappa Chettiar, V. S. R. M.
185. Varadachariar, K.
186. Varadachari, N, S. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
187. Varkey, The Hon. C. J. (*Minister*)
188. Vedaratnam Pillai, A.
189. Venaudaya Gounder, S, V.
190. Venkanna, G.
191. Venkata Reddi, Gopavaram
192. Venkata Reddi, Grandhi
193. Venkata Reddi, K.
194. Venkatachalam Pillai, B.
195. Venkatachari, P. T.
196. Venkatanarayana Reddi, B.
197. Venkatappa Chettiar, S. C.
198. Venkatappa Nayudu, R.
199. Venkatappayya Pantulu, K.
200. Venkatarama Ayyar, P.
201. Venkataramiah, R. S.
202. Venkatarao Baliga, B.
203. Venkata Rao, Kala.
204. Venkatasubba Reddiar, R.
205. Venkatasubbayya, V.
206. Viswanatham, T. (*Parliamentary Secretary*)
207. Walker, G. E.
208. Yagneswara Sarma, K. P.
209. Yakub Hassan, The Hon. (*Minister*)
210. Zamindar of Bodinayakkanur (T. V. C. Kamaraja Pandiya Nayakar)
211. Zamindar of Challapalli (Zabdatul Aqran Sreemanthu Rajah Yarlagadda Siva Rama Prasad Bahadur Zamindar)
212. Zamindar of Chemudu (Vyricherla Narayana Gajapathi Raju Bahadur)
213. Zamindar of Mirzapuram) Sri Raja Meka Venkataramaiah Appa Rao Bahadur)
214. William Grant
215. E. M. Sankaran Nambudripad

The Madras Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. Abdul Wahab, Munshi
2. Abdul Wahab Bukhari, Syed
3. Ahmed Meeran, S. K.
4. Alaganan Chettiyar, Rao Sahib A. S.
5. Bheema Rao. B.
6. Birley, Sir Frank
7. Daivasigamani Mudaliyar, Dewan Bahadur K.
8. Ganga Raju, V. alias Gangayya
9. Gonsalves, S. J.
10. Gulam Jilani Quraishi, Khan Bahadur Moulvi
11. Hamid Sultan Marakkayar, Khan Bahadur
12. Hensman, Mrs. H. S.
13. Kumaraswami Mudaliyar, Medai Dalavoi
14. Madhava Menon, K.
15. Mallikarjunudu. K. P.
16. Mammu Keyi, C. P.
17. Manjaya Hedge, D.
18. Moidu, Khan Bahadur T. M.
19. Narayana Memon, M.
20. Narayana Rao, M.
21. Narayanaswami Nayudu, B.
22. Peddi Raju, P.
23. Perumalswami Reddiyar, C.
24. Rajan, The Hon. Dr. T. S. S. (*Minister*)
25. Ramakrishna Reddi, Rao Bahadur M.
26. Ramalingam Chettiyar, T. A.
27. Ramalinga Reddi, C.
28. Raman, Rao Bahadur M.
29. Ramanatham Chettiyar, S. A. S. Rm.
30. Rama Rau, the Hon. Mr. U. (*President*)
31. Rangaswami Ayyangar, A.
32. Runganathan, Diwan Bahadur S. E.
33. Saldanha, Jerome A.
34. Samiappa Mudaliyar, N. R.
35. Sankara Reddi, N.
36. Satagopa Mudaliyar, S. K.
37. Sivasubramania Ayyar, K, S.
38. Sriniyasa ayyangar, K. V.
39. Srinivasa Ayyangar, R.
40. Srinivasa Ayyangar, T. C.

41. Srinivasan, Diwan Bahadur R.
42. Srinivasa Sastri, The Right Honourable V. S.
43. Sriramamurti, D.
44. Subba Raju, Nadimpalli
45. Subbarama Reddi, L.
46. Subba Rau, L.
47. Thomas, Dr. P. J.
48. Usman, Khan Bahadur Mahomed
49. Vasanta Rao, Rao Bahadur V.
50. Veerabhadraswami, P.
51. Venkatachalamaji, N.
52. Venkata Jogayya Pantulu, V.
53. Venkatapunnayya, V.
54. Venkata Reddi Nayudu, Dr. Sir Kurma
55. Venkataswami Nayudu, K. (*Deputy President*)

Proceedings of Madras Assembly

Winter Session—Madras—17th. to 27th. January 1939

The Public Health Bill

The Winter Session of the Madras Legislative Assembly commenced at Madras on the **17th. January 1939.** A resolution expressing sorrow at the death of Mr. *K. Raman Menon*, the Minister and conveying the sympathy of the House to the family of the deceased was passed. The Premier, Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*, moved the resolution, and party leaders associated themselves in paying their tributes to the late Mr. Menon. The House next proceeded with the discussion of the Public Health Bill. An Opposition amendment to exclude the City of Madras from the purview of the measure was opposed by the Government and was rejected by the House. The Assembly turned down an amendment that provision be made for election by the Legislature of representatives to serve on the Health Board. Supporters of the proposal expressed the view that the select committee had taken a "retrograde" step in substituting for the system of election provided for the original Bill a system of nomination. The *Premier* and the *Minister for Public Health* spoke opposing the amendment. They stressed that the balance of opinion in the select committee favoured the system of nominations and that it was best calculated to ensure satisfactory working of the Board, which was there to advise Government on matters referred to it and was in no sense intended to function as a sort of check on the Government. The *Health Minister* added that challenge was thrown out that the Government should shoulder the entire responsibility for working the Act and the view was expressed that the principle of election might result in popular ropresentatives being saddled with odium for acts for which they were not really responsible. It was in the light of this consideration that the Select Committee had, the Minister stated, favoured nomination. Next day, the **18th. January**, over fifty clauses of the Bill were considered. A few amendments proposed by the members of the Opposition, calculated to improve the Bill in certain details, were accepted by the *Minister for Public Health* and carried. The main principles of the Bill as regards the controlling authorities and their powers, the constitution of the Health Board, its composition and functions, as set out in Chapter II of the Bill, the provisions relating to water-supply, drainage, sanitary conveniences, abatement of nuisance and so on, were kept intact. The House made rapid progress on the next day, the **19th. January**, and finished consideration of the clauses. The hon. Dr. *Rajan* moved the third reading without a speech and the motion was carried. The Government accepted an amendment moved by Mr. *Venkatasubbayya* exempting conscientious objectors from vaccination or inoculation in cases of notification of epidemics, provided they agree to isolate themselves by conforming to restrictions that might be imposed in this behalf. Any person who commits a breach of an undertaking given by him before a magistrate, in this respect, it is laid down, "shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three months or with fine, or with both."

Estates Land Enquiry Comm. Report

20th. to 27th. JANUARY :—The Report of the Madras Estates Land Enquiry Committee came up for discussion on the **20th. January.** Moving that the Report be taken into consideration, the hon. Mr. *T. Prakasam*, Minister for Revenue, (the

Chairman of the Committee), spoke for close upon two hours and dwelt on the main recommendations contained in the majority report. Mr. Prakasam contended that the recommendations of the Committee were neither revolutionary nor expropriatory. Nor were they of a socialistic or communistic character. The majority recommendations, he argued, were based on solid facts and were formulated by the Committee to "render bare justice which had been denied to ryots for some reason or other for a very long time." Mr. Prakasam had not concluded his speech when the House adjourned till the next day, the **21st January**, when he reiterated his prefatory remark that the recommendations of the Committee were neither socialistic nor expropriatory in character; and that they were sought to do bare justice to the ryot which was denied to him for a long time. "If justice is not in the Report", the Minister pleaded, "reject it by all means, and I shall not have the slightest objection." The House took up the discussion of amendments on Monday, the **22rd. January**, when a *Congress member* moved an amendment recommending to the Government to bring in suitable legislation based on the report of the Committee. The Speaker, *B. Sambamurthi*, inquired why the motion should contain a recommendation. This was the form under "dyarchy." The Government had now changed and was part of an autonomous legislature. The Premier, Mr *C. Rajagopalachari*, intervening, said that the form of the resolution was quite correct. The *Speaker* said that as the executive was responsible to it the legislature could ask the Government or direct it to do what it wanted. The *Premier* said that a resolution of the House should be only a recommendation to the Government as the latter was responsible for initiating legislation. Unless the legislature began directly to govern, and thus become itself the executive, it could only pass resolutions of a recommendatory character. Otherwise, the executive would become a mere permanent service and this was not the intention of the Constitution. The *Speaker* agreed with the Premier. Next day, the **24th. January**, while Congress members accorded it enthusiastic support, the zemindar and certain other members of the Opposition strongly opposed it. The members of the Moslem League gave it a qualified support. Mr. *W. K. M. Langley* (European group) characterized the conclusions as "confiscatory and expropriatory." He described the report as a most interesting historial document, but like most history it was, he said, entirely fallacious. He contended that the authors of the Permanent Settlement had held that the zamindars were the proprietors of the soil and said that "to take just one class of landowner and proceed by the simple process of dispossessing him and giving his land to somebody else, is not statesmanship but simply plain confiscation.' The Draft bill attached to the report meant "following the Moscow precedent." It would deprive the Government itself of any opportunity later on of getting its fair share of the rent. The proper attitude of the Government, he said, would have been to conduct an impartial and comprehensive inquiry into the whole land system of this Presidency and correct abuses where they existed. Next day, the **25th. January**, Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachari* criticising the recommendations observed: "The material collected is most valuable as a basis for further enquiry; but the recommendations, informed as they have been by a narrow conception of the Committee's duty, are hopelessly inadequate, and while they destroy the Zemindar, bring no relief to the worker and benefit a class which has less title to protection than the Zemindars themselves." Mr. *Pallam Raju* spoke supporting Mr. *Kala Venkat Rao's* amendment and contended that there was definite historical evidence to establish that the ryot was the owner of the soil. Mr. *Basheer Ahmed Sayeed* suggested that there should be an investigation of the question by a proper tribunal. Mr. *G. Krishna Rao* and Mr. *Saptharishi Reddiar* spoke questioning the findings of the Committee. The evidence, Mr. Krishna Rao contended, had not been properly weighed by the committee. Mr. *Appadurai Pillai*, criticising the Committee's recommendations, urged that the various regulations, enactments and instructions should be collectively viewed. If viewed in parts they would not, he said, present a definite picture. Mr. *Malang Ahmed Batcha* expressed the view that there could be no doubt that ownership of the soil vested in the ryot. Speaking on the next day, the **26th. January**, the hon. Mr. C. *Rajagopalachariar*, Prime Minister, contended that the zamindar was neither absolute owner nor co-owner with the ryot of the land and was merely holder of an office under the State collecting revenue from particular areas, for which he was paid very liberal commission under the Settlement of 1802. No question of compensating the zamindar, the Premier maintained, arose. Where a whole system had gone wrong, no State could afford to pay compensation for putting an end to that system. Zamindars might ask for "compassionate grants or pensions" but certainly no compensation could be allowed. As for forests, what was intended by the Committee, the Premier said, was to secure better management of these "public utilities." The Premier appealed to the House to accept the report whose two cardinal points were that ownership of the land

was in the pattadar and that the zamindar's "usurpation" of the State's right in respect of enhancement of revenue should be put an end to. Next day, the **27th. January**, the amendments of Messrs. *Basheer Ahmed Sayeed* and *Mahboob Ali Baig* were deemed to have been withdrawn, as the members were absent from the House at the time of voting. The amendment of Mr. *Saptharishi Reddiar* was not pressed. Mr. *G. Krishna Rao's* amendment suggesting a reference of the Report to a representative Committee presided over by a Judge of the High Court, was rejected without a division. The House accepted the *Revenue Minister's* motion that the report of the Committee be taken into consideration with the amendment of Mr. *Kala Venkat Rao*, commending to the Government "to bring in legislation at an early date on the general lines of the majority recommendations of the committee." The *Premier* spoke supplementing his speech of the previous day. The hon. Mr. *Prakasam* replied to the debate and spoke at length, after which the discussion terminated, and the House adjourned *sine die*.

Budget Session—Madras—20th. February to 13th. May 1939

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1939—40

The Budget session of the Assembly commenced on the **20th. February**, 1939. Mr. *C. Rajagopalachariar*. Premier presented the Budget for 1939-40. The Budget showed a revenue deficit of Rs. 17,27,000. The Premier said that the actual budgetary position revealed a gap of Rs. 42,39,000. The Government proposed to bring in two taxation measures immediately, one for the levy of a tax upon the sale of petrol and the other upon the sale of electricity. The Premier pointed out that the receipts under these two Bills amounting to 15.12 lakhs and the enhanced duty on country spirit (Rs. 10,00.000) in non-prohibition districts would reduce the gap to Rs. 17.27. It is proposed to cover this deficit of Rs, 17,27,000 by the levy of a vend tax on tobacco, a tax on the sale of goods generally and an entertainment tax : and necessary Bills for the purpose are expected to be introduced in the legislature in March after the voting on the Budget is over. Revenue in 1939-40 is estimated at Rs. 16,23,45,000. Allowance has been made for the extension of prohibition to the North Arcot district from October 1, 1939. Prohibition will then be in force in four districts, covering about one-fifth of the area of the province, the total amount of annual revenue foregone being about Rs. 65 lakhs.

Expenditure on Revenue account is estimated at Rs. 16,40,72,000. It includes provision for new expenditure, involving an annual cost of about 3¾ lakhs and non-recurring expenditure of about Rs. 9¾ lakhs ultimately. The provision made next year under both heads together is about Rs. 9½ lakhs. Capital expenditure in 1939-40 is estimated at Rs. 91,34,000 of which Rs. 68,73,000 represents remunerative expenditure. Long-term loans to agriculturists, local bodies and others are estimated at Rs. 1,44,49,000, which includes Rs. 75 lakhs for the relief of agricultural indebtedness. In addition, another provision of Rs. 75 lakhs has been made for short-term loans to the Central Land Mortgage Bank. Against the anticipated remunerative capital expenditure and long-term loans, amounting to Rs. 2,12,22,000 the Budget provides for a net borrowing of Rs. 150 lakhs next year, the balance being expected to be found from the other resources of the Government. The Budget contemplates also the issue and discharge, within the year, of Treasury Bills to a total of Rs. five crores next year.

The closing cash balance at the end of the year is estimated at Rs. 43,77,000, taking into account the revenue deficit Rs. 17,27,000, but excluding the value of securities in the Famine Relief Fund and the reserve funds of electric systems. When the vend tax on tobacco, the tax on sales of goods and the entertainments tax are approved by the legislature, and the revenue deficit is covered, the closing cash balance will be increased automatically by the amount realized from these taxes, which is estimated at Rs. 20 lakhs in 1939-40. Assuming that they are levied from October 1939, the Famine Relief Fund and the reserve fund of electric systems are expected to have to their credit, in cash and securities, Rs. 51,31,000 and Rs. 25,78,000 respectively, on March 31, 1939. The capital liabilities and assets of the province on March 31, 1940 are estimated at about Rs 19¼ crores and Rs. 32 crores, respectively, the corresponding figures on March 31, 1940 being Rs. 20¾ crores and Rs. 33⅓ crores respectively. The revenue account for 1937-38 closed with a surplus of Rs. 17,66,000 against Rs. 2,69,000 anticipated in the revised estimate. As a result of this, and short expenditure outside the revenue account, the year closed with a cash balance of Rs. 1,36,87,000 against Rs. 1,09,88,000 anticipated in the revised estimate. The expenditure during the year on projects

for which a loan of Rs. 1,64,03,000, was raised in August 1937 was Rs. 1,65,34,000. The Revenue Account (revised estimate for 1938-39), is expected to close with a surplus of Rs. Rs. 2,43,000, against Rs. 12,000 anticipated in the Budget, notwithstanding the fact that, owing to unforeseen calamities like floods, cyclone and the failure of the monsoon, land revenue, amounting to nearly Rs. half a crore for last year has to be remitted. Heavy shortage occur under excise, Stamps and Registration. As against these, credit has been taken for the transfer of Rs. 42,55,000 from the Minor Ports Fund balances to general revenues in pursuance of the Act passed by the Legislature recently.

Capital expenditure and loans and advances are less than the budgeted figure by Rs. 5,22,000 which is partly due to the discontinuance of the system of pensions in respect of officers under the rule-making control of the provincial Government. Loans granted by the Government direct to agriculturists for relief of indebtedness are much less than the Rs. 50 lakhs provided in the Budget, and the saving has been utilised for the grant of short-term accommodation to the extent of about Rs. 40 lakhs to the Central Land Mortgage Bank. As against the open market loan of Rs. 1,51,29,000, raised in September 1938, the total amount expected to be disbursed by March 31, 1939, on remunerative expenditure and long-term loans to local bodies and others is about Rs. 2,20,90,000. The total amount of Treasury Bills issued during the year was Rs. 1,90 lakhs, the whole of which will be discharged within the year. The closing cash balance at the end of the year is estimated at Rs. 55,10,000.

ELECTRICITY & PETROL SALES TAX BILLS

After the presentation of the Budget, the House referred to Select Committees the Bills introduced by the *Prime Minister* for the imposition of a duty on electricity and a tax on retail sales of petrol. The Prime Minister justified the measures and said that they were brought up in pursuance of the policy of the Government to shift the burden of provincial taxation more and more on those who could afford to bear it. The Government, the Prime Minister observed, had taken credit in the Budget for the proceeds from these two sources of taxation and must stand or fall on the vote of the House.

CANALS AND FERRIES BILL

The hon. Mr. *Yakub Hasan*, Minister for Public Works, introduced a Bill further to amend the Canals and Public Ferries Act 1890 for certain purposes and moved that the Bill be taken into consideration at once. The House gave leave to the Minister to introduce the Bill. There being no amendment, the Minister moved that the Bill be passed into Law. The motion was accepted and the Bill was passed.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

22nd. FEBRUARY to 24th. FEBRUARY :—The general discussion of the Budget commenced on the 22nd. February and concluded on the 24th. Among the important points stressed in the course of the discussion by the members were the need for reducing the burden of taxation, the development of agriculture by educating the ryots as to the improved methods of cultivation, the introduction of tax on agricultural incomes and greater encouragement to Indian system of Medicine. Next day, the **23rd. February**, among the various points urged by the members were the need for reducing interest charges by raising fresh loans at cheaper rates, the Tungabadhra project, and the allotment of a larger amount for scholarships for Harijans. The hon. Mr. *C. Rajagopalachariar* gave a detailed reply to the various criticisms, on the concluding day of the debate, the **24th. Feb.** He specially dealt with the Government's borrowing policy and pointed out that their remunerative works showed a profit. Referring to the opposition to the study of Hindustani, the Premier regretted that the agitation had developed into a regular propaganda for promoting class hatred, which was not good for anybody. Study of Hindustani was necessary in the interests of the people and he felt that the future generation would not find fault with him.

ELECTRICITY & PETROL SALES TAX BILLS (CONTD.)

25th. FEBRUARY :—The Electricity Duty Bill and the Motor Spirit Taxation Bill were passed to-day, with a few minor amendments, after a detailed discussion of clauses lasting over four hours. Objection was raised to bringing in high speed Diesel and crude oil within the scope of the Motor Spirit Bill in the Select Committee stage. Elaborate arguments were addressed by the Opposition that the inclusion of this commodity for taxation by the Select Committee could not

be permitted on constitutional grounds, as it went beyond the scope of the Bill as first introduced in the House. The Prime Minister contended that the taxation of crude oil was comprehended in the original Bill, as it was a form of motor spirit like petrol and came rightly within the definition of motor spirit. Eventually, the *Speaker* ruled out the objection, declaring that "though in defining the term 'motor spirit' the old Bill referred to a commodity ordinarily used as motive power for motor vehicles, yet the tax was not on sales of motor spirit used or sold for purposes of motor vehicles but on all sales of motor spirit used or sold, whatever the purprse." Amendments moved by the *Opposition* with a view to excluding 'Diesel and crude oil' from taxation and to reducing the rate of tax on petrol to one anna a gallon, were rejected. Commending the Bill to the House for third reading, the *Prime Minister* expressed the hope that "as a result of this taxation, we will not be in want of resources to do service to the people". He sought the blessing of the members 'not only for the final passage of the Bill but also in the enforcement thereof." The House at this stage adjourned to next again on the **15th. March.**

Voting on Budget Demands

15th. to 30th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the **15th. March** and continued for the next twelve days. The Government's land revenue policy was criticised by Mr. *Appadurai Pillai*, by means of a cut motion under the Land Revenue demand. Replying, the Hon. Mr. *T. Prakasam* said that the Government would not take much time to place in the shape of a Bill definite proposals for the revision of the land revenue system. The Government, Mr. Prakasam informed the House, had fully considered the suggestion for the adoption of "a sliding scale of assessment" and it was not likely that they would adopt that system. The debate lasted full four hours and after the Revenue Minister had replied, Mr. *Appadurai Pillai* withdrew it, expressing satisfaction at the Minister's "full and detailed answers." The grant for Land Revenue was then voted. Next day, the **16th. March**, dealing with the Excise demand, the discussion on the token 'cut', which was eventually not pressed, largely turned on the Prohibition policy of the Government and the resulting loss of income, to make up which the Ministry had to resort to additional taxation. The *Prime Minister* maintained that Prohibition was an admirable success and that it was the financial stringency of the Government that stood in the way of adding to the list of 'dry' districts. He asked the critics to read the reports of the Collectors concerned without 'Opposition bias.' Referring to the Sales Tax Bill, the Prime Minister vigorously defended it, stating that it was the deliberate intention of the Government to make the trader and merchant contribute his share to the financing of the Provincial Government; and it was in pursuance of the considered policy of the Ministry to shift the burden of taxation more and more from the villager to the townsman. "We do not hide our objective and we are prepared to proclaim it from housetops", declared the Prime Minister. We are going to levy the Sales Tax, in spite of the terrible opposition we are faced with. We are prepared to become unpopular and be turned out of office, if it comes to that. It is no use doping the poorest and robbing them of their money to run the administration. It is no use asking the food producer to pay as much as ten to twenty per cent of what he raises, and allowing the merchants and traders to refuse to pay even one pie out of one rupee." The Prime Minister's speech was heard with rapt attention. In the result, the cut motion was withdrawn and the demand for Excise was granted without a division, as also the Demand for Stamps. Next day, the **17th. March**, the House voted the demands for grants under the heads—Forests, Registration and the Motor Vehicles Acts. The *Opposition*, by means of token 'cuts,' raised a discussion on the policy pursued by the Government in these departments. The *Ministers* replied in detail to the criticisms; and in the result, the reduction motions were withdrawn and the grants were made in full. On the next day, the **18th. March**, by a token 'cut' motion, Mr. *Mahmud Schamnad* raised a discussion on the irrigation policy of the Government. Member after member from the *Opposition benches* belonging to the Andhra districts urged the Government to expedite the Tungabhadra Project and to devote greater attention to minor irrigation works. The *Minister for Public Works* pointed out that the Government were doing everything in power to push through the Tungabadra Project. "I have not allowed the grass to grow under my feet in regard to this subject", Mr. *Yakub Hassan* observed. 'If an agreement has been reached between Madras and Hyderabad, it has not been

done without great difficulty," he added. Mr. *Schamnad* did not press his 'cut' in view of the sympathetic speech of the Minister, who replied to all the points raised by the members. The House then proceeded to consider the grant for General Administration. Sir *A. T. Pannirselvam*, who moved a token 'cut' in the Demand, charged the Government with being undemocratic, and "with partiality, unfairness to and ungentlemanly treatment of their political opponents". He referred in particular to the Government attitude towards Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker. Sir A. T. Pannirselvam's attack on the Ministry occasioned frequent interruptions and points of order from the Treasury Bench. The Speaker himself intervened more than once; and at one stage he declared that it was hardly consistent with the dignity of the House to hurl allegations at the Ministers in an offensive manner, exceeding all parliamentary limits. The House had not concluded the discussion when it adjourned to meet again on Monday, the **20th. March**, when after over four hours' debate, it voted the grant for Ministers and General Administration. In a lengthy reply, lasting ninety minutes, the *Prime Minister* answered the criticisms of the Opposition seriatim. There was nothing wrong, the Prime Minister maintained, in the Ministry owing allegiance to an outside authority like the Congress High Command. "It is on the Congress label that we were elected, and the electorate is entitled to expect us to fulfil the policies and programmes laid down by the Congress High Command." The Prime Minister observed that he was only sorry that the Opposition, instead of being thankful for the existence of an outside authority like the Congress High Command, to keep up the purity of Party Government, had made a grievance of it. "This Province will be lucky", he emphasised, "so long as it continues to be governed by a Party which will have the high ideals and principles with which our Party has at present to act. I claim that we have been acting as justly as it is possible for a Party Government to do. I do not think that we have anything to be sorry for and anything to make a confession about." Adverting to the Opposition's attacks of partiality and unfairness on the part of the Ministry in the treatment of political opponents, the Prime Minister drew pointed attention to the "scurrilous writings and speeches" against them. 'We are exhibiting an amount of patience, which should be a wonderment to the world", the Prime Minister said. "We do not want to run a battle with our opponents. We want to get large objects attained," the Prime Minister added. "In striving to attain them, we have acquired an amount of patience which can stand all the scurrility indulged against us." The Prime Minister claimed there was hardly any repression of the Opposition agitation. But, he said, when opposition to Government had developed into activities calculated to rouse communal hatred and make orderly government and national progress impossible, the Government had necessarily to follow their present policy. Mere expression of political opinion as such, he pointed out, was never penalised nor was there any invidious treatment of man and man, the only distinction made being between "nuisance" and "expression of political opinion". The communal cry, the Prime Minister was disposed to think, was rather over-done. "We will land ourselves in utter hopeless retrogression if we allow it to become the daily fare in the Legislature" he declared. Sir A. T. Pannirselvam's attacks on recent appointments to Selection Posts, the Prime Minister characterised as thoroughly unfair and unhealthy, and positively harmful, "If such dangerous mischief" was persisted in, it would lead the country backwards and make them less fit for Self-Government", he said. The Prime Minister concluded by defending the Minister's recent threat of resignation on an extra-Provincial issue, following Gandhiji's fast. It was not out of mere fun, he said, that they wanted to resign; but because it would not be possible for them to function if the crisis was not solved in a particular manner. It was certainly not to trouble the Opposition to take over our position, he humorously added. The 'cut" motion was pressed by Sir *A. T. Pannirselvam* and rejected by the House without a division. The grant was made in entirety. The demand for Legislative Bodies was next discussed and passed. The token 'cut," by which a discussion was raised as to the privileges of the House, was in the end withdrawn. Next day, the **21st. March**, Budget grants for District Administration, Jails, Administration of Justice, and Police, were voted. The demand for District Administration was disposed of in less than half an hour, the speaking being confined to the mover of the token 'cut' and the Revenue Minister. Practically the whole of Mr. *Prakasam's* reply was devoted to the examination of the Opposition plea for more and more communal representation in the Services. Mr. Prakasam deprecated the ceaseless talking of communal claims; and, quoting the example of Great Britain, he said that no

Legislature could claim to be democratic, if the attention of the Opposition centred round jobs and appointments and was not directed to the general good of the people at large. The discussion on the grant for Judiciary served to elicit an important statement from the Prime Minister on the question of the separation of Executive from Judicial functions. The Prime Minister did not appear opposed to the principle underlying the demand for reform. He contented himself with stating that the time was not opportune for an experiment of the kind straightaway. It would now prove a costly luxury and law's delay—associated with civil courts—might be increased to "scandalous" proportions if these courts were to dispense justice in criminal cases also. While maintaining that nothing had been done by the Government which justified a change in the existing system, the *Premier* pointed out there was little chance of a fair trial being given to the suggested reform at the present time when they were faced with frothy political issues. "All sorts of motives", he said, "would be attributed to us and our failures would become targets of attacks." He therefore, pleaded that they should wait till they could take on the work of overhauling the system as a whole. Referring to the complaint of the absence of Muslim representation on the High Court Bench, the Prime Minister declared in emphatic terms "that this Government had nothing whatsoever to do with the appointment of High Court Judges and had no right of recommendation or even consultation." The Jails demand occasioned a heated debate on the treatment of anti-Hindi prisoners. Both the *Minister for Law* and the *Prime Minister* gave the assurance that prisoners, whatever their politics, could always expect fair and humane treatment at the hands of the present Government. Speaking on the Police demand, the *Prime Minister* referred to "the plenty of good and useful work", which the C. I. D, had now to do, and justified the need for the retention of the Presidency Police Reserves, untill the Government were in a position to "discover a different technique" to put down violence, without resorting to counter-violence on the part of the Police. Next day, the **23rd. March**, the Assembly voted the Budget grant for Electricity. On a discussion raised by the *Opposition* on a token 'cut', the *Minister for Public Works* made a declaration of policy in regard to development of electricity in the province in the future. All generation of electric energy, thermal or hydro, Mr. *Yakub Hasan* announced, is henceforth to be undertaken departmentally, no licences being issued by the Government in this regard to private concerns. Even the distribution of supply, the Minister stated, would be done by the Government themselves as far as possible, with a view primarily to avoid complaints from the public of neglect of rural areas. The Minister made it clear that it was wholly impracticable to bring power from Mettur to Madras, the energy generated by this system being too inadequate to meet the demands even from the neighbouring districts. Madras, he pointed out, would have to depend for a very long time on a thermal system; in any case the present arrangement by which the Madras Electric Supply Corporation supplied power to the City and the suburbs, could not be disturbed until after seven years when the period of licence granted to them would expire. Moving the Demand for Education, the hon. Mr. *Varkey* indicated the lines of reform contemplated by the Government in the educational sphere. In particular, he referred to the proposed extension of the study of Hindustani in a hundred more secondary schools, "emboldened by the success that had attended the Government's efforts during the current year." A debate followed but it did not arouse much interest due to the language difficulty which the House was frequently faced with. Encouraged by the *Speaker*, several back-benchers on the ministerialist as well as the Opposition side spoke in their respective mother-tongue. A few who preferred to speak in English, were persuaded by the Speaker to give, for the benefit of non-English knowing members, the substance of their speeches, in Hindustani, Telugu or Tamil, as the case might be. On one or two members showing signs of embarrassment at his repeated requests for speeches in the member's own mother-tongue, the Speaker made a statement. The language problem, he observed, cannot be solved unless the Legislature is uni-lingual. But the best way of getting the proceedings generally understood in the House, is for the members and Ministers to give the substance of their English speeches in the Indian language in which they were most conversant. Next day, the **24th. March**, various aspects of the policy pursued by the Government in the department were gone into in detail by the members of the Opposition. A few Ministerialists also participated in the debate. Speaking as Minister in charge of Finance, the Prime Minister, the hon. Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari* pointed out that every effort was being made to obtain full value for the money spent by way of grants. It was a matter for regret that grants had become a source of disputation between managers and tea-

chers who seemed to be more interested in money than in the education of children. "We must get out of this rut", he urged. The hon. Mr. *C. J. Varkey*, the Education Minister, followed with a lengthy speech on Muslim education. Everything possible, he claimed, was being done for the educational uplift of this community. The Minister spoke also about the Wardha Scheme of education and the compulsory study of Hindustani in secondary schools and defended the Government's policy in this respect. Over an hour was taken up in the discussion of a point of order arising from the Speaker's insistence on the members addressing the House in English, giving the substance of their remarks in one or other of the Indian languages they were conversant with, for the benefit of the non-English knowing members. The Speaker wound up the debate with an exhaustive statement of the position and a ruling that it was perfectly proper on his part in directing that every member who spoke in English should, before resuming his seat, accommodate the non-English knowing members by speaking for a few minutes in Tamil, Telugu or Hindustani so that the business of a multi-lingual House might be carried on with greater efficiency and to the satisfaction of everybody. Next day, the **25th. March**, the Budget demands for Medical and Public Health were granted. A prolonged debate took place on token 'cut' motions intended to elucidate the policy of the Government in the two departments. The Minister put in a vigorous defence of the Government schemes of reorganisation in the Medical and Public Health administration with particular reference to the standardisation of education, the extension of the honorary medical system, the enlargement of the nursing service, and rural health work. Dr. *Rajan* devoted a great deal of attention to answering criticisms of the alleged antipathy of the Government in regard to indigenous systems of medicine and to exposing "the mischievous attempts of interested persons to discredit the Government." "There is no use talking big in matters of medicine; and patriotism and sentiment should not override commonsense and reason", the Minister observed; and he assured the House that the Government were always prepared to encourage the advancement of indigenous systems to the extent possible. Dr. Rajan's remarks on the working of the honorary system were intended to dispel the apprehension of critics that the standard of efficiency and service in hospitals stood to suffer by the replacement of paid men by honoraries. The Minister emphatically repudiated the accusation made by one or two members in this respect, and maintained that appointees to honorary posts were all men of high qualifications and approved merit and that no considerations of caste, creed or colour ever weighed with the Government in making the selections. The 'cut' motions were readily withdrawn by the respective movers and the grants asked for were made in full. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **27th. March**, when it granted the demands under the heads Agriculture, Veterinary and Co-operative. Speaking on the Co-operative demand, the hon. Mr. *V. V. Giri* claimed that the Co-operative movement had now turned the corner and he felt confident that with the continued support of non-officials, it would grow from strength to strength. The Veterinary demand was passed in a trice, no member rising to move a 'cut' The *Revenue Minister* announced, during the discussion on supplementary grants, the Government's intention to appoint a Committee to go into the question of the Malabar Land Tenure. Next day, the **28th. March**, a declaration of the Government's attitude towards stay-in-strikes was made by the *Prime Minister* during the debate on Industrial and Labour Policy. Stay-in strikes, the Prime Minister observed, virtually constituted forcible occupation of premises and forcible possession of machinery. Such methods, in his view, were a mockery of non-violence and contrary to the spirit of collective bargaining. Stay-in-strikes were nothing short of civil disobedience of Government orders and it could not, in the least, be permitted. Standing at the gates of the premises so as to prevent ingress and egress, lying across the drive and otherwise blocking the way, were in no sense peaceful picketing, the Prime Minister urged. "And so long as Labour leaders cannot guarantee peaceful picketing", he declared, "I do not hesitate to say the Police are bound to be sent there to preserve law and order. It is difficult for me to submit to a policy which will involve physical violence of any kind." The Prime Minister added: "So long as we have the system by which Capital and Labour both play their part in production, it is absolutely essential for us to secure trust and confidence on both sides and deal justly and fairly with each other." A note of warning to the Labour leaders was uttered by the Prime Minister in closing: "If, before we are able to introduce and establish a new order in our country, we proceed in the manner in which we have been proceeding, which leads altogether to want of confidence on the part of Capital, what will happen is greater and greater unemployment in our country. I will be sorry to see the mills closing down for want of trust either in the Government or in Labour." He appealed for

co-operation and courage on the part of Labour leaders to stand for what they felt to be right, even if it should displease their following for the moment. The *Minister for Industries and Labour*, who followed, also condemned stay-in strikes in unequivocal terms. Even as a Labour leader for over two decades, who himself conducted several strikes, Mr. Giri said that his advice to Labour had always been to avoid such undesirable methods. While the workers had always the right to strike as a last resort, a recourse to coercive processes would weaken the cause of Labour and definitely put them in wrong. The 'cut' motion was withdrawn and the demand for Industries was granted. The other demands under the heads Fisheries, Miscellaneous Departments and Civil Works were discussed in detail and carried without a 'cut.' Next day, the **30th. March**, with the voting on the Famine Grant, which was reserved for the last, the discussion of the Budget for 1939-40 concluded. As many as fourteen members spoke on the famine conditions prevailing in several districts and pressed the need for preventive measures. The *Revenue Minister* recounted the efforts made by his Department to relieve the distress in the affected areas. "We cannot pretend," he observed, "to have given adequate relief to all the sufferers ; but we can say with confidence that all that is humanly possible has been done." The Famine Committee's Report was under the scrutiny of the Government, Mr. *Prakasam* informed the House The Committee, he said, had made valuable recommendations and if and when they were given effect to the Ceded Districts would be turned into a luxuriant garden, making for the prosperity of a long-suffering people. Mr. Prakasam announced that the Tungabadra combined irrigation and power Project and the Pennar-Kumudavalli Scheme were to be taken on hand without further delay. "When these, among others, are completed, I have not the slightest doubt," Mr. Prakasam said, "about the economic well-being of the areas now faced with recurring famine." Finally, Mr. Prakasam referred to the recent experiments in Electro-culture and claimed for it a great future in the field of animal health and agricultural production. Voting on Budget grants at this stage concluded and the House adjourned.

The Tobacco Taxation Bill

31st. MARCH :—The Tobacco Taxation of Sales and Licensing Bill was referred to a Select Committee on the motion of the Prime Minister today. Most of the members of the Opposition directed their main attack on the monopoly vend which, in their view, would adversely affect the producer. At least for the sake of "not killing the goose that laid golden eggs", the *Prime Minister* gave the assurance that he was "persuadable to accept proposals" in the Committee stage for changes, if necessary The Prime Minister characterised the Opposition fears in this respect as highly exaggerated and maintained that the evil effects of the monopoly vend would be reduced to a minimum by the operation of the principle of competition. He expressed his gratification that the Bill was blessed by such an important member of the Opposition as Mr. *Appadurai Pillai.*

Entertainments Taxation Bill

The Assembly next passed the Entertainments Bill as it had emerged from the select committee. The Bill provides for the levy of a tax on amusements and other entertainments the repeal of the Madras Local Authorities Entertainment Act. 1926, and payment of compensation to local authorities, now levying a tax under that Act. The amount of tax to be levied ranges from three pies to Rs. 2/-, three pies on all payments for admission of not more than two annas, and Rs. 2 on all payments of Rs. 10 or more. An opposition amendment that there should be no tax on payments of two annas or less was negatived.

The Sales Tax Bill

Moving next the reference of the Sales Tax Bill to a Select Committe, the *Prime Minister* spoke for about forty minutes in defence of "an unpopular measure." He claimed that many of the Opposition groups, in accepting the Prohibition Policy of the Government, had already given their implied sanction to the Ministry for finding money to make up the loss in excise income. Situated as the Government were at present, with limited sources from which to tap the necessary funds, the Prime Minister declared that it became impossible for them to discover any tax as paying, elastic and satisfactory, as proposed to be levied. In view of all that they had done "before undertaking this unpleasant task", it was idle to think, said the Prime Minister, of any other form of taxation, and those affected had no alternative but to put up with what little inconvenience and disturbance

that might be caused to the existing order. "If we are to give this up, it will practically mean that we have to give up the whole game," the Prime Minister added. Having fixed the 'solid foundation" on which the Bill stood, the Prime Minister pointed out that it was up to the Select Committee to subject the provisions to a thorough examination and modify them to the extent possible. Mr. *Abdul Hameed Khan's* dilatory motion to circulate the Bill for elicting public opinion was rejected. The Prime Minister's main proposition to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was under discussion when the House adjourned till the next day, the **1st. April**, when the Bill was referred to a select committee. Mr. *W. K. M. Langley*, leader of the European Group, opposing the motion, characterized the Bill as the most unpopular measure of taxation ever introduced in the Madras Assembly or elsewhere in India. He declared that the measure was going to mean a tremendously heavy imposition for which he could find no justification. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **3rd. April**, when it disposed of four Government Bills. They were the *Local Boards and District Municipalities Amendment Bill*, the *Borstal Schools Amendment Bill*, the *Maternity Benefits Amendment Bill* and the *Tirumalai-Tirupathi Devasthanams Amendment Bill*. The House then adjourned to meet again on the 24th. instant.

THE TOBACCO TAXATION BILL (CONTD,)

24th. to 26th. APRIL :—The Assembly commenced the detailed consideration of the Tobacco Tax Bill to-day. The discussion on amendments to clauses was preceded by a general debate, lasting over two hours, on the Bill, as it emerged from the Select Committee. The *Prime Minister* argued in defence of the measure and contended that the rates of taxation proposed were not high and such as to break the back of the camel. "Tobacco", the Prime Minister observed, "was a sturdy camel and it will be long long before the last straw is raised on its strong back." The Prime Minister added that the taxation had been properly rated in the Bill, with due regard to the coinage, the poverty of the country and the articles concerned. In his view, there was no justification to give any advantage to the tobacco trader. To reduce the rate would mean presentation of the reduced amount to the dealer. "For a poison of this kind, to which we can only extend our toleration," the Prime Minister declared "it was not right to give dealers a bounty. The Prime Minister announced that he proposed to bring in an amendment at a later stage to exempt retail dealers of unmanufactured tobacco from taxation, in the same manner as wholesale dealers in unmanufactured tobacco have been exempted. The Opposition moved amendments to drop the turn-over tax on tobacco and to reduce the rates provided for. All the amendments were negatived. On the next day, the **25th. April**, the House proceeded with the third reading of the Bill. On the motion of the Premier, the House accepted an amendment that every retail dealer shall pay a tax in each year on his retail sales of manufactured tobacco of Rs. 6 if such turnover does not exceed Rs. 200, and Rs. 12 if such turnover exceeds Rs. 200 but does not exceed Rs. 400. If such turnover exceeds Rs. 400 the tax is fixed at three per cent on the first Rs. 400 of the turnover and ten per cent on the remainder of the turnover. All amendments to the Bill having been disposed of, the Premier moved that Section 17 of the Assembly Rules be suspended and official business be transacted on the next day. This was agreed to and, accordingly, the third reading of the Bill was taken up on the next day, the **26th. April**, when it was passed. The hon. Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*, the Premier, hoped that he would get the co-operation of all sections of the House in administering the measure in the best manner pssible.

VILLAGE OFFICERS RESTORATION BILL

Two more Bills, the Restoration of Village Officers (Validation) Bill and the Madras Children's (Amendment) Bill, were passed. The first named measure sought to validate the restoration of village officers who lost their offices for association or connexion with political movements.

CHILDREN'S AMENDMENT BILL

The Children's (Amendment) Bill gave power to the Chief Inspector of Certified Schools to order, in urgent cases, the release on licence of a youthful offender or child detained in a certified school—a power hitherto vested in the managers of the school. The Government could under the Act. order the transfer of a youthful offender or child from one certified school to another. To avoid

delay provision had been made in the Bill for delegating their power to the Chief Inspector himself. The House then adjourned to meet again on May 8.

THE SALES TAX BILL (CONTD.)

8th. to 13th. MAY :—The Sales Tax Bill, as reported by the Select Committee. was taken up for discussion to-day. The *Prime Minister*, moving that the Bill be taken into consideration, defended the provisions and declared that the measure was not a "rash adventure". The Bill, the Prime Minister observed, has sufficient precedents in western countries ; and quoted the example of "three Dominions of British Commonwealth, twentynine States of the U. S. A., twelve countries of Europe and six republics of South America", where a general sales tax had been resorted to. The Prime Minister contended that the incidence of the proposed taxation was light enough and concluded by inviting the members of the Opposition proposing to move amendments, to reinforce their arguments with reasons so as to carry conviction to the House. A motion to postpone the consideration of the Bill for six months was moved by Mr. *P. Khalifullah Saheb* and was supported by Mr. *W. K. M. Langley* protesting against the "tremendous haste" in pushing through without enquiry a Bill, which might turn to be an engine of oppression. Next day, the **9th. May**, the House by 116 votes to 36, rejected the Opposition motion to postpone the consideration of the Bill for a period of six months. "After hearing all that had been stated by the Opposition", the *Prime Minister* stated, in replying to the debate, "I cannot refrain from saying that I am more and more convinced that it is just the tax that one can possibly conceive of for this poor country." He added that it was a just tax also. The Prime Minister's motion for the consideration of the Bill was carried by the same majority and the House then proceeded with the discussion of the clauses of the Bill. When the definition of the term "dealer" was taken up, a point of order was raised by *Kumararaja M. A. Muthia Chettiar* that the House was not competent to make a provision covering "buying" under "sale". The *Speaker* over-ruled the objection holding that the provisions of the Biil "which relate to the levy of the tax from the buyer are not ultra vires". The discussion was adjourned till the **11th. May** when, by 102 votes to 28, the House decided to retain the provision for the levy of a tax of Rs. five a month on every dealer whose annual turnover did not exceed rupees twenty thousand. The Opposition pleaded for a substantial reduction in the rate ; but the Prime Minister contended that the scale proposed was proper ; and that the amendments for reduction were sought to be pressed in a spirit of bargaining. "If a general sales tax is to be levied at all," the *Prime Minister* declared, "it must be worth while ; and anything less than half a per cent on the turn-over exceeding rupees twenty thousand would not produce a decent amount." Much of the subsequent discussion turned on the 'uncompromising attitude of the Prime Minister", and member after member of the Opposition criticised it in connection with the amendment of Mr. *Abdul Hameed Khan* to reduce the rate to one-eighth of a per cent. Mr. *W. K. M. Langley*, who had given notice of an amendment to bring down the rate to one-quarter per cent, intimated to the House the decision of the European Group not to participate further in the consideration of the measure, having regard to the attitude adopted by the Prime Minister and the Government towards the Opposition arguments. Since the start of the debate, Mr. Langley regretted to say, not only the Premier and the Government generally have shown a complete disregard both of the arguments adduced by the speakers themselves but any reply to any arguments that has been advanced has been made more by way of assertion than argument. He complained that the Opposition case had been prejudged by the Prime Minister. Next day, the **12th. May**, the Assembly voted, by a majority of 106 to 26, the retention in the Bill of the rate of one half of one per cent on turnover exceeding rupees twenty thousand. Practically the whole of the day, the House was engaged in the discussion of the amendment of Mr. *Abdul Hameed Khan* to reduce the rate to one-eighth of one per cent. Several members of the Opposition groups pleaded hard with the Prime Minister to agree to a lower rate. The *Leader of the Opposition* made a fervent appeal to the Government not to disregard the strong public feeling roused against the measure. Having failed to justify it on the ground of emergency of any great magnitude, the Prime Minister was, Mr. *Muthia Chettiar* warned, simply driving the people to despair. "If the Premier is prepared to negotiate for a reasonable rate, I am ready and the country is ready", he submitted. In a speech lasting one full hour, the *Prime Minister* defended the measure and the scale of taxation proposed. No case, he observed, had been made out by the Opposition that the rate of one-half of one per cent was wrong and unreasonable and that it called for a reduction. Much of the apprehension voiced by the Opposition as to the possible yield from the proposed

taxation, was, in the Premier's opinion, based on conjectures. Even on a most liberal calculation, not more than from a crore to a crore and a half could be expected, he said. And knowing the recurring deficit in the finances due to progressive loss in drink revenue, the rate of tax intended to be levied could by no means be considered unreasonable. The Prime Minister emphasised that they could not do any good to his province unless they levied this tax, which apart from bringing them the needed revenue, would result in a juster distribution of burden of taxation in the province. The Prime Minister desired the Opposition to believe that this was his carefully considered conclusion. He might be wrong, he said, but he could not be charged with 'obstinacy' or 'disinclination.' "If we get more than a crore or a crore and a half", the Prime Minister finally remarked, "seize me by the top-knot and demand a reduction in the rate. Who then can withstand the request?" Further, the Prime Minister added that if he made proposals for wasting this ill-gotten money they would be entitled to take him down from the throne of thorns and put him in the proper place. Next day, the **13th. May**, the Assembly concluded the consideration of the Bill within two hours of the commencement of the proceedings. Members of the Opposition, except four belonging to the European bloc, walked out at the very outset, declining to participate in the proceedings as a protest against the "unresponsive attitude of the Government." Clause 3, the further consideration of which was left over from the previous night, and the subsequent clauses were all passed without any discussion. The *Premier* spoke again at length during the third reading, justifying the measure and the scale of tax. He expressed the hope that bulk of the apprehensions felt in business circles would soon clear and that they would find that the Bill was not a bad one. The indirect effects of the measure, he hoped, would be to give a healthy tone to the business structure in the province. Mr. *Hodgson*, once again, marked his protest on behalf of the European group, reiterating that there was no justification for the proposed tax at the present time, and that in any case, the Bill in the form it was put through, had been badly designed. The motion that the Bill be passed into law was put to the House and carried amidst Ministerialist cheers and applause from a large body of visitors in the gallery and outside the House. The Assembly was then adjourned *sine die*.

Proceedings of the Madras Council

Winter Session—Madras—27th. January to 20th. February 1939

Discussion of Official Bills

The Winter Session of the Madras Legislative Council commenced at Madras on the **27th. January** 1939 with the Hon. Dr. *U. Rama Rau*, the President, in the chair. At the outset a condolence resolution relating to the untimaly death of Mr. *K. Raman Menon*, the Minister, was passed. The *Madras Adulteration Act (Amending) Bill* and the *Bill to Amend the Madras Revenue Recovery Act* as passed by the Assembly were considered and passed. The hon. Mr. *C. G. Varkey*, Minister for Education next moved that the *Bill for abolition of District Education Councils*, as passed by the Assembly, be taken into consideration. Objection was taken by Mr. *N. R. Samiappa Mudaliar* to the consideration of the Bill on the ground that rules relating to notice had not been complied with. The *Premier* explained that the Bill was circulated to all members as early as the 22nd instant and that should be deemed to satisfy the rule relating to notice. Next day, the **28th. January**, the bill was adopted. Dr. *T. S. S. Rajan*, Minister for Public Health next moved that the *Public Health Bill*, as passed by the Assembly, be taken into consideration. Sir *Muhammad Usman*, supporting, said that the Bill supplied a real want and the Health Minister deserved their warm congratulations. Mr. *D. M. Reid* and Dr *P. J. Thomas* also spoke supporting the measure. Further discussion was adjourned till Monday the **30th. January**, when the Bill was passed by the House.

Estates Land Committee Report

The Estates Land Act Commitee's Report was next taken up for discussion. The debate was continued till the **3rd. February**, when the House concluded consideration of

the Report. The motion of Mr. *Jogiah Pantulu* recommending to the Government "to bring in legislation at an early date on the general basis of the majority recommendations" was passed. The amendments of Mr *J. A. Saldanha* and Mr. *Narayanaswami Naidu* were negatived. Winding up his speech, the *Revenue Minister* appealed to the "oppositionists to revise their views with regard to the Report, in the light of facts and figures placed by him before the House." Mr. Prakasam, reiterated his contention that zamindars were not owners of the soil and that ownership of the soil was in the ryot Fixity of tenure and fixity of rent, he said, were the two vital points that had been declared and confirmed under the Permanent Settlement of 1802. The zamindars, therefore, could not enhance rent, nor could they claim ownership of land. Mr. Prakasam refuted the allegations that there were political motives behind the majority recommendations. He declared that when the ryots' rights as enunciated by the Committee had been upheld by the Privy Council it was not right for members to suggest that the report smelt of Moscow and Communism. The Council then adjourned to meet on the 20th instant, when the budget was presented.

Supplementary Demands for Grants

25th. MARCH :—The next meeting of the Council was held on the **25th. March** when it discussed the Supplementary Statement of Demands for further expenditure for 1938-39. On a point raised by the *Prime Minister*, the *President* ruled that discussion should be strictly confined to the items and the subject-matter of the various demands and that speeches should not cover the whole field of administrative activity or policy of the Government as on the introduction of the primary budget. The *Ministers* replied to the various points raised in the debate, the *Prime Minister* taking the opportunity of answering critics of the action of the Government in introducing the study of Hindustani in schools. The Council then adjourned *sine die.*

May Session—Madras—11th. to 19th. May 1939

Entertainments Tax Bill

The May session of the Council commenced on the **11th. May.** Two Bills, one for levying tax on amusements and other entertainments in the province of Madras and the other to give power to the Government to debar presidents and vice-presidents of local bodies who had been removed from office from standing for re-election for a certain period as passed by the Assembly, were taken into consideration and passed. Next day, the **12th. May**, after question time, the Council passed three Bills, one to *amend the Maternity Benefit Act*, the other to *amend Borstal Schools Act* and the third to *amend* the *Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Act.*

The Tobcco Taxation Bill

The Tobacco Taxation Bill, as passed by the Assembly, was then discussed. The debate was continued from day to day till the **15th. May** when a number of amendments were moved by members of the Opposition to the definitions and taxation clauses of the Bill Every one of them was opposed by the *Prime Minister* and negatived by the House. The second reading of the Bill occupied nearly three hours. The third reading stood adjourned till the next day, the **16th. May**, when after a lengthy debate, in which many members of the Opposition participated, the House adopted the Prime minister's motion that the Bill be passed into law.

The Bill to validate the restoration of village officers and the Children's Act Amendment Bill. were passed without any changes. Mr. *Abdul Wahab Bhukari's* Mappilla Marumakkathayam Bill was also passed.

The Sales Tax Bill

17th. to 19th. MAY :—The Sales Tax Bill, as passed by the Assembly, came up for consideration on the **17th. May**. An Opposition point of order on the ground that three clear days' notice had not been given to the members, was ruled out by the *President*, who held that the requirements of the rules had been complied with, as the Bill was in the hands of members as early as Sunday. A few dilatory motions moved by the *Leader of the Opposition* and two other members, were rejected by the House, *Sir Frank Birley* and *Sir Mahomed Usman* opposing them. The *Prime Minister* defended the Bill and contended that what was sought to be imposed was a just tax. He was much more convinced now, he said, than ever before that

the tax was a proper one and was not calculated to be regressive on trade. Next day, the **18th. MAY**, the House, after a further discussion for three hours, carried the Prime Minister's motion to take the Bill into consideration. The House then proceeded to consider the Bill, clause by clause. Members of the Opposition moved amendments to the definition and the taxation clauses. The amendments were opposed by the Premier and negatived by the House. *Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu*, opposing, said that there was countrywide agitation against the Tax. He characterized it as a "pernicious tax." The Revenue Minister. Mr. *T. Prakasam* said that the tax would never affect the poor. Dr. *P. J. Thomas* said that if they wanted to improve the lot of the poor, it was necessary that the Government should have more revenue. In most of the western countries and America, such a tax was imposed and it could not be said that trade had been affected thereby. Next day, the **19th May**, the third reading of the Bill was passed. All Opposition amendments were either rejected or withdrawn; and the Bill did not undergo any change whatever in this House. An hour after the commencement of the sitting, when the discussion of the main clauses was over and only a few amendments to subsidiary provisions remained to be disposed of, members of the Opposition belonging to the Justice and National Democratic groups, eleven all told, walked out of the House. Both Mr. *N. R. Samiappa Mudaliar*, Leader of the Opposition, and Sir *K. V. Reddi*, Leader of National Democrats, declared that no useful purpose would be served by continuing to take part in the further consideration of the Bill, having regard to the uncompromising attitude of the Prime Minister. Sir K. V. Reddi added that the Prime Minister had failed to show even ordinary Parliamentary courtesies due to the Opposition. As Sir *K. V. Reddi*, along with three of his followers, was leaving the House, the *Prime Minister* requested Sir K. V. Reddi to explain his imputation regarding the Prime Minister's lack of courtesy. Sir K. V. Reddi, not responding, the Prime Minister submitted to the House that he was not conscious of having been discourteous to the Opposition at all. The *President* agreed. Sir *Mahomed Usman*, Sir *Frank Birley* and Dr. *P. J. Thomas* did not join in the walk-out. They remained in their seats and all the three spoke on the motion for the third reading. Sir Frank congratulated the Premier on his urbanity and uniform courtesy and observed that a lesser man than he "would have lost his temper and perhaps been ruder to us than we were to him." The House then adjourned *sine die*.

The Bombay Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. ABDUL LATIF HAJI HAJRAT KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR
2. AIDALE, MR. JIVAPPA SUBHANA
3. ALI BAHADUR BAHADUR KHAN, MR.
4. AMBEDKAR, DR. BHIMRAO RAMJI
5. ANTROLIKAR, DR. KRISHNAJI BHIMRAO
6. ARADHYE, MR. DATTATRAY TRIMBAK
7. BAIG MOHAMED, MR. HUSEIN ABOOBAKER
8. BHAGAT, KHAN SAHEB ABDULLA HAJI ISA
9. BHAIJI, MR. M. M. A.
10. BHARTIYA, MR. SHALIGRAM RAMCHANDRA
11. BHATANKER, MR. RAMKRISHNA GANGARAM
12. BHOLE, MR. RAJARAM RAMJI
13. BRAMBLE, MR. COURTENAY PARKER
14. CHAKRANARAYAN, MR. BHASKARRAO BHAURAO
15. CHAWDHARI, MR. DHANAJI NANA
16. CHAWHAN, MR. PURUSHATTAM LALJI
17. CHINUBHAI MADHOWLAL, SIR (GIRJAPRASAD) BART.
18. CHITALE, RAO BAHADUR GANESH KRISHNA
19. CHITRE, MR. ANANT VINAYAK
20. CHUNDRIGAR, MR. ISMAIL IBRAHIM
21. COLLACO, DR. JOSEPH ALTINO
22. COOPER, SIR DHANJISHAH BOMANJI
23. CURRION. MR. FRED J.
24. DABHI, MR. FULSINHJI BHARATSINHJI
25. DANDEKAR, MR. NISHNU VAMAN
26. DEHLAVI, SIR ALI MAHOMED KHAN
27. DESAI, MR. DINKERRAO NARBHERAM
28. DESAI, RAO SAHEB GURASHIDDAPPA KADAPPA

29. Desai, Mr, Khandubhai Kasanji
30. Desai, the Honourable Mr. Morarji Ranchhodji
31. Desai, Mr. Randhir Prasanvadan
32. Desai, Mr. Shankreppagouda Basalingappagouda
33. Deshmukh, Mr. Keshav Balwant
34. Deshmukh, Mrs. Annapurna Gopal
35. Deshpande, Mr. Govind Hari
36. Dodmeti, Mr. Andaneppa Dayanappa
37. Faiz Mohamed Khan Mahobatkhan
38. Ferreira, Mr. Dominic Joseph
39. Firodea, Mr. Kundanmal Sobhachand
40. Gadkari, Mr. Vinayak Atmaram
41. Gaikwad, Mr. Bhaurao
42. Gandhi, Mr. Maneklal Magnalal
43. Gavanker, Mr. Shankar Krishnaji
44. Gavit, Mr. Damji Posala
45. Ghatge, Mr. Gangadhar Raghoram
46. Gheewale, Mr. Abdulmajeed Abdulkhadar
47. Ghia, Dr. Champaklal Jekisandas
48. Ghia, Mr. M. C.
49. Gilder, the Honourable Dr. Manchersha Dhanjibhoy
50. Girasey, Mr. Gulabsing Bhila
51. Girme, Mr. Ramchandra Bhagawant
52. Gokhale, Mr. Keshav Govind
53. Golding, Mr. Cyril Fredrick
54. Gopi, Mr. Mahabaleshwar Ganpati Bhatt
55. Greavas, Mr. J. B.
56. Gupte, Mr. Bhalchandra Maheshwar
57. Hakeem, Khan Saheb Abdul Rahim Baboo
58. Hallikeri, Mr. Ningappa Fakeerappa
59. Hanagi, Mr. Abdul Karim Aminsab
60. Hasan, Mr. Shaikh Mohamad
61. Hiray, Mr. Bhaurao Sakharam
62. Ilkal, Mr. Allisa Nabisa
63. Jadhav, Mr. Daulatrao Gulaji
64. Jadhav, Mr. Tulshidas Subhanrao
65. Jagtap, Mr. Dadasaheb Khaserao
66. Jakaty, Mr. Parappa Chanbasappa
67. Janvekar, Mr. Khaleelulla Abasaheb
68. Jhabvala, Mr. Shavaksha Hormusji
69. Joshi, Mr. Jinabhai Parvatishannar
70. Joshi, Mr. Narayanrao Gururao
71. Jog, Mr. Vishwanathrao Narayanrao
72. Kale, Mr. Revappa Somappa
73. Kalyani, Rao Saheb Annappa Narayan
74. Kambli, Sir Siddappa Totappa
75. Kanuga, Mrs. Vijyagauri Balvantrai
76. Karandikar, Mr. Shivram Laxman
77. Karavade, Mr. Ramchandra Krishna
78. Kargudri, Mr. Shripad Shyamaji
79. Kate, Mr Appaji Yeshwantrao *alias* Bapusaheb
80. Kathale, Mr. Bhagwan Sambhuppa
81. Kazi, Khwaja Bashiruddin Khwaja Moinuddin
82. Kazi, Mr. Aziz Gafur
83. Kerson, Mr. Kanji Govind
84. Keshwain, Mr. Sheshgiri
85. Khedgikar, Mr. Ramchandra Annaji
86. Kher, the Honourable Mr. Bal Gangadhar
87. Khimji, Mr. Bhawanji A.
88. Killedar, Mr. Mahomed Musa
89. Kunte, Mr. Dattatraya Kashinath
90. Lala, Mr. Bhogilal Dhirajlal
91. Lalchand Hirachand, Mr.
92. Latthe, the Honourable Mr. Anna Babaji
93. Maganlal Nagindas, Mr.
94. Mandlik, Mr. Ramchandra Narayan
95. Marathe, Mr. Namdeorao Budhajirao
96. Master, Mr. Nagindas Tribhuvandas
97. Mavalanker, the Honourable Mr. Ganesh Vasudev
98. Mehta, Mr. Hariprasad Pitamber
99. Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas Madhavji
100. Mirza, Mr. Akhtar Hasan
101. Mitha, Mr. Mahomed Suleman Cassum
102. Mohamedally Allabux, Mr.
103. Morarbhai Kasanji, Mr.
104. More, Mr. Jayavant Ghanashyam
105. Mukadam, Mr. Wamanrao Sitaram
106. Mullock, Mr. Denis Wilson
107. Munshi, the Honourable Mr. Kanaiyalal Maneklal
108. Munshi, Mrs. Lilavati Kanaiylal
109. Naik, Mr. Vasant Narayan
110. Nalavadi, Mr. Girimallappa Rachappa
111. Nanda, M. Gulzari Lal
112. Nariman, Mr. K. F.

113. Navle, Rao Bahadur Namdeo Eknath
114. Nesvi, Mr. Timmappa Rudrappa
115. Nimanee, Mr. Prithwiraj Amolakchand
116. Nurie, The Honourable Mr. Mahmad Yasin
117. Parulekar, Mr. Shamrao Vishnu
118. Pataskar, Mr. Hari Vinayak
119. Patel, Mr. Babubhai Jasbhai
120. Patel, Mr. Bhailalbhai Bhikhabhai
121. Patel, Mr. Ismail Musa
122. Patel, Mr. Mahomedbawa Madhubawa
123. Patel, Mr. Mangeh Babhuta
124. Patel, Mr. Musaji Eusufji
125. Patil, Mr. Atmaram Nana
126. Patil, Mr. Gambhirrao Avachitrao
127. Patil, Mr. Kallangouda Shiddangouda
128. Patil, Mr. Laxman Govind
129. Patil, The Honourable Mr. Laxman Madhav
130. Patil, Mr. Malgouda Pungouda
131. Patil, Mrs. Nagamma *Kom* Veeragouda
132. Patil, Mr. Narhar Rajaram
133. Patil, Mr. Sadashiv Kanoji
134. Patil, Mr. Shankargouda Timmangouda
135. Phadke, Mr. Ganesh Krishna
136. Prater, Mr. Stanley Henry
137. Purani, Mr. Chhotalal Balkrishna
138. Rais, Khan Bahadur Sardar Haji Amirsaheb Mohiddin Saheb
139. Rajmal Lakhichand, Mr.
140. Rane, Rao Saheb Babajeerao Narayanrao
141. Rane, Mr. Bachajee Ramchandra
142. Raut, Mr. Dattatraya Waman
143. Roham, Mr. Prabhakar Janardan
144. Russell, Mr. W. W.
145. Sakarlal Balabhai, Mr.
146. Saklatvala, Mr. Sorabji Dorabji
147. Sathe, Mr. Shankar Hari
148. Savanur, Sardar Mahaboobali Khan Akbarkhan
149. Savant, Mr. Khanderao Sakharam
150. Shaikh Jan Mahomed Haji Shaikh Kalla, Khan Bahadur
151. Shinde, Mr. Bajirao *alias* Babasaheb Jagdeorao
152. Shiralka, Mr. Pandurang Keshav
153. Shrikant, Mr. Laxmidas Mangaldas
154. Siddiqui, Mr. Ismail Hasan
155. Singapori, Mr. Ahmed Ebrahim
156. Songavkar, Mr. Savlaram Gundaji
157. Sugandhi, Mr. Murigeppa Shiddappa
158. Talkar, Mr. Kamalaji Ragho
159. Thorat, Mr. Raosaheb Bhausaheb
160. Thube, Rao Bahadur Vithalrao Laxmanrao
161. Thuse, Mrs. Laxmibai Ganesh
162. Tulpule, Mr. Hari Vithal
163. Tyabji, Mrs. Faiz B.
164. Vaghela, Mr. Bhaijibhai Ukabhai
165. Vakil, Mr. Trikamlal Ugarchand
166. Varale, Mr. Balwant Hanmant
167. Vartak, Mr. Govind Dharmaji
168. Vinchoorkar, Sardar Narayanrao Ganpatrao
169. Vyas, Mr. Ishvarlal Kalidas
170. Wadekar, Mr. Raghunath Balkrishna
171. Wagh, Mr. Purshottam Wasudeo
172. Walvekar, Mr. Balaji Bhawansa
173. Wandrekar, Mr. Dattatraya
174. Watson, Mr. David
175. Yusuf Abdulla, Khan Bahadur

The Bombay Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. Atawane, Mr. Atmaram Mahadeo
2. Bhosle, Mr. Madhavrao Gopalrao
3. Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Sir, Bart
4. Davar, Professor Sohrab R.
5. Deodhekar, Mr. Narayan Damodhar
6. Desai, Mr. Dadubhai Purshotamdas
7. Desai, Mr. Narsingrao Shriniwasrao
8. Desai, Sardar Rao Bahadur Chandrappa Baswantrao
9. Gandhi, Mr. Ratilal Mulji
10. Guido, Mr. Terence Martin
11. Haldipur, Mr. Subray Ramchandra
12. Hamied, Dr. K. A.

13. JOSHI, MR. S. C.
14. KARANJIA, MR. BEHRAM NAOROSJI
15. KHAN, KHAN SAHAB ABDUL KADIR ABDUL AZIZ
16. MAHAJANI, DR. GANESH SAKHARAM
17. MAKAN, KHAN SAHEB MAHOMED IBRAHIM
18. MARWADI, MR. PREMRAJ SHALIGRAM
19. MEHTA, MR. CHINUBHAI LALLUBHAI
20. MEHTA, MRS. HANSA JIVRAJ
21. PAKVASA, THE HONOURABLE MR. MANGALDAS MANCHARAM
22. PATANKAR, MAJOR SARDAR BHIMRAO NAGOJIRAO
23. POTDAR, MR. BHEEMJI BALAJI
24. PRADHAN, MR. RAMCHANDRA GANESH
25. SHAH, MR. SHANTILAL HARJIWAN
26. SOLANKI, DR. PURUSHOTTAMRAI
27. SOMAN, MR. RAMCHANDRA GANESH
28. STONES, MR. FREDERICK
29. TAMBE, MR. MAHOMED AMIN WAZEER MOHOMAD
30. VIRKAR, MR. MAHADEO BAJAJEE

Proceedings of the Bombay Assembly

Budget Session—Bombay—3rd. February to 22nd. April 1939

DISCUSSION OF OFFICIAL BILLS

The Budget Session of the Bombay Legislative Assembly commenced at Bombay on the **3rd. February 1939** and continued for eighty days till the 22nd. April. The hon. Mr. *G. V. Mavlanker*, Speaker, presided. Two official Bills, one to amend the *Bombay District Police Act* and the other to amend the Bombay Weights and Measures Act were passed. The first Bill empowered the District Superintendent of Police to delegate, with the previous sanction of the Government, any of his powers to an Assistant or Deputy Superintendent of Police. The second Bill was designed to make more effective the provision of the *Weights and Measures Act* 1932. Hitherto, it has been found difficult to secure a conviction under the Act. It is not always possible to prove that unauthorised, unverified or unstamped weights or measures were actually used or kept for use in trade. According to the amending Bill, it is proposed that in cases where any such weight or measure is in possession of a trader or his employee, it should be presumed, until the contrary is proved, that it was in his possession for use for trade.

THE BOMBAY TENANCY BILL

6th. to 10th. FEBRUARY :—The discussion of the Bombay Tenancy Bill was resumed on the **6th. Feb.** *Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale* opposed the Bill on the ground that he was not satisfied with the necessity of the Bill. The state of landlords was no whit better to-day than that of their tenants. The Bill would only widen the cleavage in the relations between the landlords and tenants and lead to class war. Mr. *Karandikar*, opposing the Bill, argued that the Bill was expropriatory in character. When the acquisition of prescriptive right required adverse possession for twelve years and more, the conferment of permanency of tenure should have a basis of a longer period than six years. What tenants needed today was reduction of land revenue and harnessing of fallow lands for cultivation. Mr. *Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar* felt that the condition imposed on the tenants for retaining the right of permanency was too hard to be fulfilled. Instead of restricting the application of the law to the holders of more than 33⅓ acres of land, Mr. Chundrigar stated, the qualification of the tenant alone should have been made the criterion for the application of the law. *Rao Bahadur R. R. Bhole* pointed out that the benefits accruing to the tenant fell far short of the expectations aroused when the Congress took office. The proposed legislation would affect only a very small percentage of the population. He advocated a more radical measure on the lines of measures in other Congress Provinces. Mr. *S. H. Jhabvala* opposed the Bill on the ground that it retained too many safeguards in favour of the landlord to be of benefit to the tenants. He desired the Congress Government to bring to bear on their outlook the spirit in which Mahatma Gandhi had replied to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in the second Round

Table Conference when he said that every sanad would be scrutinised if the Congress came to power. Mr. Jhabvala advocated a more radical measure for relieving tenants. Mr. *P. W. Wagh* observed that the Bill was calculated to create dissensions and distinctions in the ranks of both tenants and landlords. The discussion was adjourned till Wednesday next, the **8th. February**, when *Sardar Vinchoorker* said that the Bill sought to reduce the status of the landlord to a nominal one. He requested the Government not to rush through the Bill. According to him, it was not insecurity of tenure that took away the incentive on the part of the tenant to improve his holding, but the uneconomic prices obtained for his produce. Sir *Chinubhai Madhowlal* found in the Bill a socialistic tendency which was being increasingly felt in the Congress, as was indicated by the recent Congress Presidential election. He explained from his own experience that the relation between landlords and tenants had remained cordial and would only be disturbed by the present Bill. He opposed the Bill in toto and requested the Government to withdraw the Bill. Mr. *D. F. Perreira*, opposing the Bill, said what was needed was not a Bill of this nature but industrial development and rural reconstruction. While the Bill compelled the landlord to retain the tenant, it did not reciprocally compel the tenant to remain on the land. A good many agriculturists were migrating to industrial towns, leaving agriculture. Mr. *K. S. Firodia* supported the Bill. He was surprised that in all the criticism levelled against the measure, no constructive suggestions had been advanced. Spokesmen of landlords had condemned the Bill as expropriatory, while others had rejected it as affording very inadequate benefit to the tenant class. Answering the various arguments, he pointed out that the Bill only tried to regulate the relation between landlords and tenants. The principle of the Bill was that the tenant should have such an interest in his holding as to create in him an incentive for improving the land. Next day, the **9th. February**, Sir *A. M. K. Dehlavi* said that both landlords and tenants were opposed to the Bill. When there was no demand from the tenants, he did not understand why the Government should, with break-neck speed, rush through a piece of legislation which did not even touch the fringe of the tenancy problem. The Bill was at best only a palliative measure. While his Party was at one with the Congress in their desire to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry, it was definitely opposed to the principle of "expropriation of private property, which semed to underlie the Bill." Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* felt that the Government were introducing a Bill, which, while it made the landlords panicky about the bogey of expropriation, did not afford any real protection to the tenants. According to him what the landlords would lose was a mere sentimental right of property. Clause Six of the Bill, giving the landlords the right to terminate "protected tenancy" at one year's notice for agricultural or non-agricultural purposes, in fact, defeated the whole object of the Bill. The hon. Mr. *Morarji Desai*, Revenue Minister, in reply, said that tenancy legislation was a pressing and imminent necessity and it was wrong to say that the tenants did not want any such measure and only certain "agitators" wanted it. The principle of the Bill was the protection of tenants, and though not perfect, the Bill sought to remove the old unequal relations between landlords and tenants, which were feudal in principle and out of date now. He appealed to landlords to understand the spirit of the Bill so that better and proper relations might be established between landlords and the tenants. The first reading of the Bill was passed by 64 to 43 votes and the House adjourned till the next day, the **10th. February**, when the Hon. Mr. *Morarji Desai* moved for its reference to a Select Committee. Mr. *G. K. Phadke* (Thana) moved an amendment that the Bill be circulated for two months for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. The amendment was defeated. Another amendment moved by Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* for inclusion of two more members of the House in the Select Committee was rejected by the House. The original motion was put to the vote and carried.

THE VILLAGE PANCHAYATS BILL

10th. to 13th. FEBRUARY :—The House took up on the **10th. Feb.** the second reading of the Bombay Village Panchayats (Amend.) Bill as amended by the Select Committee. The Bill sought to amend the Bombay Village Panchayats Act of 1938 with the object of "removing the difficulties which retard the development and growth of village panchayats and in order to democratise the constitution of these bodies with a view to popularising them as far as possible." The main changes proposed in the bill are: compulsory establishment of panchayats for every local area having a population of 2,000 or more; the abolition of the system of nomination and ex-

officio members; establishment of village benches for every panchayat for the purpose of exercising judicial powers and compulsory levy of house tax in village areas. The debate was continued on the next day, the **11th. February**, when an amendment, moved by Sir *A. M. K. Dehlavi*, the Leader of the Opposition, sought to add certain provisoes to Clause Three of the Bill, which related to what should be declared to be a "village" for the purpose of constituting a panchayat. The amendment sought that "no area should be declared to be a village without a written application by two-thirds of the adult population of the area," and further that no areas should be declared a village regarding which the Government had already decided that it should not be declared a municipal town. The amendment was strongly opposed mainly on the ground that it was "undemocratic" in principle. When put to the vote, the amendment was lost. Clause Four of the Bill was under consideration when the House adjourned till Monday, the **13th. February**, when fifteen members of the Muslim League Party led by Sir *A. M. K. Dehlavi* walked out following the defeat of their amendment. A series of amendments had been tabled to Section Six of the Bill which provided for reservation of seats on the panchayat board for representatives of women, Muslims, Harijans and backward tribes. An amendment that the seats reserved for Muslims be filled up by separate electorates was moved by Khan Bahadur *Abdul Haji Hajrat Khan*. The *Minister for Revenue* maintained that even though separate electorates were not provided in the Bill Muslims would not fail to secure a number of seats proportionate to their population. He cited the instance of the recent Bombay municipal elections, where Muslims, who were eighteen per cent of the population, had secured the same percentage of seats. The amendment, when pressed to a division, was defeated by 68 votes against 21. Mr. *Jhabvala* next moved an amendment that the provision in the Bill for communal representation be omitted. He expressed surprise that such a provision should have emanated from the Congress Government. He pleaded that villages should be saved from the rancour of communalism. Mr. *Parulekar* moved an amendment to the same section that the Collector should determine the number of members constituting the board taking into consideration the population of the village and not after consultation with members of the district local boards as provided in the Bill. The *Minister* opposed the amendment and said that members of local boards being in touch with villages could be of more help to the Collector in this respect. Besides, he did not desire that the Collector should be the sole judge of the matter. The amendment was lost. Two other amendments proposing that Indian Christians also should be given reservation of seats on the panchayat boards and that the word "Harijan" should be substituted by "schedule castes" were defeated.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1939—40

14th. FEBRUARY :—The Financial Statement for the year 1939-40 was presented today by the Hon. Mr. *A. B. Latthe*, the Finance Minister. An enhanced fee on conveyances in urban areas, which may fetch a revenue of Rs. 2 lakhs, an enhanced electricity duty to raise Rs. 13 lakhs in Bombay city and in all probability Rs. 4 lakhs in other cities, the total being 17 lakhs; a new urban immovable property tax at 10 per cent on the rateable value of such property, designed to raise Rs. 118 lakhs in Bombay and its suburbs and Rs. 19 lakhs in Ahmedabad; a sales tax to be levied at one anna per gallon on the sale of petrol, which will produce Rs. 10 lakhs a year, and also a tax on cross word competitions so as to produce about Rs. 5 lakhs a year,—these are the new taxation proposals contained in the Budget.

Bombay city and suburbs will be declared a complete prohibition area this year, surrendering a revenue of Rs. 120 lakhs. Englishmen, Americans and Europeans will be permitted to drink under a licence. Mr. Latthe disclosed his intention to ask the authorities concerned, *inter alia*, for a reduction in the salaries of all Services, including those under the control of the Secretary of State.

As regards the sales tax, the Finance Minister announced that a sales tax was intended to be levied at a later date on mill-made cotton and silk fabrics, artificial silk yarn and cloth at one sale of the same at a rate not exceeding 6¼ per cent *ad valorem* which is expected to produce about Rs. 25 lakhs in a full year. The total yield from all these sources will be Rs. 184 lakhs a year, out of a total of Rs. 220 lakhs which the Government will have to find. The total new expenditure for the financial year is loss of Rs. 150 lakhs in excise revenue from the next year including Rs. 10 lakhs under this head provided in the budget; (B) a new loss of Rs. 40 lakhs in land revenue owing to the revision of settlements in accordance with the proposed legislation from 1940-41 onwards, including Rs. 10 lakhs being at

present spent for price remissions ; (C) a new expenditure of Rs. 45 lakhs, including Rs. 10 lakhs provided in the budget, for rural development ; and (D) an expenditure of about Rs. 15 lakhs on preventive measures on account of prohibition. Thus the total cost of the programme would amount to Rs. 250 lakhs. Thirty lakhs out of this are being found from existing revenue, with the result that Rs. 220 lakhs of new revenue in the immediate future will have to be found. The new taxation proposals are expected to yield Rs. 184 lakhs. The following is a summary of the proposals (the figures are in thousands)) :

Revenue receipts : Rs. 12,55,17.
Revenue expenditure : Rs. 12,83,63.
Revenue deficit : Rs. 28.46.
Debt head receipts : Rs. 35,73,55.
Capital and debt head disbursements : Rs. 1,35,10,68.
Capital and debt head surplus : Rs. 62,87.
Closing cash balance : Rs. 89,13.
Closing free balance : Rs. 17,03.

Mr. Latthe next dealt with the balance of revenue, which the Government would be required to find. "The total new revenue required being Rs. 220 lakhs and new taxation proposals amounting to Rs. 184 lakhs, there remains a balance of Rs. 36 lakhs still to find, which prudence requires me now to make up our minds how to meet it." The Government, he revealed, have under consideration control of forward markets through stricter and more comprehensive legislation. Taxation of forward business on the Stock Exchange is expected to yield six lakhs. The enhancement of some sections of court fees is expected to yield four lakhs and widening of the scope of sales tax will meet fifteen out of the thirty-six lakhs, leaving a balance of twenty-one lakhs to be met. The meeting of this amount would depend on the nature of the new land legislation, which is to be brought before the House.

THE VILLAGE PANCHAYATS BILL (CONTD.)

15th. to 18th. FEBRUARY :—Discussion on the second reading of the Village Panchayats Bill was resumed on the **15th. February.** The amendment moved by Mr. *S. V. Parulekar* to the effect that power should not be vested in the collector to use his discretion in the matter of removing any member of the Panchayat Board from membership except on disqualification being proved, was accepted by the Government, and the duty was made obligatory on the part of the Collector to remove the member when he became so disqualified. An amendment which sought to add to the powers of the panchayat by entrusting the board with the duty of maintaining the birth and death register, was ruled out by the Speaker on the ground that the amendment was beyond the scope of the original intention of the section. Much interest was created when Mr. *Parulekar* moved an amendment by which the funds allowable for entertaining distinguished visitors to the village, were sought to be cut drastically. The *Minister-in-Charge* of the Bill thought that in case provision should at all be made in the Bill for such section it should be sufficient, otherwise he was for deleting the section totally. The section was dropped. Clause twenty of the Bill which provides that secretaries to panchayats should be appointed by the Provincial Government drew keen opposition from the Opposition benches. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* moved an amendment that the secretary should be "appointed by the panchayat which will lay down powers, duties, remuneration and other conditions of service subject to the approval of the Government." Mr. Mehta could not find the need for the Government to foist an outsider on a self-governing body, By nature the section was undemocratic. Sir *A. M. K. Dehlavi* also spoke supporting the amendment. The *Minister* explained that the present Bill sought to confer wide powers on the local panchayat boards and there was great need for a really able man to assist the board. Mr. *Parulekar* suggested that at least the Government could have prohibited a panel out of which the panchayat may select a secretary. The amendment was pressed to a division and was defeated by 57 votes to 24. Mr. *P. W. Wagh* then moved an amendment to the effect that the panchayat bench, constituted for the trial of civil and criminal cases, should not be from the same village, but that five villages should be grouped for the purpose and a bench of five should be constituted electing one from each village. The motion was lost. The House then adjourned till the **18th. February** when it divided no fewer than three times in the course of the half-day sitting and only one clause was passed. During the discussion on Clause 39, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* moved that further consideration of the Bill be postponed *sine die*, till the Govern-

ment furnished detailed and exact information as to the finances of the proposed panchayat bodies. The *Minister for Local Self-Government* opposed the motion and said that at this stage the Government could not give exact information on the matter because it related to the future working of these local bodies. He could only say that in Baroda State there were about 2,000 panchayats, each with an average resource of about Rs. 200 only, and in Mysore there were over 1,000 such panchayats. They were working satisfactorily. In Bombay Province he expected each panchayat to get about Rs. 500. The *members of the Opposition* thought that with such inadequate funds panchayats would be unable to function. The motion was pressed to a division and was defeated by 51 to 20 votes. An amendment moved by Mr. *Bhole*, seeking to add a proviso to Section 93 that the Provincial Government should contribute one-fifth share of 'thane' revenue raised from the village to the panchayats, was held over for consiberation as to whether the recommendation of the Governor was necessary for moving it.

General Discussion of Budget

20th. to 22nd. FEBRUARY :—The general discussion of the Budget commenced on the **20th. February** and was opened by Sir *A. M. K. Dehlavi* who expressed his and the entire Moslem world's sympathy with the ideal of Prohibition, but it did not create an emergency for unjust taxation. Prohibition was itself in an experimental stage, and in view of the political developments in the country which might call upon the Ministers to lay down their office, the launching of such an expensive scheme, involving the curse of many who would have to be taxed, would be very inadvisable. Mr. *S. D. Saklatvala*, representing the Bombay Mill-owners Association, thought that the budget proposals in effect amounted to doing a great wrong to effect a little good. In a city like Bombay with an international population, to introduce Prohibition at one stroke, was going too far, and the Government, he said, took a grave risk. He added that the tax on house property almost amounted to an income-tax and the value of property had already depreciated. In the wake of the recommendations of the Labour Inquiry Committee the tax on textiles was a hardship, and directly contravened the Finance Minister's previous assurances. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* made a searching scrutiny of the taxation proposals, and said that the greatest objection to them was the encroachment of the avenues of taxation open to local bodies. When the local bodies found their revenues curtailed due to the imposition of the ten per cent immovable property tax, necessarily their activities in respect of primary education, sanitation and other nation-building activities were bound to receive a setback—a contingency which the Government would not desire. Mr. Mehta said that he would recommend the appointment of a committee to explore avenues of raising revenue, without in any way allowing the burden to be transferred to poor people. A sales tax, imposition of death duties, taxing forward transactions and such like were suggested by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta for consideration by the Government. Mr. *S. H. Jhabvala* welcomed the Prohibition scheme undertaken, but the Government should, he said, go slow rather than starve vital nation-building activities. Next day, the **21st. February**, Dr. *Ambedkar*, Leader of the Independent Labour Party, declared that it was "on the revenue side reckless, and on the expenditure side senseless." Was Prohibition, he asked, such an urgent problem as to justify the new taxation proposals ? Alcoholism, he continued, was a disease unknown in India. Drink could never be a problem here. It affected only ten lakhs of people in the whole of the province. He asked : "Should you spend Rs. 125 lakhs now in curing the souls of the ten lakhs of drunkards, or provide primary education for your children ?" Mr. *C. P. Bramble*, Leader of the European Group said that it was not the policy of his party to promote drinking to enhance the excise revenue, but in the present step taken by the Government, he could not help observing a reckless political gesture. A typical Congress budget, was how Mr. *K. F. Nariman* described the budget. Prohibition was, he reminded the House, a measure on which every party had joined in approbation last year. Next day, the **22nd. February**, representatives of Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indian community opposed the Budget proposals, especially Prohibition. The former questioned the rationale of stopping drink, while the latter argued that the proposed taxation was unnecessary, unjust and ill-conceived, and that the Government's policy reflected the "triumph of hope over experience." Pointing out as an instance the pace of the Madras Ministry as regards Prohibition, it was stated that the Government, hand in hand, with the extension of Prohibition, should have followed a policy of wise and judicious handling of excise revenue. Mrs. *Faiz Tyabji* (Muslim League) said that Muslims stood for acceleration of Prohibition

as quickly as possible, but their opposition was only to the way funds were sought to be raised. Dr. *Gilder*, Minister for Excise, asserted that when the Ministry promised to introduce complete Prohibition within three years, they meant what they said. The reports that he had received from the "dry" areas on the economic and social benefits derived from the introduction of Prohibition were very heartening. The Finance Minister had just received a letter from an economist of the Madras Government which said that Prohibition had succeeded best in the urban areas. He appealed to the Opposition to extend their co-operation in order to make Prohibition a complete success. The Finance Minister, Mr. *A. B. Latthe*, replying to the Opposition criticisms to the budget said that he was reminded of the story of six blind men trying to describe an elephant. He requested that the proposals be considered as a whole. The discussions held so far would lead one to think that the Budget contained only taxation proposals. He would clear the misapprehension that these taxes were likely to be passed on to the consumer ultimately. The hon. Mr. *B. G. Kher*, the Premier, defending the budget proposals, pointed out that despite the enormous expenditure involved in Prohibition, the other nation-building activities were not hampered at all. On the merits of Prohibition he had no two opinions. He exclaimed "Do not tell us of America. The case is different in our country. Prohibition shall succeed and that too now. Propertied people shall pay for it. If they pay willingly, we shall be happy. Otherwise, we will take it.

THE FINANCE ACT AMEND. BILL

24th. FEBRUARY to 1st. MARCH :—The Bill to amend the Finance Act of 1932 was taken up for consideration on the **24th. Feb.** The *Finance Minister*, moving the first reading of the Bill, explained its scope. The main feature of the Bill was, he said, provision enabling the Government to levy a tax of ten per cent on the letting value of houses and lands in urban areas with a view to financing Prohibition. The rate of electricity duty was also sought to be increased, at the same time ensuring that it had not the effect of increasing the burden on the consumers as a class. The Bill also raised the stamp duty on conveyance of immovable property in urban areas. The first reading of the Bill was passed to-day by 69 votes to 47. The Finance Minister, answering the criticisms advanced against the provisions of the Bill, said that the Government had since decided to reduce the tax proposed on urban property to 5 per cent in the case of properties worth Rs. 2,000 or less in Bombay. In the case of property in Ahmedabad, the criteria for the exemption would be fixed later. It was also explained that the Port Trust and municipal buildings would be exempt from the electricity duty. The new provision in the Bill enabling the Government to levy a duty on persons who generated electricity other than under a licence, was not applicable to motor vehicles, ships in the harbour and such like and the Bill would be amended accordingly. The House then adjourned till Monday next, the **27th. February**, when Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, moved an amendment to Clause 7 of the Bill. A series of amendments suggesting a graded scale of taxation in the place of the 10 per cent flat rate were moved by the Opposition benches, and all these were considered together by the House. Sir *A. M. K. Dehlavi*, Leader of the Opposition, moved for reduction of the proposed tax to 4 per cent. Mr. *S. V. Parulekar* moved that one-room tenements and tenements occupied by workers should be taxed only to 9 per cent and less. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said that when the Bombay Municipal Corporation was confronted with the problem of raising large sums for slum clearance, which was an immediate necessity and the property tax was the most fruitful source open to it, the Provincial Government had with this proposal for taxation encroached upon their preserves. Mr. Mehta graphically described the horrors of slum life with the resulting injury to the moral, physical and spiritual growth of the race. The slum dweller in Bombay had per head only 130 cubic feet of space as against 400 in the slums of London. Due to lack of proper housing conditions, infant mortality had remained very high. This "baby killing tax" would only perpetuate the pitiable conditions in slum life. He argued that it was wrong to pursue the policy of prohibition to the paralysation of other urgent nation-building activities. The *Minister for Finance* replied that, in the opinion of the Government, Prohibition was the best social service for the poorer classes. In the policy they were pursuing the Government had public opinion behind them. As for a graded scale of taxation, the Government had already declared that the rate would be reduced to 5 per cent in respect of properties valued at Rs. 2,000 or less in the city of Bombay. The discussion was adjourned on the **1st. March** when the House sat till a late hour and after the *Leader of the Opposition* had expressed the protest of the Opposition members,

which, he said, had been registered at almost every step in the passage of the Bill and the *Finance Minister* had replied. the House passed the third reading of the Bill by 54 votes to 27. The Bill was then passsd.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

28th. FEBRUARY to 23th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the **23th. February.** Mr. *Jhabvala*, in moving a "cut" under tha head Agriculture, brought to the notice of the Government the inadequacy of marketing facilities. He emphasised that the State must have its own marketing establishment. The *Minister* replied that the Government were alive to this and had therefore taken up the matter. A beginning had now been made. According to a survey made by some officers of the Government of India, the agriculturist received 40 per cent less than what the articles produced by him were ultimately sold for. The Government proposed the establishment of a Price Intelligence Service in Bombay and to appoint a Marketing Officer who would be in touch with marketing organisations and supply information regarding Bombay markets and be a sort of a liaison officer between the marketing organisations and the consumers and traders in Bombay and the co-operative and sale and multi-purpose societies in rural areas. He would also organise co-operative marketing in Bombay. The motion was defeated. Next day, the **1st. March**, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, on a "cut" motion under the head Education, sought to disapprove of the action of the Government in sanctioning expenses for the introduction of the Wardha Scheme, without the previous sanction of the House for the scheme itself. A debate on the merits of Hindi and Hindustani was sought to be raised by a cut motion by Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan*. A series of motions standing in the names of the Muslim League members were moved to-day by Mrs. *Tayhji*, who pleaded for better facilities in the matter of education for Muslim girls. The *Premier* assured the House that it was his ambition to make education available to everybody, regardless of communal considerations. For he thought that the sooner the right type of education was spread all over the country, the easier it would be to introduce the reforms he had at heart. The difficulties of providing denominational religious education to all communities were insurmountable. The Government could only see that an attitude of reverence to all religions was inculcated in students. Regarding teaching of Urdu, the Premier said it was the policy of the Government to teach Hindustani and both Nagari and Urdu scripts. He himself was learning Urdu and he was sure that no quarrel would arise on this question. On the assurance of the Minister, the cut motions in this behalf were withdrawn. The Wardha Scheme of education was again subjected to a thorough scrutiny on the next two days, the **3rd. and 4th. March**, when Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* moved a cut motion. Mr. Mehta explained that the motion was intended to disapprove the action of the Government in sanctioning expenses for the introduction of the Wardha scheme in the province without the previous consent of the House to the scheme itself. He contended that before the Government adopted a new scheme, it should take the public into confidence and allow the House to consider the new proposals. Mr. Mehta, analysing the scheme itself, stated that it was revolutionary in intent and effect. Since Mr. Gandhi laid down the principles in 1937, the scheme had undergone at least five transmigrations in respect of its ideology. There had been noticeable all through confusion as to the objects. The scheme, he declared, was not suited to cope with the requirements of modern scientifically advanced times. Replying, the *Premier* said, it would take at least 900 years to accomplish universal literacy in India, if the present educational policy were to be continued. It was not the policy of the Government to scrap the present system outright and introduce the Wardha scheme immediately. The proposal was to experiment in three compact areas in different parts of the province. It was quite possible the scheme might have to undergo further evolutions. The argument that the Government was now springing a surprise on the House was uncharitable. As early as March 1938, the House had been informed of the intentions of the Government in this behalf. The system itself had been before the public for the last two years. Sir *A. Dehlavi* said that the syllabus did not correlate higher education with the course of studies in the primary course. Besides, he asked, "why should the Government insist on my child being taught spinning, weaving etc ?" The motion was defeated by 71 votes to 31 and the demand was voted for. The House then adjourned to meet again on the **14th. March**, when some cut motions were moved and the necessity for starting more mortgage banks in the Province was stressed by Mr. *Phadke*. The hon. Mr. *A. B. Latthe* said that the Government was not apathetic to the idea of starting land mortgage banks. Personally he would like to see that every

taluka in the province had its own land mortgage bank. But practical difficulties had prevented the fruition of the scheme. After starting ten banks, it was found that large number of indebted agriculturists, whom the banks were intended to help, could not take advantage of the facility, their debts being beyond their capacity. Many applications for loans had therefore to be turned down for insufficiency of security. As a result, a large portion of the amount set apart for relief could not be utilised last year. Provided conditions for starting land mortgage banks were found favourable, the Minister assured the House that every taluka would have a bank shortly. In view of the assurance given by the Minister, the cut motion was withdrawn. Next day, the **15th. March,** replying to a cut motion to discuss the disparity in the cadres of the Sergeants and Sub-Inspectors, moved in his demand under the head "Police," the Hon'ble Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, the Home Minister stated that the scale of pay and conditions of service of the new cadre would be the same as those of the existing Sub-Inspectors' cadre and recruitment would be confined ordinarily to statutary natives of India. However, Sergeants now in service would continue to draw their pay and allowance on the existing scale. In special cases, ex-army men who were not statutory natives of India, might be recruited as Sub-Inspectors with certain relaxation of conditions applying to age and educational qualifications. Mr. Munshi also appreciated the patriotic sentiments of Anglo-Indians, who had expressed their willingness to be classified as Indians. Next day, the **16th. March,** the Scheduled Class members in the House moved two "cuts" to impress upon the Government the inadequate representation of Harijans in the Police Department. Mr. *K. M. Munshi* replied that whatever the attitude of the previous Government had been, the present Government did not recognise untouchability. It had been the policy of this Government to secure fair representation in the services for the Scheduled Classes, having due regard to standards of efficiency. Where, however, a candidate was unfit, the Government would not select him for the reason he was a Scheduled Class representative. The cut motions were defeated. Next day, the **17th. March,** the House resumed the discussion on the "cut" motion of Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, which raised a debate on the report of Disturbances Inquiry Committee. Dr. *Ambedkar*, supporting the motion, asked the Government why the members of the Council of Action, constituted for the purpose of carrying on the demonstration on November 7 last, against the Trades Disputes Bill, were not prosecuted, if the Government believed the Committee's report that the Council was responsible for the occurrences on the day of the strike. If the Government were sure that the police resorted to firing only to the extent called for by the exigencies, why should not the Government place the police for trial before a court of justice? The Home Minister, Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, opposed the "cut." He pointed out how the Inquiry Committee was constituted of men of unimpeachable character and how the terms of reference had been widened at the suggestion of the House at the time of appointing the Committee. The Home Minister then read from the report speeches of the leader of the strike, which went to show that the demonstration was not against the Bill as such. The idea was to have "workers' Raj" for one day and the strike was managed by a set of people who believed in the Marxian doctrine and the Communist principles. If their methods prevailed, thought the Minister, a state of affairs would one day arise when, at one word from those leaders, the whole of Bombay would have to close down. The method of these people was intimidation raised to a fine art. Mr. Munshi then narrated the various acts of the strikers and asserted that the firing was just sufficient to preserve order. An amendment to the "cut" motion, as well as the "cut" were put to the vote, pressed to a division and defeated. The House again divided, while voting for the grant under the head "Police" and the demand was granted by 64 votes to 18. Next day, the **18th. March,** the House discussed cut motions under medical demand which sought to impress upon the Government the inadequacy of medical help provided to the poor. The proposed closing down of the St. George's Hospital (for Europeans and Anglo-Indians) came up for severe criticism at the hands of Mr. *C. P. Bramble*, Leader of the Progressive Party when he moved a "cut". When the Government was making a beginning with nation-building activities by subsidising dispensaries and providing facilities for training nurses, could the people watch, he asked, the closing down of the St. George's Hospital in the city, which was next only to London in importance in the British Empire? In 1933, the number of beds in Bombay City per thousand population was two. Now, when the population had increased from eleven lakhs to at least fifteen lakhs, there had been no increase in the beds in hostitals. Mr. Bramble felt that the idea of the Government that the hospital

was too expensive was a misapprehension. He asked the Government if they had tried to compare the figures with those of other hospitals in the city, which sought to impress upon the Government the inadequacy of medical help provided to the poor. The House then adjourned till the **23rd March**, when there was a passage-at-arms between Mr. *S. L. Karandikar* and Sir *A. M. K. Dehlavi*, Leader of the Opposition, when supplementary grants were voted upon. Mr. *Karandikar* moved a cut to the expenses demanded by the Government of Rs. 69,000 for the purpose of rehabilitating old buildings in order to enable the Government to hand over certain Masjids to Muslims in the Ahmednagar District. Mr. Karandikar disapproved of the Government's policy of returning Masjids to Muslims. Sir *A. M. K. Dehlavi*, Leader of the Opposition, sprang to his feet at the challenge and said that he was reminded of the practice in Parliament that when two members could not confine themselves to the etiquette of the House they used to remark, "Let us go out and settle the matter." The Minister for Public Works explained that there was no need to import communal heat into this matter as it was the duty of any Government to redress grievances, irrespective of communal considerations. The House voted the demand. Next day, the **24th. March**, certain members moved cut motions and desired to criticise the Government's action in respect of the demand of securities from certain newspapers. Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan*, by a "cut" motion, sought to impress on the Government the imperative need to check communal propaganda and bring about amity between the two major communities in the country. He quoted certain extracts from Urdu papers and instances of certain Hindu leaders carrying on propaganda against the Hyderabad Administration, and said that unless these were stopped, there might be repercussions leading to communal tension. Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, the Home Minister, in his reply, stated that being a National Government, their policy was to steer clear of extremes on either side. The Government did not believe in dealing only with symptoms, but desired to deal with root causes, and therefore had allowed freedom of speech and writing consistently with the maintenance of an atmosphere of non-violence. Mr. Khan's motion was lost without a division. Replying to the debate on two other "cut" motions, which sought to censure the Government's action in demanding securities from certain newspapers, Mr. *Munshi* said that it was wrong to say that the Government were using repressive measures. The Government had repeatedly made their position clear with regard to communal incitement, no matter who made them and had warned individuals and newspapers against such incitement. Mr. Munshi had not concluded his speech when the House adjourned till the next day, the **25th. March**, when glowing tributes to the efficiency, usefulness and independent character of the "United Press" were paid by the hon. Mr *B. G. Kher*, Prime Minister, Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan*, Muslim Independent Member, and others during the discussion on a "cut" motion on the supplementary demand on "General Administration" tabled by Mr. *S. L. Karnndikar* "to discuss the payment for the United Press News Service telegrams". Mr. Karandikar wanted to know whether the "United Press" service was useful to the Government and efficient and whether the Government were spending the money well by paying the Agency for the news telegrams. The hon. Mr. *Kher*, replying, said that the Interim Ministry which preceded the Congress Ministry had itself agreed to buy the United Press News Telegrams, though, formal orders were not passed by it. The Congress Ministry implemented the Interim Ministry's tentative decision on an experimental basis and finding the service useful and highly efficient gave an increase to it, although even the increased amount was much lower than what was being paid to the Associated Press. The Government were considering the question of bringing the payment to the United Press, in view of its wholesome efficiency, to the level of the payment to the Associated Press. Further, Mr. Kher said that United Press was an indigenous institutions. The "cut" motion was then withdrawn. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **27th, March**, when the Opposition raised a discussion on the Government's Publicity Department, with particular reference to the appointment of the Public Relations Officer, Mr A. S. Ekambara Aiyar, on a salary of Rs. 400 per month. Mr. *S. H. Jhabvala*, moving the cut, said that the new appointment was quite unnecessary as the old department had been performing the duty quite satisfactorily. During the Civil Disobedience days, the Director of the Information Office had circulated two and a half millions of pamphlets. The work could not be said to have increased much now. He had received attention and information, whenever he had sought the help of the directorate. "With a live press in the country", said Mr. *Munshi* in reply, "the need for a Public Relations Officer has become very great." He cited the instance of Great Britain, where there was a post of Public Relations Officer. It was the duty of the officer to keep proper contact between the Government and the public and the press. A

Minister would not have the time to interview press representatives individually and give them all the information they sought at all times and the Public Relations Officer would be in a position to supply to the press at all times correct and reliable information on all the undertakings of the Government. If the press was not afforded correct information, there was the danger of incorrect and misleading news being circulated. A popular and responsible government should be posted hourly with the opinions and reactions of the public and inaccurate statements relating to the Government, if any, appearing in the press or canards should be contradicted or clarified at every stage. The cut was pressed to a division and defeated by 48 votes to 21. Next day, the **28th. March**, "cut" motions were moved by Mr. *Phadke* and Mr. *Patel* to raise a discussion on the demand of a security from the "Trikal", a Maharati daily edited by Mr. S. L. Karandikar, a member of the Assembly, and the "Ansar" a Muslim organ in the Sholapur district. "The liberty of the Press is the liberty to express opinion so long as the peace of the society is not threatened thereby. When that is threatened, it is not civil, but criminal liberty," declared the hon. Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, the Home Minister, defending the action of the Government. There were two aspects to such a question, the individual and social. The former might be met by punishment of the individual after the event, but the latter called for promt preventive action on the part of the State. For such purposes, Governments in other parts of India were making use of the Press Emergency Powers' Act, and the Bombay Government was in good company. The Minister read out passages from the papers concerned, and pointed out that under the conditions prevailing in Sholapur at the time, such news was bound to create communal tension between the Hindus and Muslims. The question in some matters was not the veracity of the statements, but their tendency to intensify communal discord. The Bombay Government were extremely watchful to see that, what was an agitation for political rights in the Hyderabad State, should not develop into a communal clash in the Bombay Province. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, supporting the "cut", said that the philosophy of the Minister's argument was one of "hanging a man to prevent murder." What the "Trikal" published was only news supplied by responsible correspondents from the Hyderabad State. The House divided twice in the course of the voting on these motions, which were lost. Mr. *Parulekar's* amendment to reduce the cut to one rupee in order to alter it to a censure motion was also defeated by 56 to 12. The House next voted all the various demands in the Budget for the next year and then adjourned till the 30th.

THE SALES TAX BILL

30th. MARCH to 3rd. APRIL :—A Bill to enable the Government to levy a tax on the sales of motor spirit, manufactured cloth mechanically produced in Bombay, or imported, and silk yarn, including artificial yarn, and cloth made of such yarn, was introduced on the **30th. March** by the Finance Minister, the hon. Mr. *A. B. Latthe*. Mr. Latthe explained that the tax on petrol would be enforced immediately, as no practical difficulties were anticipated, while in regard to other items, the Government were working out details to prevent undue leakage or annoyance to sellers. The *Leader of the Opposition* asked if, following the example of Madras, the Bill would be referred to a Select Committee. But Mr. *Latthe* explained that it would serve no useful purpose to follow the Madras example in this case. Mr. *Jhabvala*, opposing the tax on petrol, pleaded that the poor taxi-driver should be exempted from operation of the measure. Mr. *Saklatwala*, representative of the Mill-Owners' Association, opposed the Bill on the ground that he was opposed to the policy of Prohibition, which necessitated the taxation measures and also because the tax on sale of cloth was bound to fall ultimately on the manufacturer. Mr. *Mitha* (Muslim League) opposed the Bill in view of "its repercussions on the agriculturist," while Mr. *Watson* (European) urged that the Bill should be referred to a select committee. Next day, the **31st. March**, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* accorded supto the Bill, but observed that intrinsically a sales tax was not sound and should be avoided if possible. Since the days of the Greeks, ruinous had been the effect of such taxation, and had it not been for the intensity of post-war needs, sales tax would not have been resorted to by Western countries. India, however, with most of the sources of taxation collared by the India Government, the Provincial Government had to take recourse to sales tax. Mr. *S. V. Parulekar*, opposing the Bill asserted that the tax was bound ultimately to hit the poor people. Mr. *Sakerlal Balabhai* (Ahmedabad Mill-Owners' Association), said that the burden of the sales tax on cloth was bound to fall on manufacturers, owing to the limited capacity of the consumer to bear it. He felt that too many burdens were being

imposed on the premier industry in the country. He instanced the property tax, the increased wages to labourers, the recent Trade Agreement, which gave privileges to British goods imported into India. Sir *A. M. Dehlavi*, Leader of the Opposition, advocated reference of the Bill to a select committee. Mr. *M. C. Ghia* (Indian Merchants' Chamber), urged reference of the Bill to a select committee, where it could be scrutinised. Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan* urged that those who supported Prohibition should also support the sales tax. The hon. Mr. *A. B. Latthe*, Finance Minister, replying the debate, explained that a section of the House seemed to be under a misapprehension that the funds sought to be raised by the tax was needed for the purposes of Prohibition. The amount of Rs. 35 lakhs to be raised by the sales tax, was intended to be utilised for rural development. He added that the exemption of coarser cloth from the operation of the Bill would defeat the purpose of the taxation. Answering the objection raised by the mill-owners, the Minister asked them what they had contributed to the grant of amenities to the poor during their boom days, when they made 100 per cent profits. The first reading of the Bill was passed and the House adjourned till the next day, the **1st. April**, when the discussion was monopolised by the European members, who had fifty-three amendments standing in their names. The Bill was considered clause by clause. The main object of the amendments was to soften the penal provisions. The Government accepted amendments deleting those sections which made offences under this Act cognisable, and which made applicable the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code in inquiries into such offences. The Speaker, the hon. Mr. *G. V. Mavlankar* offered his suggestions on the question of fines to be imposed on those carrying on trade without a licence. The standard of fines was accordingly modified. The House then adjourned till Monday next, the **3rd. April**, when the debate centred round the question of the rule-making powers of the Government under the Act. Mr. *P. M. Wagh* moved an amendment that the rules framed by the Government for giving effect to the provisions of the Bill, should be subject to the assent of the Assembly. Mr. *A. B. Latthe*, Finance Minister, argued that it would not be opposed to the principles of democracy if a Responsible Government should frame its own rules for giving effect to the provisions of a legislation. The *Leader of the Opposition* said that it was bad in principle for any House of Parliament to hand over unreservedly rule-making powers under any Act. Mr. *D. W. Mullock* urged that the Legislature should be given an opportunity to consider the rules owing to the number and variety of interests affected by the Bill. The House divided on the question, and the amendment was defeated by 56 votes to 25. A plea to exempt from the levy, cloth of lower counts so as to afford relief to the poor, was made by various sections of the Opposition, but was not accepted by the Government. The Bill was passed by the House which then adjourned.

Agricultural Indebtedness Bill

4th. & 5th. APRIL :—A Bill seeking to relieve the agriculturist of the burden of indebtedness was introduced on the **4th. April**. It will apply to agriculturist-debtors who cultivate lands personally and whose debts do not exceed Rs. 15,000 and are not less than Rs. 100, and provides for the scaling down of the debts to the paying capacity of the debtor. It is laid down that the debtor should be a member of a resource society before his debts may be scaled down under the Act by a Board constituted for the purpose. The object of this clause, it is explained, is to afford relief to those agriculturists for whom arrangements for current crop finance can be made by co-operative societies. The Bill also contains provision to declare a debtor, whose assets are inadequate to pay the total amount of scaled down debt, to be an insolvent. "The economic servitude that arises from the money-lenders' grip on the agriculturists", runs the statement of objects and reasons. "gives rise to several evils, the chief among them being, disposal of the agricultural produce at an unfavourable season, and at a detrimental price." Next day, the **5th. April**, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said that the Bill was too modest and did not attempt to take the bull by the horns. The Government should have adopted a more forward policy to relieve the agriculturist, the reason for whose indebtedness was primarily the revenue policy of the State, the money-lender being but an accessory. Mr. *Parulekar* said that the scope of the Bill was narrow. It excluded from the relief proposed those agriculturists who had no property and included land-owners who were not agriculturists. He pleaded that the agricultural labourers should come within the scope of the legislation. Mr. *Mitha* (Muslim League) observed that except for the provision for scaling down debts, in other respects, the Bill was

beneficial to the money-lender who was assured of payment of the dues. The *Minister*, in his reply, assured the House that all constructive suggessions offered would be considered in the select committee. This concluded the first reading of the Bill which was referred to a select commitee. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **6th. April**, when after considering two Bills, one to *amend the Abkari Act* and the other to *amend the Municipal Boroughs Act*. both of which passed through all the three readings, the Assembly adjourned till Tuesday next, the **11th. April.**

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

11th. & 12th. APRIL :--The House discussed non-official resolutions on these days. On the **11th**, a resolution moved by Mrs. *Munshi* recommending to the Government that a uniform set of text books should be prescribed for adoption by all registered schools in the province, occupied the whole day. The *Prime Minister* assured the House that the Government were considering the matter and the suggestion advanced in the course of the debate would receive his attention. On this assurance, the mover withdrew the resolution. There was a prolonged debate in the House, which was carried in many languages which the members found it difficult to follow. Next day, the **12th. April** another non-official resolution suggested to the Government that requisite amendments should be made in the Bombay Legislature Members' Salaries and Allowances Act so as to require members to attend meetings of the House on at least three-fourths of the number of days on .which the House sat and disentitling any member to receive any salary in case of failure to do so. The *Premier* opposed the motion, though he said he was in sympathy with its object. He thought that the sense of responsibility of the members and the opinion of their constituencies should be adequate checks to absenteeism. The motion was withdrawn and the House adjourned.

HINDU BIGAMOUS MARRIAGES PREVENTION BILL

13th. APRIL :—Mrs. *Lilavati Munshi* introduced a Bill to-day to provide for the prevention of bigamous marriages among Hindus in the province. The Bill sought to declare a bigamous marriage void and to penalise parties to such a marriage. The statement of objects and reasons ran thus:—It is time Hindu society looked up to the necessity of moving with the times. Hindu society is now sufficiently advanced for the introduction of such a measure. If the women have to be raised to a status of equality with men, the institution of polygamy, which more or less treats women as chattel, should be abolished. Mrs. *Lilavati Munshi* declared that often the reasons advanced for a second marriage were purile. The mover dwelt on the utter helplessness of women in such cases, the marriages taking place in disregard of the feelings of the women concerned. Mrs. Munshi did not accept the view that a law allowing divorce should precede this legislation. So long as women were constrained to monogamy, men had no right to complain if the law was made reciprocal. A Muslim Member, Mr. *Mirza*, said that the Bill would prove to be the Magna Carta of Hindu women. *Rao Bahadur Chitale* and Mr. *Phadke* opposed the Bill. The hon. Mr. *K. M. Munshi* argued that it was high time social legislation was undertaken in this behalf. That the Mithakshara said otherwise many years back, could not be an argument for shelving legislation calculated to advance Hindu society. The motion for first reading having been carried, the Bill was circulated to elicit public opinion, a time-limit of three months being fixed.

HINDU MARRIAGES DISSOLUTION BILL

14th. APRIL :—A measure to provide for the dissolution and nullity of marriages among Hindus was introduced to-day. The Bill provided for three kinds of remedies, dissolution, declaration of nullity, or judicial separation "according to the seriousness and needs of the situation" and the the remedies available at the instance of either party to a marriage. The statement of objects and reasons says: The evil results of the lack of provision in Hindu society for divorce are apparent in the daily reports of suicides, murders, and elopements of Hindu women In each of such case, the rigidity of the marriage institution has been responsible for the result." Mr. *B. D. Lala* (Congress), commending the Bill to the consideration of the House, observed that Hindu women had stood shoulder to shoulder with men in the Civil Disobedience days and they had been taught to think in terms of freedom and equality. While ideas of life and the mode of thinking were undergoing rapid transformation in the Indian society to-day, Hindu society needed to move with the times. Mr. *B. Patel*, while supporting the principle of the Bill

as a whole, objected to some of the clauses as being too partial to women. The hon. Mr. *Munshi* stated that the Bill was a revolutionary one, and could not be dealt with lightly. An obstacle to the Bill, he said. was the general feeling of prejudice against divorce amongst the Hindu community. He put forward the plea that Hindus should not be subjected to the misery and sordidness of modern divorce legislation. Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan* said "that the Bill marked a step forward in the right direction and that women should be given a free right to divorce if they pleased." The motion for first reading of the Bill was carried and the Bill was circulated for public opinion.

THE SHOP ASSISTANTS BILL

17th. to 18th. APRIL :—Mr. *B. G. Kher*, the Premier introduced to-day the Shop Assistants Bill. The measure sought to regulate the hours of work in shop, commercial house, theatres and other establishments. The main features of the Bill were acceptance of 9 o'clock as the closing hour in the night and the fixing of the spread-over and the minimum and maximum hours of work. The general principle of granting one holiday for every six working days was also accepted. The enactment provided that children should not be employed in the establishments contemplated by the Act, and young persons were allowed to work during day time only. The *Premier*, introducting the Bill, said that this was another measure in the direction of social advancement, and he hoped it would receive the substantial, if not unanimous, support of the House, quite unlike the Industrial Disputes Bill. The Premier averred that the inquiries conducted by the Government Labour Office justified the step, and that the trend of general popular opinion had been ascertained to be unanimously in favour of the Bill. Next day, the **18th. April**, fairly unanimous support was accorded to the principles of the Bill, during the debate on the motion for first reading. In the course of his speech, Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* pointed out that such a measure should be accompanied by legislation fixing a minimum wage. Otherwise, he thought, the benefit sought to be conferred on the shop assistants by the Bill, would be more than counterbalanced by other factors. The *Premier* did not think that that aspect of the question could be considered at this stage. The Bill was referred to a select committee. Next day, the **19th. April**, the Assembly passed a Bill removing the disqualification from membership of the municipality of those having undergone imprisonment, provided no moral turpitude was involved in such imprisonment.

PRIZE COMPETITIONS BILL

20th. APRIL :—The Finance Minister, the hon. Mr. *A. B. Latthe* introduced to-day the Bill to regulate and levy a tax on prize competitions in the province. The Prize Competition Tax Bill, observed Mr. Latthe, was not intended to decide the desirability or otherwise of lotteries. Ethics apart, it was but a measure of taxation, proposed at the time of the budget speech. The funds were necessary for enforcing Prohibition. The Bill proposed to levy a tax of 12½ per cent of the total sum received by the promoter in respect of such competitions and the Bill provided for a system of licences. The Finance Minister made it clear that the provisions affected only prize competitions held and conducted within the presidency. The *Leader of the Opposition* opposed the Bill, as he thought that by this legislation the Government was giving these competitions a law and status so far denied to them. He declared that lotteries and competitions were as bad as the drink evil. The Assembly then passed the three readings of the Bill which was next passed. Motions to have the measure circulated or referred to a select committee were rejected.

DISCUSSION OF OFFICIAL BILLS

21st. APRIL :—The Assembly passed to-day all the three readings of the *Bill to restrict increase of the rents of premises* in urban areas owing to the new imposition of the Urban Immovable Property Tax, without a division. A *Bill to amend the Land Revenue Code*, laying down the principles of assessment of land revenue, was read for the first time and referred to a select committee. The House agreed to the amendments passed by the Upper House to the *Village Panchayats Bill*.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIARY FROM EXECUTIVE

22nd. APRIL :—*Sir Ali Mohamed Khan Dehlavi*, Leader of the Opposition, moved a resolution to-day urging on the Government the need for the

separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. He said that the principle of the motion had been accepted by all sections of opinion in the country. The Congress, which had started an agitation in this matter, had now assumed charge of the administration, and he felt. therefore, that the principle should be immediatly put into effect. He was rather surprised to note that the Congress Governments in the different provinces had not spoken with one voice on the subject. All sections of the House expressed themselves in favour of the motion.

The Home Minister, Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, replying, said that the Government considered the reform as necessary, urgent and fundamental. The Government had investigted the incidence of the reform and had found that the scheme would involve a reshuffling of the district and taluka services. Such a reshuffling, the Government considered, would unsettle the district administrative machinery, which ou account of the responsibilities thrown on them in giving effect to the Reform measures undertaken by the Government had to be maintained intact. The appointment of a number of new Subordinate Judges and the transfer of judicial matters to them from the files of the Magistrates would solve the question. But the effect of such a measure on the finances ruled it out. The Government could only proceed by stages, and steps were being taken to transfer magisterial work as far as possible to Subordinate Judges. The motion was talked out, as on non-official motions on the last day of a session voting was not allowed in view of the new rules framed. The Budget session thus concluded and the House adjourned *sine die*.

Proceedings of the Bombay Council

Budget Session—Bombay—16th. February to 24th. April 1939

BUDGET FOR 1939—40

The Budget Session of the Council commenced on the **16th. February** 1939, when Mr. *A. B. Latthe*, the Finance Minister presenting the Budget for 1939-40 said :— "The Budget for the next year presented to the Assembly has been described by some as revolutionary and others as a 'bombshell', but I do not see revolution in any part of it." If revolution meant only change, he admitted the Budget was revolutionary. The Cabinet, he added, had for the last two years felt that they were moving slow with their programme and now, if they tried to take a few steps forward, the change could not be considered a violent one. The Minister recalled how they had committed themselves to a policy of prohibition. It could not be said that the public thought that only pious wishes were being expressed by the Government. While he would invite constructive criticism and suggestions for raising funds necessary for carrying out their programme, the Minister would emphasise that taxation, in their opinion, could not be levied for a greater purpose than prohibition.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

After the presentation of the Budget, the Council passed all the three readings of the three Bills which had been passed by the Assembly earlier in the current session, namely, the Bills to amend the *Bombay Small Holders' Relief Act*, the *District Police Act* and the *Weights and Measures Act*. The Council then adjourned till the **24th. February** when the propriety of issuing press summaries of reports or other Government documents unaccompanied by the full text, was sought to be raised by an adjournment motion. The motion related to the release by the Director of Information of a press summary of the report of the Committee which inquired into the disturbances on November 7, when a demonstration against the Industrial Disputes Bill resulted in firing on the strikers. Mr. *S. C. Joshi*, moving the adjournment, stated that the press summary of the report of the committee was issued to the press and public, as also to the members of the Council on Februay 3, whereas the full text was not available for a fortnight more. It was argued that the publication of this summary on the eve of the municipal elections was psychological. This was the first time that municipal elections were being contested on party lines,

and the report was concerned with the issue as to which of the two parties was responsible for the disturbances on the strike day. If the public had the full report before them they could have judged for themselves. The *Home Minister*, opposing the motion, said that there was no allegation that the press summary was inadequate. A misleading report in the local papers necessitated the issue of correct report to avoid the public speculating on the news. Besides, it had been the policy of the Government to issue summaries before the full text was available, as it helped to prevent the press from making any speculation on the contents. The press in Bombay was a democratic press. The motion was defeated by 15 votes to 6.

General Discussion of Budget

24th. & 25th. FEBRUARY :—Bombay's Budget proposal were discussed for these two days. Prof. *C. S. Mahajani*, while welcoming the rural uplift and educational policies of the Government, criticized their taxation proposals, which, he thought, would lead to economic and financial disaster. The tax on urban immovable property seemed to him most objectionable. He wanted to know why Government had singled out a particular class of landlords for this taxation. Several members participated in the debate and strong condemnation of the Government's taxation proposals and policy with regard to prohibition was voiced. Mr. *A. B. Latthe*, Finance Minister, replying to the debate, said that the big industrialists and rich people should put their hands deeper into their pockets to alleviate the distress of the poor. Dr. *M. D. Gilder*, Excise Minister, defending the Government's prohibition policy, asserted that prohibition would lead to an improvement of the lot of the poor people.

Ban on Liquor Advertisements

27th. MARCH :—Liquor advertisements will be taboo in Bombay very shortly and necessary legislation in this behalf, on the lines of that obtaining in Madras, was passed to-day by the Council.

Insolvency Law Amend. Bill

28th. MARCH :—The House took up for consideration and passed to-day the Government Bill to amend the insolvency law in the province. The *Premier*, moving that the Bill be taken into consideration, explained that the object of the Bill was to give a right to the judgment creditor to have his judgment-debtor adjudged insolvent for non-payment of the judgment debt within a reasonable time, after service of notice on him, without undergoing the extra expense and trouble of taking execution proceedings.

Charge Expenditure & Sales Tax Bill

5th. APRIL :—The House met to-day for a short time and passed the three readings of the Bombay Charged Expenditure Bill, and the first two readings of the Sales Tax Bill, as passed by the Assembly. The Council was *prorogued* on the **24th. April.**

The U. P. Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Ministers

1. The Hon. Pandit Govinda Ballabh Pant
2. The Hon. Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai
3. The Hon. Dr. Kailas Nath Katju
4. The Hon. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit
5. The Hon. Shri Sampurnanandji
6. The Hon. Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim

Parliamentary Secretaries

7. Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain
8. Acharya Jugal Kishore
9. Sri Atmaram Govind Kher
10. Thakur Hukum Singh
11. Sir Karan Singh Kane
12. Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tivary
13. Mr. Bihari Lal Chaudhri
14. Mr. Muhammad Suleman Ansari
15. Sri Gopi Nath Srivastava

I—General Constituencies

(i) *Urban*

16. Mr. Chandra Bhan Gupta
17. Mr. Narain Das
18. Dr. Jawahar Lal Rohatgi
19. Bhagat Dayal Das Ji
20. Seth Achal Singh
21. The Hon. Shri Purshotamdas Tandon (*President*)
22. Mr. Hari
23. Pandit Pyare Lal Sharma
24. Prof. Ram Saran
25. Acharya Narendra Deva
26. Babu Bindhyabasini Prasad Verma

(ii) *Rural*

27. Pandit Mahabir Tyagi
28. Thakur Phool Singh
29. Chaudhri Mangat Singh
30. Babu Keshav Gupta
31. Srimati Satyavati Devi
32. Mr. Charan Singh
33. Chaudhri Khushi ram
34. Chaudhri Raghuvansh Naryan Singh
35. Chaudhri Vijeypal Singh
36. Mr. Brij Behari Lal
37. Thakur Manak Singh
38. Chaudhry Bhim Sen
39. Thakur Todar Singh Tomar
40. Mr. Jwala Prasad Jigyasu
41. Thakur Malkhan Singh Bhal
42. Professor Krishna Chandra
43. Chaudhri Shiva Mangal Singh
44. Mr. Ram Chand Paliwal
45. Dr. Manik Chand Jatav Vir
46. Pandit Jagan Prasad Rawat
47. Pandit Jiva Lal
48. Chaudhri Mijaji Lal
49. Chaudhri Bireshwar Singh
50. Mr. Babu Ram Verma
51. Shrimati Vidyavati Rathore
52. Kunwar Shamsher Jang *alias* Kr. Charat Singh
53. Chaudhri Khub Singh
54. Mr. Dau Dayal Khanna
55. Pandit Shankar Dutt Sharma
56. Thakuk Prithivi Raj Singh
57. Pandit Dwarka Prasad
58. Pandit Deo Narayan Bhartiya
59. Thakur Sadho Singh
60. Kunwar Rukum Singh Rathor
61. Mr. Lakhan Dass Jatav
62. Chaudhri Badan Singh
63. Thakur Bhagwan Singh
64. Pandit Rameshwar Dayal
65. Mrs. Uma Nehru
66. Mr. Balwant Singh
67. Chaudhri Buddhu Singh
68. Babu Hoti Lal Agarwal
69. Babu Ram Sarup Gupta
70. Dr. Murari Las
71. Sri Banshgopalji
72. Pandit Sheo Dayal Upadhya
73. Mr. R. S. Pandit
74. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri
75. Pandit R. V. Dhulekar
76. Pandit Bhagwat Narayan Bhargava
77. Pandit Manni Lal Pandey
78. Chaudhri Lotan
79. Diwan Shatrughan Singh
80. Thakur Keshava Chandra Singh Chaudhri
81. Thakur Har Prasad Singh
82. Pandit Yajna Narayan Upadhyaya
83. Pandit Kamalapati Tewari
84. Maharaj Kumar Sir Vijaya
85. Babu Vishwanath Prasad
86. Raja Sharda Mahesh Prasad Singh Shah
87. Prof. Birbal Singh
88. Pandit Keshava Deva Malaviya
89. Mr. Parasram Rai
90. Pandit Indradeo Tripathi
91. Thakur Radha Mohan Singh
92. Thakur Surya Narayan Singh
93. Thakur Sinhasan Singh
94. Pandit Mohan Lal Gautam
95. Mr. Biswanath Mukherji

96. Thakur Prayag Dhwaj Singh
97. Professor Shibban Lal Saksena
98. Mr. Purnamasi
99. Pandit Ram Dhari Pande
100. Mr. Kashi Prasad Rai
101. Pandit Ram Kumar Shastri
102. Pandit Sita Ram Shukla
103. Mr. Harnath Prasad
104. Pandit Ram Charitra Pande
105. Mr. Sita Ram Ashthana
106. Mr. Gajadhar Prasad
107. Pandit Radha Kant Malaviya
108. Pandit Algu Rai Shastri
109. Kunwar Anand Singh
110. Pandit Har Govind Pant
111. Mr. Ram Prasad Tamta
112. Thakur Jagmohan Singh Negi
113. Pandit Anusuya Prasad Bahuguna
114. Pandit Vishwambhar Dayal Tripathi
115. Pandit Jata Shankar Shukla
116. Lal Surendra Bahadur Singh
117. Mrs. Shunitidevi Mittra
118. Mr. Bhawani
119. Pandit Lakshmi Shankar Bajpai
120. Mr. Chheda Lal Gupta
121. Pandit Shanti Swarup
122. Rai Sahib Thakur Bibhuti Singh
123. Pandit Shiva Ram Duvedi
124. Mr. Paragi Lai
125. B. Jaganath Prasad
126. Thakur Lalta Buksh Singh
127. Pandit Banshi Dhar Misra
128. Kunwar Khushwaqt Rai
129. Shrimati Maharani Jagdamba Devi
130. Pandit Krishna Nath Kaul
131. Mr. Paltu Ram
132. Thakur Ram Naresh Singh
133. Raj Kumar Jang Bahadur Singh
134. Mr. Sundar Lal Gupta
135. Pandit Bhagwan Din Misra
136. Sriyut Lal Behari Tandon
137. Mr. Ishwar Saran
138. Kunwar Raghvendra Pratap Singh
139. Rai Sahib Hari Prasad Tamta
140. Pandit Harish Chandra Bajpai
141. Pandit Govind Malaviya
142. Mr. Krishnanand Nath Khare
143. Shrimati Rajmata Parbati Kunwari
144. Mr. Chet Ram

II.—Muhammadan Constituencies

(i) Urban

145. Muhammad Ismail Khan
146. Shaikh Ghalib Rasul
147. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Ghazanfarullah
148. Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan
149. Maulvi Karimul Raza Khan
150. Khan Bahadur Mr. Akhtar Adil
151. Captain Haji Nawab Bahadur Muhammad Abdus Sami Khan
152. Dr. Abdus Samad
153. Mr. Zahur Ahmad
154. Mr. Muhammed Ekram Khan
155. S. M. Rizwan Allah
156. Chaudhuri Khaliq-uz-zaman
157. Mr. Muhammad Wasim

(ii) *Rural*

158. Qazi Abdul Wali
159. Maulvi Munfait Ali Sahib
160. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Muhammad Ziaul Haq
161. Sahibzada Sayed Hasan Ali Khan
162. Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan
163. Mr. Tahir Husain
164. Captain Nawab Muhammad Jamshed Ali Khan
165. Mr. Muhammad Shaukat Ali Khan
166. Nawab Dr. Sir Muhammad Ahmad Sa'id Khan
167. Khah Bahadur Haji Muhammad Obaidur Rahman Khan
168. Khan Bahadur Badruddin
169. Mr. Mohammed Jan Khan
170. Khan Bahadur Sheikh Khalil-ud-din Ahmad
171. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Raza Khan
172. Chaudhri Islam Ullah Khan
173. Mr. Akhtar Hasan Khan
174. Chaudhry Jafar Hasan Khan
175. Maulana Muhammd Ismail
176. Sh. Zainul Abedin
177. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Fasih-ud-din
178. Khan Bahadur Mr. Muhammad Fazl-ur-Rahman Khan
179. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Muhammad Imtiaz Ahmad
180. Khan Bahadur Lieutenant M. Sultan Alam Khan
181. Mr. Nafisul Hasan
182. Mr. Mahmud Husain Khan
183. Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf
184. Mr. Rafi-ud-din Ahmad
185. Khan Sahib Maulvi Muhammad Hasan
186. Mr. Muhammad Athar
187. Mr. Muhammad Farooq
188. Mr. Zahirul Hasnain Lari
189. Qazi Muhammad Adil Abbasi
190. Mr. Abdul Hakeem
191. Mr. Muhammad Ishaq Khan
192. Maulvi Iqbal Ahmad Khan Sohail
193. Shaikh Zahiruddin Faruki
194. Raja Saiyid Ahmad Ali Khan Alvi

195. Chaudhri Hyder Husein
196. Mr. Mubashir Husain Kidwai
197. Saiyid Aizaz Rasul
198. Raja Syed Sajid Husain
199. Raja Syed Mohammad Mehdi
200. Mirza Mahmud Beg
201. Mr. Ghulam Hasan
202. Raja Syed Muhammad Sa'adat Ali Khan
203. Raja Muhammad Ahmad Ali Khan
204. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Said-Uddin Ahmad
205. Raja Sir Mohammad Ejaz Rasul Khan

III.—Women's Constituencies

(i) General Urban

206. Dr. Bolar Thungamma
207. Shrimati Prakash Vati Sud
208. Srimati Lakshmi Devi
209. Begum Habibullah
210. Begum Shahid Husain

IV.—Anglo-Indian Constituency

211. Mr. H. G. Walford

V.– European Constituency

212. Mr. Desmond Young
213. Captain S. R. Pocock

VI.—Indian Christian Constituency

214. Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh
215. Mr. S. C. Chatterjee

VII.—Commerce & Industries Constituencies

216. Dr. Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava
217. Mr. Edward M. Souter
218. Lala Padampat Singhania

VIII.—Landholders Constituencies

219. Rai Bahadur Lala Prag Narayana
220. Shaikh Muhammad Habibullah
221. Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh
222. Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth
223. Major Raja Durga Narayan Singh
224. Rai Govind Chandra

IX.—Labour Constituencies

(i) Trade Union

225. Pandit Raja Ram Sastri

(ii) Non-Union Labour

226. Pandit Suraj Prasad Avasthi
227. Mr. B. K. Mukerjee

X.—University Constituency

228. Dr. Syed Husain Zaheer

The U. P. Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. Mr. Baij Nath
2. Rai Amar Nath Agarwal
3. Rai Bahadur Brijendra Swarup
4. Mr. Mohan Krishna Varma
5. Mr. Chandra Bhal
6. Rai Sahib Lala Mathura Das
7. Lala Janardan Sarup
8. Lala Babu Lal
9. Mr. Lakshmi Narayan
10. Lala Har Sahai Gupta
11. Lala Radhey Raman Lal
12. Thakur Gopal Singh
13. Mr. Ratan Lal Jain
14. Rai Bahadur Chaudhri Badan Singh Tewari
15. Rai Sahib Lala Roop Chandra Jain
16. Kunwar Rameshwar Pratap Singh
17. Mr. Badri Prasad Kakkar
18. Pandit Beni Madho Tiwari
19. Rai Bahadur Thakur Lakshmi Raj Singh
20. Mr. Ram Chandra Gupta
21. Rai Bahadur Lala Raghuraj Singh
22. Lala Mohan Lal Sah
23. Rai Bahadur Seth Kedar Nath Khetan
24. Raja Ashtbhuja Prasad
25. Mr. Madho Prasad Khanna
26. Dr. Ram Ugrah Singh
27. Pandit Rama Kant Malaviya
28. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh
29. Raja Sri Ram
30. Kunwar Diwakar Prakash Singh
31. Rai Bahadur Mohan Lal
32. Mr. Rup Narayan
33. Bhaiya Durga Prasad Singh
34. Rai Bajrang Bahadur Singh
35. Nawab Islam Ahmad Khan

36. Mr. Muhammad Faiyaz Khan
37. Dr. Mahmud Ullah Jung
38. Khan Bahadur Syed Ahmad Husain Rizvi
39. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Zaki
40. Syed Agha Haider
41. Khan Bahadur Syed Akbar Ali Khan
42. Mr. Muhammad Abid Khan Sherwani
43. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Masood-uz-Zaman
44. Hafiz Ahmad Husain
45. Mr. Waheed Ahmad
46. Mr. Muhammad Faruq
47. Khan Bahadur Haji Maulvi Muhammad Nisarullah
48. Syed Kalbe Abbas
49. Begum Aizaz Rasul
50. Chaudhri Akhtar Husain
51. Mr. Izhar Ahmad Faruqi
52. Sir Tracey Gavin Jones
53. The Hon. Dr. Sir Sita Ram
54. Mr. C. St. L. Teyen
55. Mrs. Mona Chandravati Gupta
56. E. Ahmad Shah
57. Risaldar Major and Honorary Captain Amir Muhammad Khan Sardar Bahadur
58. Mr. Ram Sahai
59. Lady Wazir Hasan
60. Pandit Harihar Nath Shastri

Proceedings of the U. P. Assembly

Winter Session—Lucknow—3rd January to 21st. February 1939

The U. P. Tenancy Bill

The U. P. Legislative Assembly re-assembled after the X'mas holidays on the **3rd. January 1939** and resumed consideration of the Tenancy Bill. It passed Clause 21 which specified what classes of tenants would enjoy hereditray right. Only one drafting amendment, moved by Mr *Phool Singh* (Congressite), was accepted by the Government and most others, emanating from the *Opposition* benches, were opposed and rejected by the House. There was one division in the course of the day—on an amendment seeking to confer hereditary rights on sub-tenants of tenants-in-chief whose holding exceed 20 acres of land. It was negatived by 75 votes to 19. An amendment urging that sub-tenants of fixed rate tenants should also acquire hereditary rights if they were in possession for a cotinuous period of five years at the commencement of this Act, was moved and withdrawn by *Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh*. Another amendment, which was also withdrawn, was moved by the *Nawab of Chhatari*. It provided that hereditary rights should be conferred if a tenant had paid his rent in full for three years continually to the landlord. In supporting this amendment, *Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf* warned the Government that the next three years would be critical years for the Government as the process of ejectment proposed in the Bill would be so ineffective and worthless that zamindars would never be able to realize their rents. Next day, the **4th. January**, Clauses 22 to 29 of the Bill were passed and nearly 50 amendments on the order paper were disposed of. The *Opposition* fought hard to prevent the accrual of hereditary rights in lands situated in a municipality, notified or town area as well as in lands owned by any educational institution, but their amendments were rejected by the House. Similarly, the House negatived two other amendments moved against hereditary rights accruing in uneconomic holdings. In the afternoon an amendment was moved by the Government which the *Revenne Mimister* described as an enabling clause in connection with the sale of a tenant's holding for the arrears of rent. He promised to place the Government's proposals on this matter before the House in two or three days and added that it was contemplated that land should revert to the original tenant after an interval of four or five years during which period the auction-purchaser would have realized his outlay. Next day, the **5th. January**, only two clauses relating to succession of tenants could be disposed. Muslim League members, one and all, wanted Muslim personal law to apply to Muslim tenancies and they threatened that if this was not agreed to by the Government, this would be one of the char-

ges against the Congress Government of the province showing that the Government was causing hardship to Muslims. The *Revenue Minister* succeeded in unnerving the opposition by stating how Muslims outside the Assembly Chamber did not want Muslim personal law to apply to tenancy and quoted from the reports of the committees appointed on the subject in 1901 and 1926, which had Muslim majorities and which opposed the proposal. He also quoted the opinions received by the Government on the Bill not only from Muslims in general but even from several Muslim Leagues and members of those bodies. All of them had been published and supplied to members and were opposed to the Shariat law being applied to tenancies. A number of amendments were made in the table of succession, giving rights of succession to step-mothers, grandfathers of deceased tenants and confining these rights to unmarried daughters and to widows so long as they did not remarry. *Begum Habibullah* and *Begum Shahid Hussain* strongly criticised the Government for trying to curtail the rights of women, but the Government's contention was that they had drawn up the table in the best interests of agriculture and in order to prevent fragmentation of holdings. Three divisions were claimed by the Opposition to-day—twice on amendments and once on the adoption of the whole of Clause 30. All were defeated by large majorities. Next day, the **6th. January**, the House made rapid progress and finished consideration of Clauses 32, 33 and 34. Mr. *A. P. Jain*, Parliamentary Secretary to the Revenue Minister, moved four amendments to Clause 32, which dealt with succession to women holding inherited interest. These amendments, he said, were consequential on the changes made in the table of succession in an earlier clause. The amendments were accepted. Certain other consequential and verbal amendments to clause 33 moved by the Government were also accepted by the House. This clause dealt with the question of succession to women tenants, other than those mentioned in the previous clause. Claue 35, relating to the rights of tenants to sublet holdings, was taken into consideration. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved an amendment to the effect that a tenant could sublet a holding otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of this Act, with the consent of the zamindar. The amendment also provided that no subtenant should acquire or enjoy any rights in a holding in excess of the rights held by the tenant-in-chief. The Government opposed the amendment, which was rejected. The *Raja of Tirwa* moved that a tenant and a subtenant should be jointly and severally liable for rent due from a tenant to the landlord. This amendment was also opposed by the Government and was rejected and Clause 35 was passed without amendment. During discussion of Clause 36, *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved an amendment, restricting the sub-letting of a holding to a period of two years instead of five, as provided in the Bill. Mr. *Shaukat Ali* moved that the period be three years instead of five. Both amendments were rejected and Clause 36 was adopted with minor official amendments. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved an amendment to Clause 37 to make it clear that a tenant should sub-let his holding at the commencement of the agricultural year only. The amendment also laid down the provision that before a holding was sub-let, the tenant should, by a notice in writing to the landholder, inform him of the address of the proposed sub-tenant, the number of plots proposed to be sub-let and the rent payable for such sub-lease before the commencement of the agricultural year. The amendment was negatived and Clause 37 was passed. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth's* motion to add a new clause to the Bill was rejected. Clauses 39 and 40 were passed with minor official amendments and Clause 41 was passed without amendments. At this stage, the House adjourned until Monday, the **9th. January**, when it passed clauses 43, 44 and 45 dealing with the extinction and division of tenancies and the exchange of land. A very lengthy amendment was moved by *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* for retention of the landlord's right to acquire a holding for agricultural development and such other purposes as erecting mills or factories after payment of compensation. The amendment was strongly opposed by the Government on the grounds that it would take away the rights sought to be conferred upon the tenants by this Bill and further that this privilege had been grossly abused in the past. The amendment was rejected by the House. Next day, the **10th. January**, the Assembly passed no less than 10 clauses after disposing of nearly 50 amendments. The Bill made no provision for the consolidation of holdings and three amendments were moved from the Opposition benches to provide for it. The Government who intended to introduce a separate bill to promote the consolidation of holdings both of zamindars and tenants accepted the spirit of one of these amendments and moved a comprehensive amendment of their own which the House adopted. Other two amendments were vigorously opposed on the ground that they sought to benefit the Zamindars and not the tenants and the consolidation of holdings was equally necessary for tenants as

their holdings were subject to fragmentation in a far greater degree The amendment accepted by the House provided for consolidation to a limited extent and did not obviate the necessity of a separate bill on the subject. Next day, the **11th. January,** *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved an amendment to Clause 59 sub-clause (2) providing that there should be a general provision that tenants should be entitled to make improvements in land if they had obtained the permission of the landlord. The amendment was rejected. An interesting amendment to the same sub-clause was moved by *Nawab Sir Mahomed Yusuf.* It sought to make absolutely clear that unless the custom referred to in this clause was a recorded custom, or unless the consent of the zamindar was obtained, the occupancy tenant or ex-proprietary tenant would not be entitled to the benefits conferred by this Section. The amendment was rejected and Clause 51 was passed. The House took up Clause 59 relating to improvements to land by occupancy tenants. Mr. *Mubashir Hussain Kidwai* moved an amendment to add that the improvement shall be one which the landholder himself was competent to make. The amendment was rejected. Clause 59 (A) was then passed with a verbal amendment proposed by Mr. *Ishaq Khan.* In Clause 60, dealing with restrictions, *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved an amendment that no improvement would be made, which might render the land unfit for the purpose for which it was given. The amendment was withdrawn. Clause 60 was passed with a verbal amendment proposed by Mr. *Mubashir Hussain Kidwai.* Clause 61, making a tenant liable for full rent in cases of improvement, was passed without discussion. Clause 62 empowered the tenant to apply to the Assistant Collector if permission to make an improvement was refused by a landlord. Mr. *Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved for its deletion. The amendment was rejected. Sub-clauses (2) and (3) were deleted on the motion of Mr. *A. P. Jain* and Clause 52 was passed. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved an amendment to Clause 63 relating to the right of landholders to make an improvement. The amendment was rejected. Next day, the **12th. January,** Mr. *A. P. Jain,* Parliamentary Secretary, moved an amendment deleting sub-clauses (3) and (4) Clause 63, which dealt with the rights of landholders to make improvements. These two sub-clauses enabled the Assistant Collector to grant or refuse permission to make improvements in a case where the tenant had refused to give the landlord his written consent. The amendment was opposed on legal grounds by Mr. *Ishaq Khan,* Mr. *Jaffer Hussain,* Nawab *Sir Mahomed Yusuf,* Mr. *Tahir Hussain, Raja Bisheswar Dayal Seth,* Mr. *Aziz Ahmed* and Mr. *Munfait Ali.* The amendment was passed by 90 votes to 31. The House passed Mr. *A. P. Jain's* amendment, substituting a new clause for Clause 63 (a) and rejected the amendment for its deletion moved by *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth.* Mr. *Mubashir Hussain Kidwai* moved an amendment urging that permission be refused for any work costing more than five times the annual rental of the land. The amendment was withdrawn. Mr. *Rizwanullah* moved an amendment to Clause 64 urging that the tenant should not be entitled to compensation for improvements made after the cause of action for a suit or notice had begun. The amendment was withdrawn. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved another amendment against the tenant being entitled to compensation for improvements made even within three months prior to service of summons or notice. He said he wanted to prevent fraud. The House accepted Mr. *Ishaq Khan's* amendment that a tenant should not be entitled to compensation for improvements made after the date of institution of a suit or making of application for issue of notice. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* withdrew his amendment. Clause 64 was then adopted. Mr. *A P. Jain* moved two amendments to Clause 65, dealing with compensation for buildings when erected without the landholder's consent, to the effect that the tenant be entitled to sell such buildings before the date of delivery of possession or before some later date with the permission of a court. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* sought to add another proviso that the tenant from whom any arrear of rent was due to the landholders should not be entitled to remove the materials until he had discharged the arrear due. When the Government made no reply, the Raja complained that the Government had made up their mind not to discuss the various suggestions made by the Opposition benches. The amendment was rejected and Mr. Jain's amendment was adopted. Next day, the **13th. January,** the House accepted an amendment moved by Mr. *A. P. Jain,* Parliamentary Secretary, to Clause 69. The amendment laid down conditions for the transfer of right of improvements in the land made by a tenant, in case it was sold for arrears of rent. Clause 69 (A), with certain verbal changes to bring it into line with previous Clauses which had been amended, was then passed. Mr. *Fazlur Rahman Khan* and the *Nawab of Chhatari* opposed the amendment. The latter urged that there must be some limit to the fickle-mindedness of the

Government. He considered that the only principle involved in the proposed change was an attempt to harm both zamindars and tenants. He asserted that if the amendment was passed, it would cause breaches of the peace between the tenants themselves in the rural areas. Instead of being a blessing the Bill had become a curse. The amendment was adopted. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* next moved an amendment, deleting Sub-Clause 71 (b) the effect of which was to take away the tenant's rights in scattered trees on his holding, which had been in his possession for the last ten years. The amendment was rejected. Mr. *A. P. Jain* moved a number of amendments to Section 72, the object of which was to provide facilities to tenants for the surrender of their holdings. The Clause, as amended, was passed. An amendment by Mr. *Ishaq Khan* to Section 73 sought to raise the period from fifteen days to one month during which a holding could be surrendered after a decree for the enhancement of rent had been passed. The amendment was accepted by Mr. Jain. Four more clauses were passed before the House adjourned till Monday next, the **16th. January**, when fifteen clauses (78 to 93) were passed. Most of them related to the determination and modification of rent and were passed with little or no variation. That the order of remission or suspension of rent passed by the Government for natural calamities should be open to be questioned in civil or revenue court was the object of an amendment moved in the afternoon by au Independent Party member. The amendment was opposed not only by the Government, but also by the Muslim League party. It was pointed out by the *Revenue Minister* that it did not preclude anybody from seeking redress in the court if the Government acted against the provisions of the Bill. During the course of discussions, it was announced by Mr. *A. P. Jain*, parliamentary secretary, that the Government did not propose to do away with ejectment clauses, but they would make alternative proposals regarding sale by auction and the exact proposals will be communicated to the House. Next day, the **17th. January**, the demand of the Muslim League party for the application of personal law under the provisions of the Bill was partially conceded by the Government, when they moved an amendment to clause 10, that on the death of the *sir*-holder the *Sir* right shall not devolve except in accordance with the personal law to which the deceased was subject. A Muslim Leaguer with a view to clarifying the position sought to add an explanation to the clause that the law in the case of the Muslims shall mean the Shariat law of inheritance. This amendment, however, was not pressed in view of the able exposition by a lawyer member, *Chaudhri Haider Husain*, that the personal law could not but mean Hindu law in the case of the Hindus and Muhammadan law in the case of Muslims. The concession made by the Government to the Muslim sentiment was highly appreciated by the Muslim League party, but caused some flutter among the taluqdars. Their spokesman, *Raja Bisheshar Dayal Seth* lost no time in moving another amendment that the personal law made applicable to *sir* holders should not apply in cases governed by Act I of 1869. In other words, the Raja wanted that the *sir* of the taluqdars should be governed by the taluqdari law of succession. The amendment did not find favour with the House. The consideration of clauses ten and twelve which had been postponed at the request of the Government was resumed today, and they were passed. The Government stoutly resisted two Opposition amendments to section 94, that the court fee in suits relating to variation of rent should not exceed Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 respectively. Their point of view was that such a limit would not help the tenants at all in their existing circumstances, but would, on the contrary encourage the zamindars to institute suits for enhancement of rent in the whole village. The amendments were rejected by the House. Next day, the **18th. January**, a most controversial amendment was debated relating to Clause 101 on the duration of rent rates. A proviso to the Clause provides that the Provincial Government may order revision of rent in case of a rise or fall in prices. Further, it provides that the Government may postpone revision on ground of administrative convenience." The amendment was rejected by 27 to 83 votes. Several other amendments aiming to reduce the period after which revision might take place were rejected and Clause 101 was passed. Six amendments relating to Clause 120 (1) were then taken up. The Government accepted two amendments moved by the Opposition. One related to the approval of the Legislature before appointing an officer to revise rent and revenue in emergencies and the other to the deletion of Clause 102 (1) (D) giving power to an officer to commute produce rents into money rents. Clause 102 (1) was passed and the Assembly adjourned till the **19th. January**, when Mr. *Tahir Hossain* (Muslim League) moved an amendment providing that the appeal against the order of an officer, appointed under Section 102, fixing, abating, enhancing or commuting rent should lie with the District Judge and not

with the Commissioner. The amendment was rejected. The House also rejected *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth's* amendment seeking to provide that second appeal should lie to the Board of Revenue in connection with the revision of rent and revenue in cases of emergency. Mr. *Ishaq Khan* moved for the deletion of the proviso that no order under this Section should be questioned in any civil or revenue court, with a view to checking the misuse of the powers conferred on the Government. The amendment was rejected. The House passed Clause 102 and the next two clauses without much discussion. Clause 105, which was next taken up, evoked considerable discussion. Mr. *A. P. Jain* moved six amendments, all of which were of minor importance, except the one to sub-clause 105 (2) (d) that the valuation of holdings of hereditary tenants at the proposed rates does not exceed one-fifth of the value of the produce. A member of the Independent Party moved an amendment to sub-clause (d) that nine-twentieth be substituted for one-fifth. He also moved the deletion of sub-clause (e). All official amendments were accepted and the others were rejected. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved an amendment to the effect that the rent agreed to by tenants who were admitted to holdings in or between 1304 and 1313 faslis should not form the basis of rent rates. By another amendment, the Raja wanted to omit the ratio of one-fifth (of rent to produce) for purposes of rent fixation. The *Nawab of Chhatari* moved an amendment to the same sub-clause for excluding the period between 1304 and 1308 faslis. *Nawab Sir M. Yusuf* moved another amendment to the same sub-clause that rent should be fixed at not less than one-fifth and not more than one-third of the produce. Mr. *A. P. Jain* opposed all the amendments, which were rejected. The Assembly then adjourned till Monday next, the **23rd. January**, when eight more clauses were passed. Owing to strong and unanimous opposition on the part of members not belonging to the Congress Party, Government were obliged to withdraw the amendment to clause 105, which in some way countenanced the existing iniquitous arrangement, whereby some of the tenants belonging to higher castes enjoy a privileged position in the matter of payment of rent. The Government amendment which sought gradually to eliminate such caste privileges required the rent rate officer to record the extent to which, in any village, any class of person held land at a favourable rate or rent, and the extent to which, in their application to suits for enhancement of rent of the members of such class, the rent rates should be modified on this account. *Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf*, in opposing the amendment said, 'It is staggering that a Democratic Government should make bold to come forward with such a preposterous proposal.' The members of the scheduled castes appealed to the Government to withdraw the amendment as it sought to perpetute in statute the existing distinction between them and the higher castes. The *Nawab of Chhatari* pointedly drew Government's attention to the fact that such a provision contained in the original Bill had been omitted by the select commitee. The zamindar members stronly urged, in connection with section 115, that rent should be liable to enhancement when the productive powers of land were increased by fluvial action or by any other cause. They stressed that by refusing to accept their plea, the Government ignored their just claim. The amendment moved with this object was opposed by Government and rejected by the House. Next day, the **24th. January**, the Assembly passed ten clauses and postponed the consideration of one at the request of the *Revenue Minister*. One of the clauses renders void and illegal the demands made by zamindars from tenants. It says that all fees, charges or impositions upon tenants under the denomination of *abwab, zaid matalba, hari, begar or* other like appelations in addition to rent or *sayar*, if any payable, should be illegal and unenforceable in a court of law. The zamindar's viewpoint found expression in a speech made by *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth*, who said that the clause as drafted amounted to an expropriation of the zamindars' rights and nothing else. He said that the zamindars were entitled to get certain dues from their tenants and Government was not at all justified in abolishing the rights hitherto enjoyed by the zamindars. He moved an amendment making an exception in the case of dues covered by a contract or custom. The *Nawab of Chhatari* moved another amendment that all unrecorded demands should be rendered void. The House rejected both the amendments and carried the amendment moved by Mr. *A. P. Jain* making *nazrana* also illegal. Clause 129 was under consideration when the House adjourned till the **6th. February** when the Bill did not make much headway. Only two clauses were passed and the consideration of eight clauses in chapter VII was postponed at the request of the Government in order to enable them to redraft the clauses. Next day, the **7th. February**, twelve clauses were passed. One of them prohibits arrest or detention of a tenant for arrears of rent. An amendment for the deletion of the clause moved by a member of the

Independent party was opposed both by the Government as well as the Opposition parties and it was in the end withdrawn. The landlord members expressed the hope that the Government would also prohibit the arrest and detention of zamindars for arrears of land revenue. That distraint should not be one of the methods for the recovery of arrears of rent was the object of a Government amendment, which the landlord members strongly opposed. Their main criticism was that in the select committee the Government had agreed to this provision, but now for some mysterious reason they wanted to take a somersault and deprive the zamindars of this easy method of realizing their arrears of rent from the tenants. *Nawab Yusuf* said that the Congress Government seemed to change with the change of the wind and had no settled principles on anything. The *Nawab of Chhatari* declared that it would be a mistake to remove the provision relating to distraint altogether, and by doing so the Government would be giving no protection to the tenant. The Assembly today passed clause 150. Next day, the **8th. February**, the House accepted an important amendment moved by Mr. *A. P. Jain* to Clause 151. The amendment empowers the Government to recover arrears of rent from tenants, in the case of a general refusal, as arrears of land revenue. Another important amendment moved by Mr. *Krishnananda Khare* vests certain power in the Collector in case of a dispute between co-tenants which is likely to cause a breach of the peace or where the zamindars have realised illegal demands, the Collector, in such cases, will take the areas under his management and will pay the profit to the persons entitled to it after deducting the cost. Mr. *A. P. Jain*, Parliamentary Secretary, moved another amendment to the above amendment. At the request of the Opposition consideration of both the amendments was postponed. The *Minister for Revenue* moved the deletion of Chapter Eight, dealing with distraint for recovery of arrears of rent. The deletion of Chapter Eight from the Tenancy Bill will do away with 29 clauses, 225 amendments and contentious provisions. A number of Congressmen participated in the debate. The Opposition benches vehemently opposed the motion and urged that the chapter contained a wholesome provision to deal with recalcitrant and habitual defaulters among the tenants. *Nawab Mahomed Yusuf* complained of the Government's vacillation, as they now wanted deletion of what they had agreed to in the Select Committee. The motion was adopted. Thereafter the House passed Clauses 178 and 179 before adjourning till the next day, the **9th. February**, when after passing certain re-drafted clauses relating to deposit of rent in the tahsildar's court and its disposal, barring of suits against anything done regarding the deposit, and the deposit of rent in court during the pendency of a suit, the consideration of which had been previously postponed, the Assembly devoted the rest of the day to the discussion of a single contentious clause, which the Government have now brought forward with a view to enable the collector of a district to take charge of the village, mahal or portion thereof, and retain it under his own management, if after holding a suitable enquiry he was satisfied that any hardship was caused to the tenants due to a dispute between co-sharers regarding their rights, or the realization of illegal charges, habitual refusal of grant of receipts for the rent or sayar, or acts of oppression by the landlord, under-proprietor, permanent lessee or thekadar. The landlord members vigorously opposed this clause which was characterized as the most obnoxious and the most poisonous by *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal*. That it was a repressive measure brought by the back door to be used against their political opponents, who had courage to oppose the Congress candidates during elections, was the view expressed by Mr. *Zahiruddin Farugi*. A large number of amendments moved by the Opposition members, most of which were opposed by the Government, were rejected by the House. Three amendments were, however, accepted. Their effect was to enable the collector to manage the property acquired by him under this clause for a period not exceeding two years, as the provincial Government might direct, and return the surplus to the proper person after deducting the amount of land revenue due. Further the hardship caused to persons other than the tenants in the village would be no ground for the collector for taking over the management of the village. Next day, the **10th. February**, began with a series of reverses for the zamindars and they were unable to convince the Government of the justice of their claims for the realization of arrears of rent even when the tenant was ejected. The House passed clause 181 according to which arrears of rent are deemed to be satisfied when the tenant is ejected from the whole or any portion of his holdings. The Government, however, partially accepted an amendment moved by a Muslim Leaguer in respect of clause 185 about ejectment of a tenant for arrears of rent and this gave some satisfaction to them. The time limit for making applications to the tahsildar was extended by one month and the zamindars would be allowed to apply for ejectment for arrears not exceeding one year's

rent, although the arrears might relate to the year preceding the previous agricultural year. The Government thought that it was just and reasonable that the tenant should not be deprived of more that half of his holding for arrears not exceeding one year's rent and opposed the amendment moved against that provision. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **13th. February**, when it devoted considerable time considering amendments relating to the procedure regarding ejectment for arrears of rent in Clause 185. At the end of the day it had passed only clauses 185 and 185 (A). Several amendments of the Opposition wanted that no court fee be paid on such applications and also provided for increasing the time-limit for such applications. They were all rejected as the Government opposed all of them. The Government accepted the principle of the Opposition's amendment that an application could be amended after it had been filed. Mr. *A. P. Jain* moved an amendment to provide for this, which was passed. While discussion of the amendment to Clause 185 (B) was proceeding, the House rose for the day and adjourned till the next day, the **14th. February**, when Clauses 185 (B) to 185 (G) were passed by the House, which also accepted modification of sub-clause 185 (H) regarding the procedure in disputes concerning rent. Consideration of Clause 185 (J) was postponed for redrafting it. Next day, the **15th. February**, no less than fifteen amendments were moved by the Opposition to Clause 185-K after it was passed. This was a new clause moved yesterday by Mr. *A. P. Jain*, parliamentary secretary. It empowers the tahsildar to lease the land of an ejected tenant, for a period not exceeding six years, to a person depositing the arrears due. Two amendments were carried by the House and the rest were rejected after discussion. In accordance with these amendments, the tahsildar may exercise his discretion on an application being made by the ejected tenant and not otherwise; and, secondly, he may lease the land simultaneously with the ejectment of the tenant without waiting for proceedings between the 31st day of May and the 15th day of June of the agricultural year in which the tenant is ejected. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* wanted that the tahsildar should lease land only with the written consent of the landlord. Another member urged that a portion of the holding not exceeding one half should be leased. A third amendment wanted that the land should be leased to agricultural labourers, tenants with economic holdings, or other tenants residing in the village. Another amendment urged that compensation should be paid to an ejected tenant who had effected certain improvements. The purpose of this amendment was accepted by the *Reveuue Minister*, and he himself moved an amendment to the effect that the tahsildar may lease the land on an application from the tenant. This amendment was accepted and the clause, as amended, was passed. Both on this day and on the next day, the **16th. February**, the Bill made very little progress. While only one clause was passed yesterday, not more than two clauses were passed today. The clauses which were passed today made some further concessions to tenants in the matter of ejectment proceedings. The tenant is given ample time to pay the decretal amount, and it is further provided that if within one month after his ejectment the tenant deposits the amount, the ejectment order shall be cancelled. In the case of ejectment, it is stipulated that the tenant would be ejected only from such portion of the holding the rent of which does not exceed one-sixth of the decretal amount. A number of amendments moved to whittle down the concessions granted to ejected tenants were rejected after discussion. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **20th. February**, when twelve more clauses in the chapter on ejectment were passed and section 200 was being discussed. Most of the amendments, moved to safeguard the rights of landholders, were opposed by the Government and rejected by the House. Twice in the course of the day the discussion on amendments had to be stopped for want of quorum. Next day, the **21st. February**, consideration of clauses 203, 204 and 205 was postponed at the request of the Government, while the other clauses from 200 to 208, dealing with ejectment of persons occupying without title, mode of execution of decree or order, time of execution and remedies for wrongful rejectment were passed with minor verbal amendments. The only amendment of importance was moved by Mr. *A. P. Jain*, substituting a new clause for Clause 202 to the effect that delivery of possession in execution of a decree or order for ejectment of a civil or revenue court shall not be made before the first day of April or after the thirtieth day of June in any year in which it was passed. Sir *Mahomed Yusuf*, moving another amendment to the clause, remarked that it was a most systematic and calculated method of doing away with ejectment altogether. With the passing of Clause

209, the Assembly to-day finished the chapter on ejectment which proved to be a contentious chapter in the Bill. Thereafter the House took up Chapter 10 dealing with grants of land held rent free or at a favourable rate of rent. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* moved an amendment to Clause 210 urging that in a registered instrument, the conditions of the grant and its duration should be set forth. The amendment was rejected by 61 votes to 20 and an amendment by Mr. *A. P. Jain*, that the grant of land for the purpose of planting groves should not be treated as rent free was passed. Clauses 213 to 218 were passed with slight modifications. Clause 216, however, was postponed for redrafting to incorporate a suggestion from the Opposition that the grant of land for a religious or social service should be deemed exempt so far as proprietory rights accrued in it. The House adjourned till the next day, the **21st. February**, when it accepted clause 216 as re-drafted. Mr. *Jafar Hussain* moved an amendment to it, but Mr. *Jain* contended that his amendment was the result of an understanding with the Opposition and threatened to withdraw it if Mr. *Jafar Hussain* pressed his amendment. Mr. Jafar Hussain complained that the Government were unnecessarily charging the Opposition with adopting dilatory tactics, but agreed to withdraw his amendment. Next day, the **23rd. February**, the Assembly spent the whole day discussing amendments on Clause 228 and its sub-clauses. Earlier, the House passed Clause 227, laying down the definition of grove-holders. Clause 228 describes the rights and liabilities of grove-holders. Two divisions were challenged. Mr. *Zahirul Hassan Lari*, by an amendment, sought that grove-holders should not have the right of transfer of groves. The amendment was rejected by 29 votes to 85. An amendment moved by Mr. *Muhammad Raza Khan* further wanted that the right of a grove-holder shall not be auctioned in satisfaction of a civil or revenue courts decree. The amendment was rejected by 30 votes to 84 and further discussion on the Bill terminated at this stage to be resumed later.

CESS ON SUGAR

At 4 p. m., Dr. *Katju* moved a resolution regarding the levy of six pies cess on sugar. Dr. Katju pointed out that the resolution was in fulfilment of the promise made in the Upper House that in case the Government levied cess of more than three pies, they would consult the Legislature. Dr. Katju said that in matters of sugar control, the Governments of Bihar and the United Provinces were moving in close co-operation and that Bihar already had a cess of six pies. It would be unfair to the industry in Bihar if a lower cess was levied here. Sir *J. P. Srivastava* (Upper India Chamber of Commerce), opposing the resolution, protested against the raising of money from industry for the general revenue, which was utilised for increasing the police force and the Secretariat staff. He pointed out that the Congress, which claimed to be a friend of the poor, was now taxing sugar which was a necessity of life. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned.

Budget Session—Lucknow—24th. February to 25th. April 1939

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1939—40

24th. FEBRUARY :—The Budget for the financial year 1939-40 with a small deficit was presented simultaneously in both houses of Legistature at 5 p.m. to-day. The *Premier's* budget statement occupied nearly 80 minutes in the Lower House while it was read in the Upper House by Dr. *Katju*. Presenting a deficit budget in the Assembly, the Premier, *Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant*, estimated a revenue of Rs. 13,31,44,987, and an expenditure of Rs. 13,69,38 422, leaving a deficit of Rs. 37,93 435. To meet this deficit he proposed to levy an employment tax, which would fetch Rs. 30,00,000, and the remaining deficit the Premier hoped to wipe out during the course of the year. Premier Pant declared : 'Almost the whole of expenditure, whether incurred last year or this year, which now exceeds the amount actually spent in 1937-38 by nearly Rs. 1,25,00,000, was directed towards the relief of the poorer classes and promoting remunerative and progressive objects designed to raise the social and material level of the general mass of the people'. The Premier in his statement says that the Government have accepted the scheme of basic education, making a liberal provision therefor and are paying special attention to the question of jail reform, reclamation of criminal tribes, in connexion with which the Government have decided to denotify all the tribes ; improving the condition of the service

of inferior Government servants by giving them relief in pay, leave and pension and introducing scales of pay. The minimum pay of jail warders, and police constables has been raised to Rs. 15. The Premier announced schemes for the reorganization of police, separation of executive and judicial functions, extending of the Sarda canal into the eastern districts, extension of the tube-well system, and extension and improvement of the existing grid system. Provision has also been made for the extension of the councillors' quarters.

Two Taxation Bills

Two taxation measures were introduced by the Premier after the presentation of the budget, namely, the *U. P. Sales of Motor Spirits Taxation Bill* and the *U. P. Employments Tax Bill.* The former Bill proposes to levy two annas per gallon, while the latter proposes to levy a graded tax when the total salary earned during the year ending March 31 exceeds Rs. 2,500. The minimum tax is Rs. 90 on an annual income ranging between Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 3.500. There is a progressive increase, the tax on incomes above three lakhs being Rs. 32,000 In the statement of objects and reasons it is stated that the Government considers it expedient to increase the revenue of the province to finance various schemes of rural, education, medical and industrial development, including extension of the policy of prohibition. It is therefore proposed to impose a tax on different employments on a definite graded scale. Persons employed in his Majesty's military, naval and air forces and those whose emoluments from their employment do not exceed Rs. 2,500 annually would be exempt from this tax.

Several Bills Introduced

A number of Bills were then introduced. The *Consolidation of Holdings Bill* was introduced by the Revenue Minister, the *Agricultural Produce Markets Bill* by the Minister of Justice and the *Indian Medicine Bill* by the Minister of Local Self-Government. The Minister of Justice also laid on the table the amendment to the Sugar Factories Control Rules of 1938 and the Government scheme for the separation of judicial and executive functions of magistrates in U. P. The Assembly then adjourned till 13th. March.

General Discussion of Budget

13th. & 14th. MARCH :—The general discussion of the Budget commenced on the **13th. March** when severe criticism of the Government's financial policy resulting in ever increasing burden of taxation on the people of the province was voiced by non-Congress members. Kunwar *Sir Maharaj Singh* asked the Premier what further measures of taxation did the Premier propose in order to meet additional deficits which were bound to follow if the policy of prohibition was speedily carried into effect without effecting very subtantial economies. *Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava* calculated that the new expenditure embarked upon by the Government during tha last 20 months totalled Rs. 1,60,00,000, while the loss in excise revenue due to the prohibition policy so far amounted to Rs. 40,00,000. This Government had to raise two crores by new taxation, and by means of the entertainment tax, sugarcane cess and enhanced stamp duty and court-fees they had already realized Rs. 1,32,00,000. He expected that further taxes would be levied to realize the remaining Rs. 68,00,000. *Captain S. R. Pocock* voiced the public opinion in saying that the employment tax was an iniquitous proposal and would arouse resentment among the educated people who had to do some real work for their living. He warned the Government that this tax would result in increased unemployment among the educated middle classes, and both individuals and capital would be forced to leave the province in search of more salubrious financial atmosphere. Next day, the **14th. March**, Mr. *H. G. Walford* described the Budget as misleading and complained that the Government had done nothing for the masses. He challenged the justice and equity of the sugar cess and the petrol and employment taxes. To tax 130 I. C. S. men, the Government taxed the whole province. The Government, he said, wanted money, not for the benefit of of the country, but for Congress propaganda. *Sir Muhammad Yusuf* said that the finances of the Government were in a desperate condition and heading towards bankruptcy and described the Budget as "glamorous window-dressing." Mr. *Laxmi Shanker Bajpai* (Congress), while congratulating the Premier for making proper provisions in the Budget for the uplift of the fallen and depressed masses, complained that the Government had done nothing to rectify the topheavy administration and recommended the immediate abolition of a number of posts. *Begam Habibullah* complained that the Government had made no adequate provision for female education,

especially for Muslim girls. The *Nawab of Chhatari* welcomed the increase in the salary of the low paid staff. He feared that with the introduction of Prohibition and reduction in canal rates, the Government would be faced with a heavy deficit next year. Replying to criticisms, the *Premier* pointed out that taking into account the superannuation charges and the sinking fund to meet the debt charges which came up to Rs. 60 lakhs, the subvention of the Government of India was really no windfall as contended by some. He declared that he made substantial economies to meet the situation. Regarding the reduction in salaries, the Premier said he could not reduce the salary in the case of superior posts. The Government were, however, pursuing the question and had made a representation to the authorities. He claimed that he had converted the deficit of 1933-39 into a surplus, paid up the debts and invested capital expenditure. As regards Prohibition, the Premier wanted the House to give a clear verdict whethere they wanted it or not. If they did, they must find the money for it. He expected to present supplementary estimates for medical and public health. The Premier concluded with an appeal to all to join him in making the villages cleaner, richer and better.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

14th. to 30th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the **14th. March.** The necessity for abolishing grinding of flour in jails was urged by speakers during the discussion on a cut motion to a demand for Rs. 30,68 050 under "Jails and convict settlements." Mr. *Gopinath Srivastava,* Parliamentary Secretary, stated that as an experiment, the Government were starting a power mill in one central jail. Replying to the debate on another cut motion relating to jails, Mr. Srivastava stated that political prisoners were those who did not act for personal gain. The classification, he said, would depend on the nature of the crime committed. There would be only one class of political prisoners and classification in the case of non-political prisoners would also be abolished. Those sentenced to simple imprisonment would be required to spin in jails. All the cuts being withdrawn, the entire grant was passed. Next day, the **16th March,** both Congress and Opposition members criticised the Government's land revenue policy. The mover complained that while the collection of revenue from zamindars was 99.9 per cent, the collection of rents was only 60 or 80 per cent, which meant that without getting rent from tenants, the zamindars had to pay revenue from their pockets. Mr. *Mohanlal Gautam* (Socialist) complained that though the Congress had been in office for about two years, they had not done enough. The Tenancy Bill was so much delayed that numerous tenants had been ejected. He added that zamindaries should go, lock, stock and barrel. The time had gone when the British wanted Zamindars. The latter were now wanted by none in the country. *Nawab Mohamed Yusuf* said that the economic condition of zamindars was so bad that it was a disgrace to the Government. The Government could not achieve their end unless they combined labour and capital. The province, he claimed, was mainly the creation of zamindars. Sir *J. P. Srivastava* demanded clarification of the revenue policy, as the Revenue Minister's attitude was doubtful in this matter as in others. For instance, he had supported Mr. Bose and now he was sitting with the supporters of Mr. Gandhi ! He added that the entire money on rural development was being wasted. They should give monetary assistance to the tenantry ; a great deal had to be done to see a contented tenantry. On the **18th. March,** the House voted demands for grant concerning Excise, Veterinary, Co-operative Credit and Agriculture. In connection with the last of these demands, Dr. *Katju* announced the intention of the Government to appoint a committee of officials and non-officials with wide terms of reference to examine all the activities of the Agricultural department and said that the Government was willing that the department should be thoroughly overhauled. The House then adjourned till Tuesday, the **21st. March,** when it voted the demands for grants under (1) Public Works, and (2) Civil Works. Government were severely criticised by the opposition for providing a lump sum of Rs. 27,75,000 in the budget without having detailed the scheme for the expenditure of this large amount. Kunwar Sir *Maharaj Singh* considered that it was an undesirable procedure for adoption by a responsible Government. The Minister for Communications, *Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim* thought that it was not necessary for the Government to come before the House with a detailed scheme in each and every case. He, however, assured the House that the detailed proposals regarding construction of roads and bridges would be placed before the House for discussion. Next day, the **22nd. March,** the House voted the demands for expenditure on public works met from the revenue, improvement in communications financed

from the central road development account and the administration of justice. Dr. *Katju*, Minister for Justice, promised to allot a day, if possible, of the Government scheme for separation of judicial and executive functions in the month of April. Most of the speeches made from the Congress benches were unduly lengthy and irrelevant to the issues raised by the cut motions. Next day, the **23rd. March**, two cut motions were discussed in connection with the education budget and the discussions took a communal turn. The motions related to the reservation of seats for Muslim students in the King George's Medical College and grants made to the Aligarh and Benares Universities. The *Education Minister* refused to interfere with the discretion of the Lucknow University which was an autonomous body and ran the medical college. This cut motion was pressed to a division and rejected by the House. Next day, the **24th. March**, the Assembly passed the Education budget of Rs. 2,13,68,919, the highest ever presented in the province. Most of the cut motions related regarding Muslim institutions or Scheduled Castes' grievances. In the course of the discussion, the *Minister* announced that he had written to all institutions of the province that, unless restrictions against Harijans were removed before July next, the Government would stop the grants to them. The question of grants to private institutions was raised by a cut motion, replying to which the Minister said, "They are bound to die. Why should I be the hangman ?" Next day, the **25th. March**, Mrs. *Vijaya Laxmi Pandit* presented her budget for Public Health, which was passed without any "cut" motion being pressed to a division. Mrs. Pandit pointed out that there were serious floods and famine all over the province. She thought that the Public Health Department was still considered "untouchable" among the Government Departments and urged the people to co-operate with the authorities. She drew attention to the Government's desire to extend the health scheme to five other districts and stated that a scheme for distribution of milk had been started in Agra District. She announced that she had received an offer from four persons, including Rs. 5,000 from Mr. G. D. Birla, to equip moving dispensaries for women, for the Sitapur District. The Assembly passed two more grants relating to superannuation allowances and pensions and payment of commuted value of pensions. On the **28th. March**, communal passion and prejudice of the worst type were greatly in evidence in both the Congress and the Muslim League benches in connection with the discussion of a cut motion under the head 'general administration.' The issue raised by the motion was 'the grave situation created by the failure of the Government to maintain law and order in the province, and its failure to safeguard the the lives and the properties of the Muslims'. From the very commencement the discussion took a definitely communal turn and the Assembly was turned into a battleground between the Congress on the one side and the Muslim League on the other and the atmosphere became very tense when each party accused the other of being largely responsible for the communal riots that have recently occurred in various places. Completely contradictory versions of the same incidents were given by the Muslim and the Hindu members and wild charges were levelled against the opposite community. The key-note of the criticism of both Hindus and Muslims not belonging to the Congress party was that the Government had failed to take strong action to check the growth of communalism in the province and that crimes of violent type had steadily increased since the Congress Government had assumed office. The *Nawab of Chhatari* deplored that the first Indian Government in the province had not been able to maintain law and order successfully, and he pointed out that irresponsible people masquerading in the name of the Congress tried to create difficulties for the police in rural areas, as the result of which official prestige had gone down. The House then adjourned till the **30th. March**, when in accordance with the various suggestions made relating to the communal situation, *Premier Pant* outlined a number of stringent measures which the Government proposed to take to suppress communal riots in the province. These measures included imposition of punitive police tax on members of the community mainly responsible for the trouble, strict action against individuals and newspapers fomenting communal ill-feeling, enrolment of special constables from amongst most respectable classes wherever necessary, prosecutions under Sections 107 and 144, house searches and immediate arrests wherever there was a case of stabbing, murder or arson. At 5 p.m. the guillotine was applied and the rest of the grants were made and the entire budget, as presented by the Premier, was passed by the Assembly without any cut.

The Employment Tax Bill

16th. March to 14th. April :—The debate on the Employment Tax Bill commenced on the 16th March and continued till the 18th. when Sir *Jwala Prasad*

Srivastava concluded his criticism with a note of warning to the Government about the adverse result of their financial policy on money markets, business and trade. He implored the Government not to produce the impression in money markets that the Government was wasting public money. *Capt. Pocock* who followed held that as a result of the proposed tax the problem of unemployment among educated middle classes had become more acute. He protested against the discriminatory nature of the tax. The debate was adjourned at this stage till the **21st. March** when Dr. *Kailash Nath Katju*, in the course of a vigorous defence of the Bill, considered that the tax was *intra vires* of the provincial legislature and the Government were satisfied about the complete legality of the tax. He said, "We expect to get 30 lakhs out of this tax. It comes to one anna per head of the population. What is the good of fighting about one anna per head ? Next day, the **22nd. March**, Mr. *Said ud-din* (Congress) and Dr. *Murari Lal* spoke in support of the Bill. Kunwar Sir *Maharaj Singh* opposed the Bill and feared that within twelve months the House would be called upon to pass fresh taxation measures. Mr. *Desmond Young* (European), speaking for the Services, said that it would be unfair to change the original prospect with which they entered service and it was unjust to treat a public servant as a public enemy. He also questioned the legality of the Bill in view of the sections of the Government of India Act relating to safeguards for the Services. One of the Speakers said that the diehards in England like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Alfred Knox, who were extremely critical of the Government of India Act, might now say that their fears had proved to be true and that the U. P. Government had committed a breach of faith with the services. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned till the **23rd. March** when *Premier Pant* replied to the criticisms made inside and outside the House and the bill was referred to a select committe. After its emergence from the select committee, the Bill was taken up by the Assembly on the **13th. April** and on the next day, it was passed after the motion for third reading was strongly opposed by Kunwar Sir *Maharaj Singh*, Sir *J. P. Srivastava*, and *Captain S. R. Pocock*. They warned the Government that the middle classes would be adversely affected by the measure, and unemployment among the educated classes would increase a great deal. That the question of the legality of the Bill would have ultimately to be decided by the Federal Court was mentioned by more than one speaker. It also pointed out that the select committee had adopted a subterfuge in order to get over the legal flaw, and had made an abortive and futile attempt to classify the employments according to the amounts of the salaries earned by the individuals. Any measure of taxation worthy of its name should not be camouflaged in this way, remarked Captain Pocock, who took the House by surprise when he stated that his own employees would be reimbursed by him to the extent of the loss they would suffer in their incomes as a result of the employment tax.

MOTOR SPIRITS SALES TAXATION BILL

25th. to 30th. March :—Dr. *K. N. Katju*, the Minister of Justice, moved on the 25th. March that the Motor Spirits Sales Taxation Bill be taken into consideration. Sir *J. P. Srivastava* declared that the Government were laying too great a burden on the people. It was the last straw on the camel's back. Next day, the 27th. March, the House rejected the opposition amendment for its reference to a select committee and accepted the Minister's motion. Next day, the 28th. March, the House passed the second reading of the Bill. The motion for the third reading was being opposed by Sir *Jwala Prasad Srivastava* when the House adjourned till thursday, the 30th. March, when the Bill was passed. The Assembly also passed a resolution approving the *levy of Sugar cess* at half anna per maund after some discussion.

THE INDIAN MEDICINE BILL

31st. MARCH :—The Assembly this afternoon referred the U. P. Indian Medicine Bill and the Badrinath Temple Bill to Select Committees. Mrs. *Vijaya-lakshmi Pandit*, Minister for Local Self-Government, moving the former, said that the object of the Bill was to raise the Indian systems of medicine to the level of allopathy and modernise them so as as to make them beneficial to the rich and the poor alike. The immediate necessity, therefore, was to set up a Board of Indian Medicine, which would co-ordinate the working of indigenous systems of medicine, direct their working and deal with all forms of quackery. The Government were also considering the question of starting at an early date a research institute to explore the intrinsic value of this branch of medicine.

The Badrinath Temple Bill

Mr. *Sampurnanand*, Minister for Education, moving the Badrinath Bill, observed that the Government were bringing forward this measure as they had a special responsibility regarding this temple. Lately, there had been complaints and the Government thought that this state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. He urged that the Bill should be expedited in view of the coming pilgrim season.

The U. P. Tenancy Bill (*Contd.*)

The House thereafter resumed discussion on the Tenancy Bill, and adjourned till the next day, the **1st. April**, when some Opposition members alleged that, whenever there was a clash of interest between a tenant and a Mahajan, the Government extended their sympathy to the latter. Muslim members stated that it was being freely stated that individual members of the Upper House were being canvassed to support the Tenancy Bill on the promise that rural indebtedness legislation would not be brought up. The House concluded today the discussion on Chapter 12, dealing with *thekadars*, and proceeded to discuss amendments to clauses in Chapter 13, about arrears of revenue, profit, etc. Throughout the day, the discussions were extremely dull and lifeless, which perhaps accounted for the unusually poor attendance in the House which then adjourned till the **3rd. April** when there was a feeling of jubilation in the Congress benches that the penal provisions in Chapter XIV about compensation and penalties were passed without any modification. All amendments moved by the Opposition members to reduce the proposed penalties were opposed by the Government and rejected by the House. Next day, the **4th. April**, the Assembly passed 23 clauses of the Bill. "So long as the appointment of the Judges of the High Court and the Chief Court is not in the hands of the Provincial Government, the latter would not be a party to the transfer of any power to them," said Mr. *A. P. Jain*, Parliamentary Secretary, opposing Mr. *M. H. Kidwai's* (Moslem League) amendment, to the effect, that the Board of Revenue should be abolished and its work entrusted to the High Court or Chief Court. The mover opined that non-cooperation with the High Courts was due to the fact that they were not amenable to the Government's wishes. On the **6th. April** a night-sitting was held to conclude consideration of the Bill. The House carried on its business in a calm atmosphere and carried on its amendments and then adjourned to **12th. April**, when it concluded the second reading of the Bill. Two important clauses were added, the first laying down that all deliveries of possession given after April 1937 for arrears of rent for kharif 1344 and prior instalments could be cancelled on an application by the ejected tenant. The second related to the right of sub-letting to tenants of Oudh. Two amendments were moved by *Raja B. D. Seth* to exclude the province of Oudh from the purview of the Bill. The *Deputy Speaker* ruled them out of order, as an amendment similar in nature was rejected by the House earlier. *Raja B. D. Seth* moved an amendment to the effect that the Tenancy Act should not come into operation except at the commencement of the agricultural year. This was also rejected. The House then adjourned till Monday next.

Agriculturists Debt Redemption Bill

17th. APRIL :—There was no opposition in the Assembly to-day to the Bill for the redemption of debts of agriculturists and workmen, which was referred to a select committee. This was the first of the three or four debt bills which the Government proposed to introduce and the Government were criticized by Kunwar *Sir Maharaj Singh* and *Sir J. P. Srivastava* for not placing before the House the entire picture of their scheme for the redemption of debt and for bringing forward piecemeal legislation. Several Congress members held that the Bill did not go far enough and that its provisions were not sufficiently liberal.

Encumbered Estates Amend. Bill

The Encumbered Estates (Amendment) Bill as amended by the select committee was taken into consideration in the afternoon, and all amendments moved by the Opposition were rejected. That the House could not amend the original Act outside the scope of the amending bill was the objection raised by Mr. *A. P. Jain*, parliamentary secretary, to the amendment moved by Mr. *Mubashir Husain Kidwai*. On the next day, the **18th. April**, the House passed the Bill and discussed the scheme for the separation of Judicial and Executive functions presented by the Minister for Justice, who also introduced the Oudh Courts Amendment Bill.

THE BADRINATH TEMPLE BILL

19th. APRIL :—The House passed into law today the Badrinath Temple Bill, hich provided for better management of the temple. A committee of management ill be set up under the Bill, representing various interests, including the Tehri tate which has been intimately associated with this temple, sacred to the Hindu ommunity throughout the country for several generations. Most of the amend- ients moved by Pandit *Anasuya Prasad Bahuguna* (Congress) were opposed by the *ducation Minister* and were eventually withdrawn. The Minister, however, accep- d one amendment moved by Mr. Bahuguna—suggesting that the remuneration and llowances payable to the members of the committee of management should not xceed those payable to the members of the legislature. Another important amend- ient was moved by a member of a scheduled caste, Mr. *Ram Prasad Tamta*. Ie urged that one out of the two members to be nominated by the Government on ie committee should belong to his community. This amendment was, however, not ressed in view of the definite assurance given by the Minister that the Govern- ient would have at least one member of a scheduled caste on the committee. Reply- ng to the third reading debate, the *Education Minister* said that this was the irst step in the direction of temple reform and that the Government intended to ring forward legislation for temple entry by Harijans.

THE U. P. TENANCY BILL

20th. to 24th. APRIL :—In the Assembly to-day the Tenancy Laws Amendment Bill and the Police Amendment Bill were introduced. The third reading of the Ten- ncy Bill was next taken up. Mr. *Rafi Ahmed Kidwai*, Minister for Revenue, referring o the changes made in the Bill, said that where arrears remained, the Zamindar could et a part of the holding auctioned. Thus there would be no ejectment. The Bill gave he Kashtkar a right to plant all over his holding. By one of the amendments a sub- enant in Oudh could not be ejected for five years. *Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf* hoped hat the Government would come to some honourable settlement which would usher in happy era. According to him, the Bill aimed at bringing about dissensions between he tenants and the zamindars. The basis of rent was, he said, so vague that it lent tself to mischievous possibilities and would pave the way for expropriation of zamin- lars. It would not benefit the Government either. He asked the Government if they id not want to let the zamindar keep his body and soul together and what their object vas in making these "undesirable and pernicious provisions'. The Moslem League 'arty spokesman said that the League had decided to support the passage of the Bill lespite its limitations and imperfections, because it gave tenants fixity of tenure, fair ent and favourable conditions. He charged Congressmen with not fulfilling their ledge to the electorate. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned to neet on the next day, the **21st. April**. The third reading of the Bill was continued. Some non-Congressites, while generally admitting that the Bill was a definite impro- ement in the direction of bettering the lot of the tenanty, characterised it as a "Black Bill" inasmuch as it endangered the rights of zamindars. This brought forth a spiri- ed reply from Congressmen, Mr. *Saiduddin Ahmed* remarking that the Bill was the Magna Carta of the tenants. The Opposition were blamed by Ministeria- ists for adopting "dilatory tactics". Next day, the **22nd. April**, the third eading of the Tenancy Bill was continued. *Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth* said that the Bill should not be operative in Oudh, since it was mostly based on the Agra law. The Talukdars, he pointed out, held sanads from an authority higher than the U. P. Legislature and this legislature had, therefore, no right to do any- thing in contravention of the terms of the sanads. The Talukdars were the declared proprietors under the terms of the sanads and this legislature could not confer hereditary rights against the consent of the Talukdars. Mr. *A. P. Jain*, Parliamen- tary Secretary, said that zamindars never took any compassion on tenants and got them ejected on very minor pretexts. This Government, which claimed to be civilised, could not tolerate any hardship on anybody. There should only be two parties in that province, namely the Government and cultivator. Mr. *Mubashir Hussain Kidwai* (Muslim League) welcomed the Bill and said that the fact that the Muslim League's amendments were accepted by the Government showed that the League was trying its best to improve the Bill. He had not finished his speech when the House adjourned till the **24th. April** when the Bill was passed by the House without a division amidst cheers from the Congress benches. During the con- sideration stage nearly 3,000 amendments were tabled, of which 850 were actually moved. Three hundred and seventy amendments of these were adopted, 350 nega-

tived and 80 withdrawn, while about 50 were ruled out of order. It will be recalled that the Bill was held up in the course of discussion, in view of the Agra Zamindars' request to the Congress High Command for arbitration in the matter. The Oudh Talukdars, however, opposed the move and consequently the formers' request was turned down by the Congress Parliamentary Committee.

MOTOR SPIRITS SALES TAX BILL (CONTD.)

25th. APRIL :—The Assembly to-day rejected the amendment adopted by the Upper House to the Sales of Motor Spirits Bill reducing the rate of levy from two annas to one anna six pies per gallon. Two other amendments, however, one of which was verbal, while the other extended the period for filing a suit or prosecution from four to six months from the date of the Act complained of, were accepted. Opposing the Council's amendment, the *Premier* said that it really was distasteful to ask the Assembly to register its difference of opinion with the Upper House, but it appeared to him that the change made by the Council was not in public interest. The proceeds of the tax would be utilised for the construction and improvement of roads which would help motor traffic.

POLICE AMENDMENT BILL

The Assembly next passed the Police Amendment Bill introduced on the 21st. April, with a minor amendment, limiting the period of limitation for application for compensation in respect of death or grievous hurt or loss of or damage to property caused, by the first day of April 1939, to four months. In the course of his reply, the *Premier* regretted that the necessity for imposing punitive police had arisen, but they could not shut their eyes to the reality of the situation. He, however, pointed out that it was not absolutely necessary for enforcement of claims for compensation that punitive police should be imposed, and such claims could be made without the area being declared "disturbed" or "dangerous". Because of occurrences like the previous day's, it seemed that the Government would be failing in their duty if they any longer put off "this evil day".

The Revenue Minister next introduced the U. P. Money-lenders Bill. The House then adjourned till the **5th. May.**

May Session—Lucknow—5th. to 17th. May 1939

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS INTRODUCED

5th. MAY :—Five non-official bills were introduced today. They were the *Canning College and British Association Contribution Act (Amendment) Bill* seeking to do away with the statutory responsibility of the Government to realize the subscriptions payable by the taluqdars of Oudh to the British Indian Association while increasing the contribution made to the Canning College (now merged in the Lucknow University), the *Hindu Marriage Reform and Dowry Restraint Bill*, the *Supervision of Orphanages and Widows Homes Bill*, the *Rural Labourers' Minimum Wages Bill* and the *Indian Criminal Law (United Provinces Amendment) Bill*. The first out of these five bills was referred to a select committee after vigorous opposition by the representatives of the British Indian Association. The Assembly refused to agree with the amendment insisted upon by the Council on April 27 reducing the proposed *petrol tax* from two annas to one and a half annas per gallon.

ABOLITION OF DOWRY SYSTEM

6th. May :—A non-official resolution recommending the eradication of the evil of dowry system and sale of girls was passed this morning. The hon. Mr. *Sampurnanand*, Minister for Education, in the course of the discussion, said that there could not be two opinions on the question that the dowry system was bad, whether it existed among the Hindus or Muslims or Christians. There could, therefore, be no doubt about the Government's attitude on the point. If they thought they could legislate on the point and make legislation effective, the Government would not have objection to bringing forward a Bill. There were various ways of giving a dowry in which the Government could not interfere. He deplored the attitude of the educated youths of the country for not helping the reformers in this matter.

CONTROL OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

8th. MAY :—Discussion on non-official resolutions was continued in the Assembly today. The resolution moved by a Congress member recommending that

the Government should take up the management of denominational and private educational institutions on the ground that they fostered communal and anti-national feelings in the students gave rise to an animated debate to-day. While it failed to secure the unstinted support of the Congress benches. the Opposition members criticized it on the ground that it was an attempt to bring education in the province into line with the system prevailing in totalitarian countries where standardized education was controlled by the State and strict regimentation of intellect prevailed. Even the Minister of Education thought that the suggestion made was impracticable, and in the end the resolution was withdrawn.

Lifting Ban on Communist Party

Replying to the next resolution urging that the ban on the Communist party be lifted, *Premier Pant* pointed out that the existing ban was placed by the Government of India in July 1934, and the provincial Government had placed no ban. He added that it was in the public interest to lift the ban and the Government could then take effective action under the general law wherever necessary. The resolution was passed *nem con*, and the House adjourned till the 10th.

Official Bills Discussed and Passed

10th. to 16th. MAY :—On the motion of Mr. *Rafi Ahmed Kidwai*, Minister for Revenue, the House referred the *Money-lenders Bill* to a Select Committee, and passed the second reading of the *Consolidation of Holdings Bill*. The *Revised U. P. Tenancy Laws Amendment Bill* and the Select Committee report on the *Indian Medicine Bill* were introduced before the House adjourned till the next day, the **11th. May** when it passed the *Consolidation* of *Holdings Bill*, the *Oudh Courts Amendment Bill*, the *Tenancy Laws Amendment Bill*, the *Sugar Factories Control Act Amendment Bill* and the *Bill to amend Section 40 of the Town Improvement Act*. The *Suits Valution Amendment Bill* was introduced. At the instance of the Minister for Communications, the House added two new sub-rules regarding reciprocity in the matter of taxation of public service motor vehicles plying between U. P. and Delhi. The *Children's Bill*, as passed by the Upper House, was laid on the table. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **15th. May** when it passed the *Suits Valuation (Amendment) Bill* without any speeches being made. The Bill sought to bring the Suits Valuation Act in accord with the Court Fees Amendment Act. Next day, the **16th. May**, the Assembly passed the *Indian Medicine Bill*, the *Municipalities Act Amendment Bill* and the *District Boards Act (Amendment) Bill*. The last two Bills extended the life of the present municipalities and boards by one year.

Motor Spirits Sales Tax Bill (contd.)

17th. MAY :—A joint session of the Legislature commenced this morning under the presidentship of Sir *Sita Ram*, President of the Council, to consider the Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Bill as passed by the Council. The Second Chamber had reduced the rate, approved by the Assembly, of two annas per gallon, to one anna and a half. At the rate of two annas per gallon the tax was estimated to yield eight lakhs to the Exchequer. The Opposition view was that the proposed rate of levy was the highest as compared with the rate in other provinces. They also argued that this would adversely affect motor transport, and touch the pockets of the poor. The Legislature passed by 140 votes to 59 an amendment moved by the Minister for Justice restoring the rate to two annas per gallon. The joint session then ended and the Assembly met in the afternoon when the Muslim members, both of the Muslim League and the Independent parties, staged a walk-out in protest against the ruling given by the *Deputy Speaker*, disallowing the adjournment motion, notice of which was given by *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*. A statement to this effect was made by the leader of the Muslim League party, *Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman* whereafter all Muslims left in a body. The adjournment motion was to discuss the unsatisfactory nature of the replies given by the Government to questions relating to the search of the Muslim League office at Cawnpore made by the police on May 9. After the walk-out Dr. *Katju* made a statement that so far as the Congress members were concerned they had complete confidence in the impartiality of the Deputy Speaker in the conduct of the proceedings and they entirely dissociated themselves from the very wrong action taken by the Muslim members in retiring from the House after disputing in an unseemly manner the conduct of the Chair. Their action, he added, wass wholly unconstitutional. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

Proceedings of the U. P. Council

Budget Session—Lucknow—18th. February to 14th. March 1939

The Cownpur Riots

The Budget Session of the U. P. Legislative Council commenced at Lucknow on the **18th. February** 1939 when the Premier, *Pandit Pant*, made a statement on the Cawnpore riot situation. He said that the latest figures of the riot casualties were 42 killed, 200 injured and 800 arrested. Everywhere there were signs of restoration of peace; more mills were working and shops were opening. The Premier remarked that the situation had the potentialities of the serious communal riot of 1931, but the prompt and effective steps taken from the start had kept them in check. He appreciated the work of the local authorities and non-official bodies, especially the European constabulary, the Congress, the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League in bringing the difficult situation under control, and also the valuable assistance rendered by troops.

Official Interference with High Court

Mr. *Chaudhury Akhtar Hussain* next moved for adjournment of the House to discuss "interference by the Provincial Government with the administration of justice in releasing Makhan Singh of Saharanpur, by giving preference to the ex-parte report of the subordinate executive officer of the Government and other extra judicial report over the concurrent judicial decisions of the Sessions Judge and the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad." The discussion was taken up on the **22nd. February** when Mr. Husain argued that the matter was of public importance as the independence of the judiciary was threatened, and there was an apprehension that such interference would be repeated. He pleaded that the matter came to the knowledge of the public at the end of December last. He had taken the earliest opportunity to bring up the question. Dr. *K. N. Katju*, Minister for Justice, opposing the motion, said that Malkhan Singh was released six months ago, and the House had met twice since the occurrence of the matter. Dr. Katju also held that the matter could be brought in the form of a resolution on any non-official day. *Begum Aijaz Rasul*, ruling the motion out of order, observed that Mr. Akhtar Husain had failed to prove that the matter was of recent occurrence, and advised him to bring it before the House in the form of a resolution or a question.

Supplementary Grants

The Council then took up the discussion of supplementary grants. These included Rs. 1,13,727 for additional officers and Ministerial staff necessitated by Provincial Autonomy and increased Secretariat work, Rs. 14,000 for an increase in the present strength of the Police force in the province to be allocated to the cities of Lucknow, Allahabad and Cawnpore as civil and armed police reserves to meet emergencies, and Rs. 138,200 for extra expenditure in connection with fighting the cholera epidemic. Dr. *Katju*, replying to criticisms levelled against the police, said that the whole province was pained by the communal disturbances, but members should not lose their sense of perspective. The Minister further appealed to members that while trying to draw attention to existing evils, they should not say anything which might aggravate the situation. Dr. Katju said that soon after assuming office the Government circularised the district officials to impress upon them the necessity of keeping themselves above communal bias. Officers were further informed of the grave consequences that would follow in case they were found guilty of communal partiality. Referring to communal representation in the services, the Minister assured the House that Government would do everything that was just and fair.

Non-official Resolutions

23rd. FEBRUARY:—The Council considered non-official resolutions to-day. *Rai Bahadur Mohanlal's* resolution recommending to the Government to remit takavi loans taken for tubewells which had now become useless by the advent of the Sarda Canal, was withdrawn on the assurance of the Minister of Communications that the Government were prepared to examine each case individually.

The resolution, standing in the name of *Khan Bahadur Masooduzzaman*, urging the introduction of joint electorates by way of trial for two terms only, with adult suffrage and reservation of seats for Muslims in local board elections, was not

moved as the mover was told that certain Muslim members would walk out if the resolution was moved, which, he declared, was one of the ironies of separate electorates.

Dr. *Ramugrah Singh* moved a resolution demanding that civil liberties should be secured in the province as in England. The mover asked the Government to lay down its policy with regard to the application of the Law of Sedition under Section 124, I.P.C. He admitted that persons who excited communal hatred should be punished. He also complained that there were certain provisions of the law, which curtailed the liberty of the Press and condemned the reporting of public meetings by C. I. D. reporters. Dr. *K. N. Katju*, Minister of Justice, replying to the debate, said that the Congress policy with regard to this question had been enumerated long ago and was also made clear in the Premier's speech on assumption of office. He claimed that since the present Government had assumed office, civil liberty had been fully secured. There had been no prosecutions during this period. Regarding the Press, the Minister referred to communal writings in the Vernacular press and declared that the Government were determined to suppress illegitimate activities which led to communal tension. As regards C. I. D. reports of meetings, Dr. Katju said that every Government must keep itself informed, whatever might be the agency employed. The Council at this stage adjourned till the **13th. March** when a general discussion of the Budget was held and continued on the next day, the **14th. March**, whereafter the House was *prorogued.*

April Session—Lucknow—15th. to 28th. April 1939

Separation of the Judiciary

The April session of the Council commenced on the **15th. April** and held a brief sitting extending over 25 minutes. It then adjourned till Monday next, the **17th. April**, when the Government were congratulated by all sections of the House on their scheme for the separation of Judicial from Executive functions. The view was generally expressed that the Government had gone far enough. Characterising the criticism that the Government were interfering with the administration of Justice, as a "fashionable slogan", Dr. *K. N. Katju*, Minister for Justice declared, "I can, with confidence, say that there has been no such interference, since we came into office, from the Government. "The Government had, no doubt, however," he continued, "exercised their statutory rights under the Government of India Act and would continue to do so undeterred by incorrect comments."

Hindu Widows' Homes Control Bill

19th APRIL:—The Council discussed today one non-official Bill and two resolutions. Mrs. *Mona Chandravati Gupta* introduced the U. P. Hindu Widows' Homes Control Bill which was referred to a select committee. She remarked that the Bill intended to provide for a better administration of widows' homes through advisory committees constituted in accordance with the rules to be framed under this Act. It further aimed at making a suitable provision for the safe custody of inmates, for their educaction, training and moral welfare. The Bill was welcomed by all sections of the House and the Minister of Justice also gave his support to the Bill.

Non-official Resolutions

Of the two resolutions that were carried, one was moved by Mr. *Chandra Bhal* who urged the creation of a body of civic guards to act as an auxiliary police force during emergencies. Though all the speakers appreciated the principle underlying the resolution some apprehended that it might lead to fights among trained volunteers.

The second resolution was moved by Dr. *Ram Ugrah Singh* suggesting that the Government should take steps to abolish capital punishment. The Minister for Justice gave his assurance that full weight would be given to the opinion of the Council. The resolution was ultimately carried.

The Motor Spirits Sales Tax Bill

20th. APRIL:—The Government sustained a defeat today when the Petrol Tax Bill was under discussion. In the Bill a tax of two annas par gallon was proposed to be levied which was rejected by the House by a majority of 24 to 11. But the House carried without division the amendment moved by *Lala Harsahai Gupta*

who wanted the substitution of one anna and six pies for two annas. Both the speeches of the *Minister of Justice* and the *Premier* did not carry conviction in spite of their promises that the proceeds of this tax would be utilised for development of roads and maintenance of better communications in rural and urban areas. Mr. *H. A. Wilkinson*, who moved an amendment urging the reduction to one anna pointed out that the burden of this tax would fall heavily on the poor passengers who travelled in lorries. Two other speakers said that when compared to other provinces the tax was the heaviest in this province. The *Premier* remarked that the aggregate charges that the lorry-owner had to pay were lower here than those in other provinces. He also took pride in the fact that whereas the petrol tax was utilised in other provinces to meet deficits and other general purposes, in U. P. it was set apart for the development of roads. Mr. *Ram Ugrah Singh* urged the deletion of the penalty clause for breach of rules but the House turned down his proposal. After this the third reading of the Bill was passed. The Bill then went to the Assembly. The Council then adjourned till April 25.

THE EMPLOYMENTS TAX BILL

25th. APRIL:—The Government was not allowed to have its own way today when the Employments Tax Bill was taken into consideration. The *Minister of Justice* made an elaborate speech in defence of the Bill saying that it was within the competence of the Legislature. It was not a tax on income or receipts, or double taxation. He justified the imposition of the tax from all aspects. The Minister's special pleadings fell on deaf ears. The Council was in its full strength and the Opposition was bent upon referring the Bill to a select committee and they succeeded in defeating the Government by carrying Mr. *C. L. Teyen's* amendment to refer the Bill to a select committee by 23 votes to 20. The result of the voting was received with loud cheers in the Opposition benches. Almost all the speakers referred to the sustained agitation carried on in the press against this unjust Bill.

SHRI BADRINATH TEMPLE BILL

Next day, the **26th April**, the Council passed the *Shri Badrinath Temple Bill*. All amendments were withdrawn on an assurance that an amending Bill will be introduced to rectify any mistakes.

THE CHILDREN'S BILL

27th. APRIL:—The Council passed to-day Dr. *Ramugrah Singh's* Children's Bill which provided for the custody, trial and punishment of youthful offenders. In an hour and a quarter about 200 amendments were disposed of.

MOTOR SPIRITS SALES TAX BILL (Contd.)

The Council decided to-day to stand by its amendment to the sales of Motor Spirits Taxtion Bill, reducing the tax on petrol from two annas to one anna six pies per gallon. The Bill went back to the Assembly which rejected the amendment, thus necessitating the calling of a Joint Session of the two Houses.

REVISION OF HISTORY TEXT-BOOKS

The House passed the Police Amendment Bill and discussed a non-official resolution recommending the appointment of a committee of experts to revise the textbooks on Indian history so as to eliminate such passages and texts as are calculated to cause friction between Muslims and Hindus and to remodel them with a view to infusing a feeling of brotherhood, toleration and patriotism in the youths of the country. Next day, the **28th. April**, the Council adjourned *sine die* after a fifteen minutes' sitting, in which it decided that the report of the Select Committee on the Employment Tax Bill should be submitted within a fortnight.

May Session—Lucknow—19th May to 29th. May 1939

THE EMPLOYMENTS TAX BILL (CONTD.)

The May session of the Council commenced on the **19th. May** when the select committee report on the Employments Tax Bill was taken up for consideration. Mr. *Wilkinson*, the member representing the European constituency, raised a point of order, as soon as the Minister of Justice moved that the Bill be taken into consideration, that the proceedings of the select committee were not valid and the Bill should be recommitted to the select committee to report by June 15. A long discussion took place on this amendment during the course of which it was revealed that the Premier, who was the chairman of the select committee, gave his casting vote on

an amendment moved by Dr. *Ram Ugrah Singh* during the course of the select committee meetings, though not a member of this House. Both Mr. *Wilkinson* and Dr. *Ram Ugrah Singh* asserted that there was no drawing of lots but the chairman gave his casting vote. The *Minister of Justice* denied that there was anything on record to show that such voting took place. Mr. *Ahmad Shah* wanted the President to give his ruling in this matter. The *President* replied that no ruling was called for from the Chair inasmuch as Mr. *Wilkinson* had changed his point of order into an amendment. Ultimately Mr. Wilkinson's amendment was thrown out by the House by twenty seven votes to nine. The Minister's motion for consideration of the Bill was passed. The Bill was then taken up for discussion clause by clause. The council adjourned after disposing of two amendments. Next day, the **20th. May,** the Council discussed for nearly five hours various amendments as it emerged from the select committee. Out of 27 amendments on the agenda the House had disposed of 22 so far. Two amendments moved by Mr. *Wilkinson* and Dr *Ram Ugrah Singh* respectively were voted out of order by the *President* as they were against the provisions of sec. 82 of the Government of India Act. All amendments moved were defeated and one was withdrawn. The *Minister of Justice* gave an assurance that the Bill would not be used in an oppressive manner. The Council then adjourned till Monday next, the **22nd. May**, when the bill was passed without any change except for a minor amendment of Mr. *Ram Chandra Gupta* which was accepted by the Minister of Justice. In the third reading stage it was blessed by the members of the Opposition, including *Rai Bahadur Mohanlal*, who came in for criticism for change in his attitude. Dr, *Ram Ugrah Singh* was surprised at this *volte face* of the deputy leader of the Opposition who opposed the bill tooth and nail at the Baradari meeting but did not lend his support to any of the amendments moved by the Opposition members. Division was demanded with regard to the deletion of class 1 in the schedule. Government had 24 votes in their favour against 13 who voted for the deletion. The *Minister of Justice* expressed satisfaction that in spite of many people thinking that the bill would be sent to cold storage it had found favour in this critical House.

Encumbered Estates Amend. Bill

23rd MAY :—The Council had to be adjourned for half an hour by the *President* when it met today at 7 in the morning. The *Minister of Justice*, in whose name the first amendment to the Encumbered Estates Amendment Bill stood, was not in his seat. *Rai Bahadur Mohanlal* complained to the Chair that he and some other members were locked out as the gate was closed when they arrived this morning. The *Minister of Justice* expressed regret for coming late when the Council reassembled after half an hour. Many members urged the Minister of Justice to inform the House as to the exact date on which the Tenancy Bill would be introduced as the weather was getting hotter at Lucknow. During the course of the debate Mr. *M. A. K. Sherwani* accused the Government of winning over the Opposition members by bribing them in the shape of honorary magistrateships. Thereafter, the proceedings were dull, when the Encumbered Estates Amendment Bill was under discussion.

Treatment of Shia Prisoners

25th. MAY:—The Council discussed today a short-notice resolution moved by *Syed Kalbe Abbas* to discuss about the treatment of the Shia prisoners in various jails in the matter of messing arrangements, classification of prisoners, restriction in freedom of association etc. The resolution covered a wide range of subjects. The mover made a speech lasting for more than an hour and a half. The *Minister of Justice* made an equally lengthy reply, categorically replying to all the points mentioned by the mover. He said that the Government was doing everything possible to satisfy the demands of those prisoners, yet in spite of this fact a campaign of vilification was going on against the Government. Incidentally, he paid a tribute to the inspector-general of prisons who had proved himself very efficient in regard to affording facilities to jail population despite the criticism against him that he was a bigoted Sunni. The resolution was, however, withdrawn by the mover who was satisfied with the assurance given by the Minister of Justice that the grievances of the prisoners mentioned by him would be looked into. One important feature of today's debate was that not more than 15 members were present in their seats and on one occasion the Chair's attention was drawn that there was no quorum.

The Council adjourned after adopting the Municipalities and District Boards (Amendment) Bills for postponing general elections due to be held this year.

ENCUMBERED ESTATES AMEND. BILL (CONTD.)

26th. MAY :—There was an interesting passage-at-arms between Dr *Ram Ugrah Singh* and the *Minister of Justice* when the Encumbered Estates Amendment Bill was in the third reading stage to-day. The *Minister of Justice* congratulated himself on the easy passage of the bill. *R. B. Mohan Lal*, deputy leader of the Opposition, who followed him, congratulated the Minister of Justice on the manner in which he piloted this bill and also on accepting several amendments moved by the members. Dr. *Ram Ugrah Singh*, who did not like these mutual congratulations, began to narrate what, according to him, seemed to have taken place behind the scenes. He asserted that the Minister brought forward his amendments soon after the Employments Tax Bill as a result of discussion with some members of the House. He wanted a categorical answer from the Minister whether it was so or not. The Minister refused to reply to any such insinuation.

OUDH COURTS AMEND. BILL

Dr. *Ram Ugrah Singh* pressed this matter when the Oudh Courts Amendment Bill was under discussion. He asked the Minister whether he would agree to the appointment of a committee of privileges to investigate into the allegations made by him, to which the Minister did not reply.

TENANCY LAWS AMEND. BILL

At the end of today's proceedings an interesting situation was created by Dr. *Ram Ugrah Singh* by pressing his amendment to division, asking for deletion of clause 4 in the Tenancy Laws Amendment Bill moved by Dr. *Katju*. The result of the division was that eight voted for the amendment and eight against, half a dozen members remaining neutral. The *President* gave a chance to those who remained neutral to give an indication of their mind, thereby relieving him from an awkward position. As no one came to his help he gave his vote in favour of the amendment which was received with exclamation by the Opposition members. The Council passed the Encumbered Estates Amendment Bill and the Oudh Courts Amendment Bill.

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS BILL

27th. MAY:—The Government sustained two defeats today when the House accepted the two amendments moved by *Nawab Islam Ahmad Khan* in connection with the Consolidation of Holdings Bill sponsored by the Minister of Justice. The object of the first amendment was to lodge protests against the Government for excluding zamindars and landlords from the benefits proposed to be conferred by this measure on the tenants. The other amendment was a minor one which wanted to include the proprietor, lambardar or co-sharer along with the cultivator. Though all the members who spoke on the bill welcomed it as a beneficent measure they could not appreciate the Government's viewpoint in not giving the right to the zamindars.

TENANCY LAWS AMEND. BILL

29th. MAY:—The Council, after sitting for twenty minutes, to-day adjourned till the **3rd. July** to reassemble in Lucknow. Consideration of the Tenancy Bill was postponed on the motion of *Rai Bahadur Mohanlal* so that, during that interval, efforts for reaching an understanding with the Government might be made.

The Bihar Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Srikrishna Sinha
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha
3. The Hon'ble Dr. Saiyid Mahmud
4. The Hon'ble Mr. Jaglal Chowdhury
5. Mr. Krishna Ballabh Sahay
6. „ Jagat Narayan Lal
7. „ Sarangdhar Singh
8. „ Binodanand Jha
9. „ Shivanandan Prasad Mandal
10. „ Jimut Bahan Sen
11. „ Jagjivan Ram
12. „ Sayeedul Haqq
13. „ Shyam Narayan Sinha
14. Srimati Saraswati Devi
15. Srimati Kamakhya Devi
16. Srimati Sharada Kumari Devi
17. Dr. Raghunandan Prasad
18. Mr. Vindhyeshavari Prasad Varma
19. „ Jamuna Karjee
20. „ Abdul Bari
21. „ Birendra Bahadur Sinha
22. „ Harikishore Prasad
23. „ Harihar Sinha
24. „ Prabhunath Sinha
25. „ Hargobind Misra
26. Pandit Gupteshawar Pandey
27. Mr. Harinandan Sinha
28. „ Budhan Rai Verma
29. „ Indra Dewan Saran Singh
30. „ Shyam Nandan Sinha
31. Pandit Sheel Bhadra Yajee
32. Mr. Bundi Ram
33. „ Dip Narayan Sinha
34. „ Ramcharitra Singh
35. „ Kumar Kalika Prashad Singh
36. „ Harivans Sahay
37. „ Vishwanath Singh
38. Thakur Ramanandan Sinha
39. Mr. Ramashis Thakur
40. „ Biresh Dutta Sinha
41. „ Dwarkanath Tiwari
42. „ Narayan Prasad Sinha
43. „ Shiveshvar Prasad Narayn Sinha Sharma
44. „ Gorakh Prasad
45. „ Gaurishanker Dalmia
46. „ Ganesh Prashad
47. Pandit Baidyanath Misra
48. Mr. Ram Basawan Rabidas
49. „ Balgobind Bhagat
50. „ Shivanandan Ram
51. „ Mahesh Prashad Sinha
52. „ Jamuna Prasad Sinha
53. „ Rajeshvar Prasad Narayan Sinha
54. Mr. Chet Nath Jha
55. „ Nirapada Mukharji
56. „ Pramatha Bhattasali
57. „ Rajendra Narayan Chaudhuri
58. „ Suryyanandan Thakur
59. „ Ramcharan Sinha
60. „ Brahmadeo Narayan Sinha
61. Pandit Mewalal Jha
62. Mr. Shivadhari Sinha
63. „ Upendra Mohan Das Gupta
64. „ Tika Ram Majhi
65. „ Rasika Ho
66. „ Ahmad Ghafoor
67. „ Nur Hassan
68. „ H. B. Chandra
69. „ Rameshwar Prashad Sinha
70. „ Rajendra Misra
71. „ Sukhlal Singh
72. „ Karu Dusadh
73. „ Deoki Nandan Prashad
74. „ Ramdin Tiwari
75. „ Kishori Lal Kunda
76. „ Dheer Narayan Chand
77. „ Buddhinath Jha
78. „ Bhagban Chandra Das
79. „ Hopna Santal
80. „ Charan Murmu
81. „ Debu Murmu
82. „ Brijlall Dokania
83. „ Ram Bhagat
84. „ Hafiz Zafar Hasan
85. „ Jadubans Sahay
86. „ Ambika Charan Mallik
87. „ Ram Prasad
88. „ Sukhari Ram Madhuvrat
89. „ Jugal Kishore Narayan Sinha
90. „ Brijnandan Sahi
91. „ Keshvar Ram
92. „ Sunder Mahto
93. „ Ram Baras Das
94. „ Purna Chandra Mitra
95. „ Rajkishore Sinha
96. „ Khetra Nath Sen Gupta
97. „ Jitu Ram
98. „ Devendra Nath Samanta
99. „ Chakreshvar Kumar Jain
100. „ Muhammad Islamuddin
101. „ Saiyid Rafiuddin Ahmad Rizvi
102. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha
103. Mr. Munindra Nath Mookherjee
104. „ Abdul Jalil
105. „ Badrul Hasan
106. „ Shaikh Muhammad Husain
107. „ Muhammad Salim
108. Khan Bahadur Saghirul Haqq
109. Khan Sahib Muhammad Yakub
110. Mr. Muhammad Abdul Majeed

111. Hafiz Shaikh Muhammad Sani
112. Nawab Khan Bahadur Abdul Wahab Khan
113. Mr. Shaikh Shafiqul Haqq
114. „ Saiyid Muhammad Minnatullah
115. „ Muhammad Mahmud
116. Chaudhuri Sharafat Husain
117. Chaudhuri Mahammad Nazirul Hasan
118. Mr. Sharfuddin Hasan
119. „ Shaikh Ziaur Rahman
120. „ Muhammad Shafi
121. „ Tajamul Husain
122. „ Muhammad Yunus
123. „ Rameshwar Prashad Singh
124. Qazi Muhammad Ilyas
125. Mr. Muhammad Latifur Rahman
126. „ Bara Lal Kandarp Nath Shah Deo
127. Maharaj Kumar Rajkishore Nath Shah Deo
128. Mr. Muhammad Tahir
129. „ P. S. Keelan
130. „ B. Wilson Haigh
131. Mr. E. G. Munns
132. „ Muhammad Qasim
133. „ Gulu Dhopa
134. „ Ignes Beck
135. „ Boniface Lakra
136. „ Saiyid Jafar Imam
137. Kumar Ajit Prashad Singh Deo
138. Mr. Chandreshvar Prashad Narayan Sinha
139. Lady Anise Imam
140. Khan Bahadur Haji Shaikh Mahmud Hassan Khan
141. Mr. S. Mohiuddin Ahmad
142. „ W. H. Meyrick
143. „ Saiyid Najmul Hasan
144. „ Shaikh Muhammad Fazlur Rahman
145. „ Surya Mohan Thakur
146. „ A. M. Hayman
147. „ Zainuddin Hosain Meerza
148. „ Shaikh Ramzan Ali
149. Vacant
150. Pandit Gobindpati Tiwari
151. Mr. Natha Ram
152. The Hon. Ramdayalu Sinha (*Speaker*)

The Bihar Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

1.
2.
3. Reserved for the Hon'ble Ministers
4. and the Advocate-General.
5.
6. Rai Brijraj Krishna
7. Mr. Bansi Lal
8. „ Punaydeo Sharma
9. „ Kamaleshwari Prosad Mondal
10. „ Gajindra Narayan Singh
11. „ Balaram Rai
12. „ Nageshwar Prashad Singh
13. „ Gur Sahay Lal
14. „ Bishunlal Singh
15. „ Tribeni Prashad Singh
16. „ Brajnandan Prasad
17. „ Abdul Ahad Muhammad Noor
18. „ Saiyid Naqi Imam
19. „ Saiyid Muhammad Hafeez
20. Khan Bahadur Saiyid Shah Wajid Hussain
21. Mr. Ramanand Singh
22. „ Samuel Purti
23. „ Bishwanath Prashad Narayan Singh
24. „ Saiyid Mobarak Ali
25. Mrs. Malcolm Sinha
26. Mr. Maheshwar Prasad Narayan Singh
27. Rai Bahadur Satis Chandra Sinha
28. Rai Sahib Nalini Kumar Sen
29. Rai Bahadur Deonandan Prasad Singh
30. Raja Bahadur Harihar Prasad Narayan Singh
31. Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail
32. Mr. Jamilur Rahman
33. „ Alan Campbell Combe
34. „ Ganga Nand Singh
35. Hon. Mr. Rajib Ranjan Prasad Sinha (*President*)

Proceedings of the Bihar Assembly

Winter Session—Patna—16th. January to 14th. February 1939

Money-lenders (Regulation of Transactions) Bill

The winter session of the Bihar Legislative Assembly commenced at Patna on the **16th. January 1939** with a heavy agenda. Mr. *Ram Dayalu Sinha*, Speaker was in the chair. The proceedings began in a comparatively sombre atmosphere, occasioned by a reference to the death of a number of members made by the Speaker and tributes were paid by all sections of the House, which then adjourned till the next day, the **17th. January** when the hon. Mr. *Anugraha Narain Sinha* moved the Money-lenders (Regulation of Transactions) Bill, seeking to repeal those sections of the Bihar Money-lenders Act which had been declared null and void by the Patna High Court recently. Discussion arose as to the right of the Provincial Legislature to enact measures within the Provincial List and of the decisions of the High Court, which had virtually deprived the Provincial Legislature of those rights. The matter was not pursued further when the Government spokesman pointed out that the decision of the Federal Court was awaited. In the meantime, the Provincial Government had considered it necessary to rectify those defects which had been pointed out by the High Court. The motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee, moved by Mr. *Mahomed Yunus*, Leader of the Independent Party, was not accepted and the House proceeded with the consideration of the Bill which was eventually passed.

Refund of Cess Bill

The *Premier* then moved the Bihar Refund of Cess Bill which sought to afford facilities to landlords in connection with the refund of the amount of cess paid in excess. A motion, moved by Mr. *C. P. N. Sinha*, Leader of the Opposition, for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee was adopted.

The next two Bills which were moved by the hon. Mr. *Sri Krishna Sinha*, Premier and Leader of the House and were passed, were the *General Clauses Amendment Bill* seeking to bring into line the Provincial General Clauses Act with the Indian General Clauses Act, and the *Cess Amendment Bill* aimed at reducing the rate of interest on the arrears of Cess payable direct by proprietors or tenure-holders to the Government or by rent-free tenureholder to proprietors, besides certain formal amendments with a view to bringing the references to certain previous enactments in certain provisions of the Cess Act up to date.

Reduction of Settled Rents Bill

18th. JANUARY :—The *Premier* moved to-day for consideration of the Kosi Diara (Reduction of Settled Rents) Bill. The Bill is a special measure seeking reduction of rents settled for fifteen years between 1923-31 under the Bihar Tenancy Act for the area comprising four hundred villages in the revenue tract of Kosi in North Bihar. At the time of preparing the record of rights in these villages the prices were high, but subsequently the trade depression hit the peasantry hard. The Bill was necessary to give the peasants relief since the period of settlement had not yet elapsed. A motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee was moved by three members. One member suggested that section 113 of the existing Act be modified in order to achieve the purpose of the Bill instead of bringing forward fresh legislation. The suggession was supported by some Congress members. Mr. *Baldev Sahay*, Advocate-General, explained the necessity for the Bill from the legal aspect. Mr. *C. P. N. Sinha*, Leader of the Opposition, pointed out the special nature of the tract in which the river Kosi lay. The river itself, which often shifted its source, caused havoc on the countryside by floods. The *Premier*, explaining the intention of the Bill, said that it was necessary because of the hardships felt by the inhabitants of that area. The motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee was adopted.

Mica Act Repeal Bill

The *Premier* next moved for consideration of a Bill seeking to repeal the Bihar and Orissa Mica Act, 1930, which had been enacted in order to check and prevent

theft of and illicit dealings in mica. The Government spokesman explaining the object of the Bill, said that the Prime Minister recently visited the mica mining area, where it was generally urged that the Act should be repealed. The Premier, after examining the administration of the Act, found that its operation had not been successful in preventing theft of mica. On the contrary, the Act had put unnecessary restraint on the mica trade and harassed small traders and diggers, many of whom had been driven out of business. Therefore, he considered it necessary to repeal the Act. The Act or its repeal had nothing to do with the mica trade generally. Members representing the constituencies where mica mining areas are situated supported the Bill, urging repeal of the existing Act. *Sri-Mati Saraswati Debi* (Congress) pointed out the hardships experienced by small traders in mica owing to the existing Act and added that one of the election promises held out by Congressmen of the Province was that Mica Act would be repealed. The Act proved favourable only to the capitalists and large traders and to the detriment of middlemen diggers. The Bill was passed.

Public Safety Act Repeal Bill

Mr. *Anugraha Narayan Sinha*, Finance Minister, next introduced the Bihar and Orissa Public Safety Repealing Bill which was passed without discussion. The Bill sought to repeal the Bihar and Orissa Public Sefety Act, 1933, and the amending Act of 1936 which was due to expire in 1941. The hon. Mr. *Sri Krishna Sinha*, Premier, in the course of his speech on the objects and reasons, stated that it was necessary to repeal the Act, because it had been used in the past to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the people and might be so used in the future.

Hazaribagh Train Disaster

19th. JANUARY :—The necessity for the appointment of an impartial tribunal consisting of officials and non-officials to enquire into the causes of the train disaster near Hazaribagh Road on January 12 was unanimously urged by the Assembly to-day. Mr. *Sukhlal Singh* (Congress) moved that a Committee of officials and non-officials be appointed to enquire into the disaster. Speaking for the Government, Mr. *Krishna Ballabh Sahay* said that the Government were in full sympathy with the objects of the motion and would take up the matter with the Government of India.

Dowry Restraint Bill

20th. JANUARY :—The following non-official bills were introduced to-day :—Mr. Jamuna Prasad Singh's Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill, Mr. Tajmul Hussain's Suppression of Prostitution and Immoral Traffic Bill, Mr. Yunus's Local Self-Government Amendment Bill, the Municipal Amendment Bill and the Mussalman Wakf Bill and Mr. *Sukhlal Singh's Dowry Restraint Bill.*

Moving for reference to the Select Committee of his Bill for restraint of the custom of taking or offering dowry in marriages, Mr. *Sukhlal Singh* pointed out the evils of the system and the hardships caused by it to the poorer classes. The measure, he said, had been favourably received. Mr. *M. Yunus*, while expressing agreement with the principle of the Bill, said that the measure was difficult to put into operation. However, if the measure could bring about a wholesome social reform, technical difficulties should not be allowed to stand in the way. He pleaded for the Muslim view in regard to certain provisions of the Bill being borne in mind during the Select Committee stage. Srimati *Saraswati Devi* (Congress) strongly advocated abolition of the system which she said had led many young women to commit suicide as their parents had been unable to provide the necessary dowry for their marriage. Srimati *Sarada Devi* (Congress) considered the dowry system a stigma on Hindu society, which had resulted in the sacrifice of many young lives at the altar of a social fetish, which must be removed. Mr. *Vindheshwari Prasad Varma* (Congress) held that a measure like the present one had to be enacted sooner or later and if the Muslims claimed a dowry or maintained that dowry formed an important part of wedding ceremonies, such exemption as demanded by them might be acceded. Mr. *Jagat Narain Lal*, Parliamentary Secretary, supporting the motion for reference to the Select Committee, said that it was necessary to adopt some measure to stop a practice which persisted in spite of resolutions passed by the Kayastha Conference and other bodies. The House at this stage adjourned till Monday next, the **23rd. January**, when, replying or behalf of the Government, Mr. *K. B Sahay*, Parliamentary Secretary, refuted the contention that the Bill could not be taken up since it involved a change in Hindu law, and said that the Bill could be amended to permit the offer-

ing of religious gifts. It was also suggested that the Bill might be made non-applicable to Muslims if Muslim opinion so desired. The Government did not want to oppose the measure. He expressed opposition to the suggestion for exemption of voluntary dowries, since it was difficult to prove that a dowry was a voluntary one, as also to define the term dowry. He favoured reference of the Bill to a Select Committee for effecting improvements to the Bill with a view to preventing opportunities for evasion of the provisions. The House agreed to the motion for reference to a Select Committee with a single dissentient voice.

SUPPRESSION OF PROSTITUTION BILL

23rd. JANUARY :—The House took up for consideration the Suppression of Prostitution and Immoral Traffic Bill to-day. Mr. *Tajamul Husain*, the sponsor, moved for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee. He said other provinces had enacted similar legislation. He referred to the report of the League of Nations, which had investigated the extent of the evil in countries in Asia, including India. Mr. *Vindeshwari Prosad Verma*, moving an amendment for circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion, said that certain matters in the Bill were controversial and certain provisions needed elucidation ; for instance, whether the offences mentioned in the Bill would be bailable, cognisable or compoundable. Mr. *Bindodanand Jha*, Parliamentary Secretary, said that the Government had drafted a Bill for suppression of immoral trafic in women but no legislation was enacted as little response was met with when the Bill was circulated. He pointed out certain technical difficulties in the way of enforcing the measure. He supported the motion for circulation on behalf of the Government. The motion for circulation was accepted by the House, which then adjourned.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

24th. JANUARY :—The Assembly to-day took up consideration of the third supplementary demands for grants. Several cut motions were moved during a three-hour's discussion on a supplementary demand for grant of Rs. 51,000 under the head. Public Health. This sum included Rs. 31,000 for the purchase of quinine and Rs. 6,200 for the establishment of Kalaazar centres. The cut motions suggested, *inter alia*, the appointment of an expert committee to conduct research in the incidence of malaria and suggest methods for eradication of the disease, establishment of cinchona plantations in Bihar with a view to meeting the growing demand for quinine in rural areas and introduction of the Ayurvedic system of treatment to combat the ravages of malaria. The motions were, however, withdrawn after Mr. *Binodanand Jha*, Parliamentary Secretary, had enumerated the various measures the Government had undertaken or were contemplating in connection with the improvement of public health. He also assured the House that the Government would consider the various suggestions and adopt them as far as practicable. The discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned till the **6th. February** when, after a heated discussion, the demand under Agriculture was passed, all cut motions being withdrawn after the Government's reply. There was a prolonged discussion on the demand under the head Civil Works. A cut motion to discuss the need for grants to district boards for construction of roads was pressed to a division and lost. After two other demands had been voted, guillotine was applied and the rest of the demands were passed.

BANDE MATARAM IN SCHOOLS

The adjournment motion, in the name of Mr. *Mohiuddin Ahmed*, to discuss the situation arising out of incidents connected with the singing of the *Bande Mataram* song in schools, was taken up next. The mover, narrating the incidents, alleged that Muslim students, who objected to the song, were assaulted by Hindus, both students and outsiders. Considerable heat was generated in the course of the debate when Muslim members warned the Government of the grave and tragic possibilities that were likely to follow if they did not settle quickly the question of the singing of *Bande Mataram* and the hoisting of the tri-colour flag which, they alleged, amounted to tyranny of the majority over the minority, Cries of "shame" and "withdraw" from the Congress benches greeted Mr. *Jaffar Imam* (Muslim League) when he said that Muslims did not consider Bande Mataram as the national song and added that those (Muslims) who did had sold themselves. He challenged Congressmen to hoist the tri-colour flag on Government House or the Assembly Chamber. Replying to the debate, Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, Minister for Education, refuted the charge that the majority was trampling over the minority. While reiterating the Congress claim that the tri-colour flag was a national flag, he described how the tri-colour flag and the Bande Mataram song came to be the major symbols of the Congress fight for free-

dom. The Government's intentions in this matter had been entirely misunderstood. The removal of the ban on the tri-colour flag meant that it could now be hoisted on educational institutions, but did not meant that hoisting would be done without the permission of the authorities of the institutions concerned. He added that the Government had left the decision in the matter with the authorities of the institutions. But in view of the recent controversy, the Government had issued instructions to them that before reaching a decision, due consideration must be paid to the reaction of the general public if permission to hoist the flag was accorded. While Mr. *Mahomed Shafi* was speaking, the clock struck seven and the motion was talked out.

Echo Of Firing In Barna Village

7th. FEBRUARY :—The House discussed to-day a motion of Mr. *Govind Pati Tiwari* (Coalition) to discuss the recent firing by the police in Barna, Darbhanga District, during Bakrid resulting in one being killed and three being injured. Moving the motion, Pandit Tiwari recounted the incidents leading to the disturbance and suggested the possibility of casualties being larger than estimated officially. He questioned the justification for firing and urged that steps should be taken to prevent hardship due to further arrests. Several Congress members expressed dissatisfaction at the Government's reply and urged a thorough investigation into the justification for firing. Winding up the debate, the *Premier* said that it was not pleasant for a popular Government to defend an action involving firing by the police. It had been urged that more police should have been detailed earlier to prevent the incident; yet firing had been criticised severely by members. The problem of cow-sacrifice was most difficult to solve. He believed that Muslims had the right to sacrifice cows. Muslims, however, accused him of not allowing the sacrifice of cows in exercise of their religious rights. Hindus, on the other hand, attached different attachment to the cow, which they worshipped. It had been disputed whether the custom of cow sacrifice existed in that village. His information was that the custom existed there. The forces at the disposal of the Government were limited and had to meet any eventuality. On January 23 and 25 last, the Premier stated, the authorities visited the scene of the incident and when apprehension of a breach of the peace was realised, a police force was deputed to meet the situation. The man who was responsible for raising the agitation was approached by the authorities and gave an assurance that nothing untoward would happen. Proper steps had been taken to see that peace was maintained. Firing was ordered as the last resort. If firing had not been resorted to more lives would have been lost. He assured the House that he would consider the points raised by members in the course of the debate. The motion was talked out.

Floods in North Bihar

The House discussed an unofficial resolution moved by Mr. *Ramcharan Sinha* (Congress), which recommended to the Government to take immediate steps for the prevention of floods in North Bihar. The House at this stage adjourned till the next day, the **8th. February,** when several Congress members criticised the Government for not having taken any practical steps so far for the mitigation of floods. Suggestions were made for raising a loan to finance a comprehensive scheme to check effectively the hardships caused by the frequent floods, and to appoint experts to investigate the problem. Others drew the attention of the Government to the immediate needs following the floods. Mr. *Jimut Bahan Sen*, Parliamentary Secretary, said that he explained yesterday the measures already taken by the Government to deal with the flood problem. Referring to the recommendations of the Conference, held at Patna last year to evolove a policy to be adopted by the Government regarding the constructions of bunds, he said that the Government were not committed either to a pro-bund or an anti-bund policy, but would follow the middle course, namely, to construct bunds where necessary after consulting experts. A special Flood Officer had been appointed and the Government were engaged in conducting a survey of the Kosi area in North Bihar, which was subjected to heavy floods. Mr. *A. N. Sinha*, Finance Minister, referring to minor irrigation scheme prepared by the Government, said that it would prove beneficial both to land-lo.ds and tenants by increasing the earning capacity of the people of those areas. Incidentally, it would be conducive to mitigating the distress caused by the floods. The resolution was withdrawn.

Sugar Control Act at Work

8th. to 9th. FEBRUARY :—The next resolution, moved by Mr. *Harbans Sahay* (Congress), advocated the appointment of a committee to inquire into the Sugar Fac-

tories Control Act of 1937 and the rules made thereunder. The mover questioned the utility of the Act and the rules so far as the peasants were concerned, and doubted whether the Act had proved to be of any benefit to the latter. The rules, he said, had not resulted in an increased yield of sugarcane crops in reserved and assigned areas. There was a sharp difference of opinion on the resolution, which the Government opposed, while most of the members, chiefly Congress, supported it strongly pointing out the hardships caused by the Act and the rules to the growers owing to reservation. As a result of reservation, they experienced considerable difficulty in conveying sugarcane to the nearest mills, since in many cases the areas reserved or assigned to mills were situated at a great distance. The discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned till the next day, the **9th. February**, when Mr. *A. N. Sinha*, Finance Minister, replying to the debate, said that while he did not defend anything which could be characterised as a defect in the working of Sugarcane Act and the rules made thereunder, he did not favour the appointment of a committee at this stage to enquire into the administration of the Act and the rules, which would interfere with the freedom and normal working of sugar mills and thereby affect the growers adversely. The Government would consider carefully the criticisms and suggestions made by members for improvement in the operation of the Act and the rules. After the Government's reply the mover of the resolution wanted to withdraw it, but some Muslim members objected; the resolution was pressed to a division and lost.

Legislation for Beggar

10th. FEBRUARY:—The Assembly devoted the entire day to discussing non-official resolutions, one of which recommended the introduction of legislation for declaring beggary an offence, and providing housing for old and infirm beggars and segregating diseased ones. The resolution was withdrawn, after the Government's reply stating that legislation on the lines recommended was impractical at present in view of the religious sentiments attached to begging and the large expenditure involved. The Government would, however, investigate the whole question and take steps to check beggary as far as possible and segregate leprous beggars in asylums.

The House accepted a resolution urging the Government to issue a statement explaining the steps they proposed to take regarding the removal of untouchability among the scheduled castes of the Province. The House then adjourned till the 13th.

Bihar Labour Enquiry

13th. FEBRUARY:—Mr. *H. B. Chandra* (Congress Labour) recommended to the Government to take "immediate and adequate steps against the Bengal North-Western Railway authorities for their refusal to co-operate with and their discourtesy to the members of the Bihar Labour Enquiry Commitee." The resolution was withdrawn after a prolonged discussion and the Government's reply to it. The mover enumerated instances of "discourtesy" shown to the members of the Committee by the Superintendent of the Loco Workshops, Samastipur, who refused to give evidence or allow the Committee to inspect the workshop. Mr. *A. N. Sinha*, Minister for Labour, placed before the House a telegraphic communication received from the Agent, B. N. W. Railway, intimating that the Agent had no information about the alleged acts of discourtesy, that non-co-operation with the Committee was not intentional, and expressing his regret. The Minister said that, though all the details about the incidents were not available from the railway authorities, the incidents appeared more to be the result of a misunderstanding than intentional. He assured the House that the Government would take strong action in case it transpired that there was any intentional discourtesy or attempt at non-co-operation with the Committee.

Bills Referred to Select Committees

The House referred the Private Irrigation Works Amendment Bill and another Bill to Provide for the construction, improvement and maintenance by the Provincial Government of certain irrigation, drainage, reclamation, sanitary improvement and flood alleviation works to a joint Select Committee of both the Houses of the Legislature.

Municipal Amendment Bill

14th FEBRUARY:—The House agreed to the *Finance Minister's* motion to circulate for eliciting public opinion the Municipal Amendment Bill introduced by him. The Bill sought democratisation of municipal bodies by means of removal of the system of nomination and replaced the present joint electorate with reservation

of seats for the Muslim community on a population basis. Provision was also made for the co-option of scheduled caste members up to one-twelfth of the total number of Municipal Commissioners. The Bill also sought to maintain purity of administration by empowering the Provincial Government to remove Municipal Commissioners for misconduct in the discharge of their duties or slackness in payment of taxes. During the debate on the Bill a suggestion for complete separate electorates for Muslims was made by Opposition Muslim members while Congress, scheduled caste, and women members demanded reservation of seats for scheduled castes and women on municipal boards. The House then adjourned till February 20.

Budget Session—Patna—20th. February to 26th. April 1939

Financial Statement for 1939—40

20th. FEBRUARY :—"Bihar will have a balanced budget for 1939-40 but it will only be just balanced." This observation was made by the hon. Mr. *Anugraha Narayan Sinha*, Finance Minister, in presenting the Budget estimates of the Government of Bihar for the year 1939-40 to-day. Though no additional taxation measures formed part of his budget proposals, the Minister indicated that he was contemplating additional taxation and that its introduction was inevitable. He envisaged the possibility of a large loan, amounting to about two and a half crores, being floated within the next few years to finance the rural grid electrification scheme. The year 1939-40, the Minister said, is expected to open with an opening balance of Rs. 70 lakhs. Revenue for the next year is taken at Rs. 538¾ lakhs and the expenditure charged to revenue at Rs. 537¼ lakhs, leaving a small revenue surplus of Rs. 75,000. There is also a small excess of loans recovered over loans advanced, amounting to Rs. 7¾ lakhs, out of which one lakh will be expended on the completion of earthquake reconstruction. This will leave a surplus of Rs. 7½ lakhs, which will raise the balance to 77½ lakhs. The Finance Minister, however, indicated that more than this surplus would be required to meet the supplementary demands arising during the year and the Budget was, therefore, barely balanced. The increase in next year's anticipated revenue over this year's revised is about Rs. 19 lakhs, after allowing for a further reduction of ten lakhs as a result of extension of the prohibition programme. The expenditure charged to revenue exceeds the revised estimate for the current year by Rs. 33½ lakhs.

General Discussion of Budget

22nd. to 24th. FEBRUARY :—General discussion of the budget was resumed on the 22nd ; mostly Opposition members participated in the debate. The development scheme embodied in the Budget came in for most criticism. Mr. *M. Yunus*, Leader of the Muslim Independent Party, said that one of the most important drawbacks of the Budget speech was that it belittled the political programme of the Ministry. He doubted the sincerity of the present Government for the welfare of the peasantry and said, that they had enacted far too many legislative measures to be of any real benefit to anybody. Several Muslim members bitterly criticised the Government for having made a grant of Rs. 1,20,000 to the University and urged that the claim of the Aligarh University to receive assistance was equally good. Other members pointed out that local needs in various directions in different part of the province were claiming the attention of the Government. A few others acknowledged that the Finance Minister had produced the best Budget possible under the circumstances and the limitations in which they worked. The House had a night sitting on the 24th. when Mr. *Hayman*, representing the Anglo-Indians, urged the adoption of bolder schemes for checking floods regardless of the cost. Mr. *Jagatnarain Lal*, Parliamentary Secretary, on behalf of the Government, repudiated the criticism that the Budget lacked vision, imagination and courage. He denied the criticism that the Budget did not represent a complete picture of the financial position of the province. He pointed out that the purchasing power of the people could not be enhanced by a magic wand. It was governed by economic forces. The Government had succeeded in preserving the credit of the province intact. This concluded the budget discussion and the House adjourned till the **15th. March.**

Voting on Budget Demands

15th. to 31st. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on **the 15th, March.** At the outset the House took up the consideration of "cut"

motions to the demands under the head "Police". The discussion was continued on the next day, the **16th. March**, when the "protective qualities on the Gandhi Cap" and the possibilities of the growth of national consciousness among the police force by the use of Khaddar were pointed out through a cut motion. Mr. *K. B. Sahay*, on behalf of the Government, stated that the Government had purchased Khadi uniforms worth Rs. 20,000 last year and this year had placed orders for Khadi worth Rs. 91,795. The cut motion was withdrawn on the assurance given by the Government that they would buy for the police uniforms all the Khadi that the All-India Spinners' Association could supply The grant for Rs. 72,45,423 was then voted. Next day the **17th. March** the establishment of an Agricultural College in the province was urged by a "cut" motion, moved against the demand under the head "Agriculture", the discussion on which occupied the whole day. The motion was withdrawn on the assurance given by Dr. *Syed Mahmud* that the Government were exploring schemes for the complete reorganisation of education, keeping in view the needs of agricultural and industrial training and that the Government would examine the possibility of establishing an Agricultural College. The House then adjourned till Monday the **20th. March**, when it voted the demand for Rs. 10,20,736 in respect of agriculture, two cut motions having been withdrawn after long discussion. The motions sought to discuss the necessity for the improvement of Bachhaur and Shahabad breeds of cattle in the province and the "unsatisfactory work done by the staff and the paucity of hands" in the Agricultural Department. Replying to the debate, the Government spokesman assured the House that no one was keener than the Government for the improvement of agriculture. The Government had decided upon intensive improvement work in cattle breeds at two places initially, Shahabad and Sitamarhi. A scheme of work, prepared by experts invited from outside, had proved costly and the Government were considering a revised and more modest estimate. Next day, the **21st March**, discussion on two cut motions against the demand in respect of "General Administration occupied the entire day's sitting. The plea for appointment to Government Services by means of a competitive examination was made through one cut motion, which was eventually withdrawn after an assurance by the Government that they had accepted the principle of making appointments by competition. Mr. *K. B. Sahay*, Parliamentary Secretary, however, said that the necessity for satisfying territorial and communal claims for representation in the services did not allow the Government to carry out the principle. The next cut motion, which related to the amelioration of the condition of the peasantry, was under discussion when the House adjourned till the next day, the **22nd. March**, when after the Government spokesman had replied, the cut motion was withdrawn. A plea to hold the Assembly sitting at Ranchi, the summer capital of Bihar, was next made by several speakers when Mr. *Jamuna Karjee* (Congress) moved a cut motion under the head "General Administration" to discuss the subject. The motion was pressed to a division and lost by 60 votes to 15. In the course of his reply, Mr. *Krishna Ballabh Sahay*, Parliamentary Secretary, pointed out the difficulties in the way of accepting the suggestions, namely the inadequacy of accommodation at Ranchi and the heavy expenditure which the proposal involved, and said that the Government had heard the pros and cons of the case, and would come to a decision, after due consideration. He agreed about the necessity of establishing closer contact with Chota-Nagpur, but added that the agitation for separation of Chota-Nagpur from Bihar could not be checked by simply holding the sittings of the Assembly at Ranchi. The House, after voting a demand for Rs. 57,08,774 in respect of "General Administration," adjourned till the next day, the **23rd. March**, when it voted, after a short discussion, a demand for Rs. 24,000 to defray the charges in respect of a capital outlay in regard to the electric schemes. The cut motions tabled against the demand were not moved as the *Finance Minister* suggested that the Government policy with regard to electrification would be the better discussed during the debate on the supplementary demand on April 4. The House took up the demand for "Irrigation" and discussed two cut motions against it. Replying to the debate on the first cut motion which sought to discuss the desirability of making adequate arrangements for irrigation in North Bihar, Mr. *A. N. Sinha* said that the operation of the legislation passed by the House in connection with major and minor irrigation works would go a long way to removing the want of irrigational facilities in the province. The cut motion was withdrawn, and the House adjourned till the next day, the **24th. March**

when it considered the fourth supplementary statement of expenditure for 1938-39 today. All demands, except a token demand for Rs. 15 to defray the charges in respect of preliminary expenditure on the electrification scheme, were voted without discussion. After prolonged discussion, a cut motion moved against the supplementary budget in connection with the demand for the electrification scheme was negatived without a division and the token demand was voted. Mr. *Wilson Haigh* (Chota Nagpur, European), moving the cut motion, urged the desirability of exploring further facilities for buying electric power before embarking upon the scheme of building a Government generating station. He also suggested that foreign expert opinion be invited on the scheme. He opposed the suggestion of having a central power station and advised a grid system by linking the existing power houses on the ground of the possibility of a province-wide breakdown in the case of sabotage or a natural catastrophe. Mr. *J. N. Lal*, Parliamentary Secretary, replying, said that there was no necessity for consulting foreign experts, since the Technical Committee, which had examined the scheme, contained all-India experts, who had practical working experience of similar schemes in the country. Bihar was better fitted for the scheme in view of its better resources than other provinces. He said that the Government disapproved of the grid scheme and also Mr. Haigh's suggestion for buying power from private concerns. The House adjourned till Monday next, the **27th. March**, when it discussed and voted budget demands under the heads "Irrigation" and 'Medical.' After discussion of a cut motion, during which the need for a comprehensive scheme of irrigation and prevention for floods for the Province was emphasised, the demand for Rs. 14,58,567 was voted. Next day, the **30th. March** a budget demand for Rs. 25,240 to defray the charges in respect of collection of Agricultural Income-tax was moved by the Finance Minister, Mr. *C. P. N. Sinha*. The Leader of the Opposition, moving a "cut" motion, pleaded for the postponement of the operation of agricultural income-tax for one or two years, on the ground of the inability of the zaminders to shoulder the burden of taxation at present. The *Finance Minister*, replying, regretted that the Government could not agree to the suggestion. He said that the Government were fully aware of the condition of the zamindars and would instruct officers not to be unduly exacting in the assessment and realisation of the tax. He also said that since the tax was based on the net income of landlords, it took cognisance of poor rent collections. The House rejected the amendment, and voted the demand, as also other demands in respect of loans and advances by the Provincial Government, stamps and pensions, no "cut" motions being moved in respect of these three demands. The House adjourned till the next day, the **31st. March**, when a cut motion against the demand for Education, which was discussed the whole day, also came under the guillotine, which was applied at 5 p. m. The cut motion sought to discuss the Wardha education scheme and raised a protest from Opposition Muslim benches against the secularity of the scheme. Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, Education Minister, replying, said that the scheme made provision for moral instruction, which included the general principles of Islam and other religions, but he regretted that, owing to financial difficulties, the provision of teachers for the different sects for giving religious instruction in particular faiths was not possible. However, the school buildings, he assured them, would be available to all communities for organising religious classes at their own expense. With regard to co-education, the Minister said that the scheme as applied in Bihar did not contemplate co-education. Teaching in basic crafts was considered necessary by modern educationists. The guillotine at this stage was applied and all the 24 remaining demands were passed. Voting on Budget demands then concluded and the House adjourned till the **3rd. April.**

Inclusion of Excluded Areas

3rd. APRIL :—The Assembly to-day passed unanimously the resolution moved by the *Prime Minister* on March 30, recommending to the Government of Bihar "that His Majesty's Government be moved through the Government of India and the Secretary of State to repeal the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935, which distinguish the Excluded and the Partially Excluded Areas from other territories in British India, so that these areas be brought completely under the supervision and control of their respective Responsible Governments. Support was lent to the resolution by all sections of the House. Messrs. *Ignes Beck* and *Boniface Lakra* (Coalition Aborigines), while supporting the resolution, wanted a career of 'self-determinism" for Chota Nagpur. Mr. *Ignes Beck* said that the Aboriginal Tribes residing in the Excluded Areas wanted protection, but did not want seclusion.

He invited the present Ministry to win the confidence of the Aboriginal people, saying that they preferred to have protection from their own countrymen. The total number of Aboriginals all over the country stood at about twenty-three millions, and these should not be ignored.

MUSLIM WAKFS BILL

4th. APRIL :—The Assembly considered the Bihar Muslim Wakfs Bill introduced by Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, Education Minister, and referred it to a select committee. The Bill sought to ensure proper administration of Wakfs by a Wakf Board, the entire cost of which will be borne through the levy of a contribution from Wakf estates in the province. The Government agreed to the suggestion made by Mr. *Tajamul Hussain* (Muslim Independent) to consult ulemas.

THE MARKETS & DEALERS BILL

5th. APRIL :—Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, Minister for Education and Development, introduced to-day, the Bihar Markets and Dealers Bill, designed to provide for better control and regulation of markets, and for licensing shops and certain kinds of dealers in the province of Bihar. After a brief discussion, the House agreed to circulate the Bill for eliciting public opinion. The Assembly then adjourned till April 12.

PRIVATE IRRIGATION AMEND. BILL

12th. APRIL :—The House held a brief sitting to-day and passed, with slight modifications, the Bihar and Orissa Private Irrigation Works (Bihar Amendment) Bill as reported by a joint committee of both the Houses. The amending Bill sought to remove certain defects in the original Act and empowered the Collector to construct and repair small irrigation works and realise the cost from the persons benefitted. The House then adjourned till April 24.

MOTOR SPIRIT TAXATION BILL

24th. APRIL :—The House proceeded with the consideration of official Bill to-day and passed into law the first taxation measure adumbrated in the Budget speech of the Finance Minister, in which he had pointed out that the Government needed additional revenue to implement the various development schemes undertaken by them. This was the Bihar Motor Spirit Taxation on Sales Bill, imposing a tax on all retail sales of motor spirit in the province at the rate of one anna six pies per gallon. The Bill provided for the registration of retail dealers in motor spirit. Unregistered dealers will not be permitted to sell such spirit in retail.

LAC CONTROL BILL

Dr. *Syed Mahmud*, Development Minister, next moved for the reference to a Select Committee of the Bihar Lac Control Bill, which aimed at the rehabilitation of the Lac industry safeguarding the interests of growers and small traders, regulating prices, licensing manufacturers, and constituting a Lac Control Board, consisting of representatives of the important lac-growing provinces and States to advise the Government on all important matters connected with the administration of the Bill when enacted. Discussion on the motion had not concluded when the House adjourned till Monday next, the **25th. April**, when the Bill was referred to a select committee. The Opposition motion for circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion was negatived.

IMMORAL TRAFFIC SUPPRESSION BILL

The Government next sought permission to introduce the Bihar Suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill. A discussion arose on a point of order, whether the Bill could be introduced, in view of a similar private Bill having been introduced earlier in the session by Mr. Tajamul Hussain. *Khan Bahadur Saghirul Haque*, who occupied the chair in the absence of the Speaker, pointed out that under the rules a motion identical to the one introduced earlier in the session could not be introduced. Giving his ruling on the subject of admissibility of Mr. Jaglal Choudhry's Bill, Khan Bahadur Saghirul Haque said that he had read carefully the ruling of Mr. Khaja Noor, President of the old Bihar Legislative Council as well as that of Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti. He was unable to see eye to eye with the Government with regard to the interpretation of the term "decision" as used in the rule. That term, in the opinion of the Chairman, could only mean either the final acceptance or rejection of the measure and not some decision with regard to any intermediary step such as circulation or reference to select committee.

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX BILL

The *Finance Minister* then introduced a short Bill entitled the Bihar Agricultural Incometax (Second Amendment) Bill, which was passed quickly.

PRIVATE IRRIGATION WORKS BILL

26th. APRIL :—The House considered to-day clause by clause and passed the Bihar Private Irrigation Works Bill, as reported by the Select Committee. The House then adjourned *sine die.*

Proceedings of the Bihar Council

Winter Session—Bihar—24th. January to 14th. February 1939

THE TENANCY & LAND REVENUE SALES BILLS

The Winter Session of the Bihar Legislative Council commenced at Patna on the **24th. January, 1939.** Two non-official bills, the Bihar Tenancy Second Amendment Bill and the Bihar Land Revenue Sales Amendment Bill, were disposed of. The first Bill, which sought to widen the scope of the grounds on which an application would be made to a District Judge for the appointment of a common manager for the administration of joint estates, was referred to a Select Committee. The second Bill providing for information of the sale of an estate in default of land revenue being communicated directly to the proprietor concerned evoked much discussion, after which the House agreed to circulate the Bill for eliciting public opinion.

The Council also granted permission for the introduction of 8 non-official Bills. Such Bills introduced were Bihar Prevention of Hindu Bigamous Marriage Bill, Bihar Legislative Members' Privileges and Powers Bill, Bihar Tenancy Second Amendment Bill, Bihar Land Revenue Sales Amendment Bill, Bihar Prevention of Unequal Marriage Bill and Bihar Public Demands Recovery Amendment Bill. Mr. *Mobarak Ali* moved that the Bihar Tenancy Second Amendment Bill be referred to a Select Committee. Mr. Ali said that the object of the Bill was to provide for management of co-sharers' estate by common manager. He said that in many cases co-sharers of estates even did not know as to how many shares they had in that estate. So, it would be better to make a law for the appointment of a common manager to such estates having a number of co-sharers. The *Advocate-General* informed the House that the Government had no objection to the Bill but he pointed out that the appointment of a common manager might entail hardship on the co-sharers as they would be required to meet the cost of common management. On unanimous opinion of the House, Mr. Mobarak Ali's Bill was referred to a Select Committee. The House then adjourned till the **6th. February.**

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

6th. FEBRUARY :—The Council to-day refused to take into consideration the Bihar Cess Amendment Bill, 1939, by 11 votes to 8. The Bill, which stood in the name of Mr. *Mobarak Ali*, sought to make estates that fall in default liable for recovery of arrears.

Mr. *Maheshwar Prasad Narayan Singh's* Bill to amend the Bihar Tenancy Act of 1938 was withdrawn after the Government's assurance that Bills of a more comprehensive nature relating to tenancy reforms would be brought forward by the Government early in April next.

After prolonged debate, Mr. *Punyadeo Sharma* withdrew the Hindu Bigamous Marriages Bill. The *Prime Minister* said that the Government were opposed to the Bill, firstly, because bigamy was not prevalent in India, and, secondly, provincial legislation would not improve the position as it was impossible to restrict people marrying outside the Province. Such legislation by the Central Assembly would be better, as it could be enforced on all provinces.

Another social measure brought forward by the same member to prevent unequal marriages was agreed to be circulated to elicit public opinion. Two Bills

in the name of Mr. *Gursahay Lal*, the Bihar Legislature Members' Privileges and Powers Bill and the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill were withdrawn by the mover.

The House referred to a Select Committee the Bihar Land Revenue Sales Amendment Bill moved by Mr. *Mobarak Ali*, which was designed to give information regarding sale of an estate in default of payment of land revenue directly to the proprietor.

NON-OFFICIALS RESOLUTIONS DISCUSSED

7th. FEBRUARY :—The Council commenced the discussion of non-official resolution on the 7th. and continued it on the next few days. *Khan Bahadur Ismail* moved the following resolution :—"This Council recommends to the Government of Bihar to be pleased to recommend to the Government of India that the rate of interest fixed at four and five per cent on A and B class of loans respectively advanced to sufferers of eathquake under the Natural Calamities Act be reduced to two per cent per annum in view of the perpetual economic depression and other causes affecting adversely the means and resources of debtors." The Khan Bahadur said that in 1936 there occurred terrible earthquake rendering the people of Bihar homeless and causing immense loss to them. The Bihar Government secured considerable amount of money from India Government and distributed it among sufferers by way of loans. Soon after there was economic depression, which crippled the resources of the people, specially the borrowers. They were rendered unable to pay the high rate of interest on their loans. So it was highly desirable that the rate of interest on this loan be reduced to two per cent. Mrs. *Malcolm Singh* moved an amendment that no amount of interest be henceforth realised from the borrowers. On the permission of the House the resolution and the amendment was withdrawn. On the next day, the **8th. February**, a resolution moved by Mr. *Satish Chandra Sinha* recommended to the Government to take necessary steps for conveying to His Majesty's Government a request for constituting the Chota Nagpur division and the Santal Parganas district into a separate Governor's Province. The mover dwelt at length on the history of the above area and the need for its formation as a separate province. He also detailed the racial, cultural, geographical geological, financial and political reasons for the constitution of a separate province. Replying to the debate, the *Prime Minister* said that the question had been examined at length. The principal reasons why the area should not be constituted as a separate province, he said, were linguistic and cultural. The area could not be attached to Bengal. The aboriginal population formed twenty-five per cent of the total population of the area. On this ground also separation could not be advocated. The tract was more similar to Bihar both linguistically and culturally. The Premier quoted figures extensively in support of his argument. He added that separation would result only in additional taxation to meet the cost of administration of the territory which was still a backward area. The present Government had already adopted various measures for the amelioration of the inhabitants of Chota Nagpur. A resolution recommending the establishment of boards in each division in order to bring about better relations between landlords and tenants, as also between creditors and debtors and to settle disputes between them was moved by Mr. *Gur Sahay Lall* and lost by 7 votes to 1.

MICA REPEALING BILL

10th. FEBRUARY :—The House discussed non-official Bills to day. *Rai Brijraj Krishna* moved that the Bihar Mica Repealing Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly be taken into consideration. The mover said that the Mica Act was doing immense harm to the small mica industrialists. It had the effect of confining the mica industry in the hands of a few big miners. Its working had proved that the small dealers had been driven out altogether from the field of mica business. Besides this the purpose for which the Act was enforced was not altogether served. All the people in the mica area had been vehemently opposed to the Act. The Government also had very insufficient income from the working of this Act. There was therefore no reason why this Act would be retained on the Statute Book. It must be repealed outright. The House unanimously passed the Bill.

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT REPEAL BILL

The Council next considered the Bill meant to repeal the Bihar Public Safety Act. Mr. *Brijnandan Prasad* moved that the Bihar Public Safety Repealing Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly be taken into consideration. Mr. *Mobarak Ali* said that he was under impression that all the other repressive measures would be

repealed. There were still the Criminal Law Amendment Act and other repressive laws still existing. He hoped that such measures would also be repealed. He warned the Government to see that the repealing of this Public Safety Act might not encourage the people for no-rent campaign. This Act was being repealed but the C. I. D. people were still reporting meetings and dogging the people. The Bill was then passed unanimously.

AGRICULTURAL INCOME TAX BILL

The House then took up the consideration of the Bihar Agricultural Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill. Mr. *Mobarak Ali* demanded that letters and notices sent through post under section 42A of this Act should be sent by registered envelope to ensure its receipt. The Bill was unanimously passed.

MONEY-LENDERS (REGULATION OF TRANSACTIONS) BILL

The House then took into consideration the Bihar Money-Lenders (Regulation of Transactions) Bill. Mr. *Gursahai Lal* demanded that the provisions of the present Bill and the Bihar Money-Lenders Act should be embodied in one comprehensive Bill. There was no reason why the present Bill and the Money-Lenders Act should work separately. The *Advocate-General* did not agree with the suggestion. The Bill was then unanimously passed.

PRIVATE IRRIGATION WORKS BILL

14th. FEBRUARY :—*Rai Brijraj Krishna* moved that the Bihar Private Irrigation Works (Amendment) Bill and the Bihar Minor Irrigation, Drainage, Agricultural Land Reclamation, Sanitary Improvement and Flood Alleviation Works Bill be referred to a Joint Select Committee. The House then adjourned till the 20th. February.

Budget Session—Patna—20th. February to 27th. March 1939

BANDE MATARAM IN SCHOOLS

The Budget session of the Council commenced on the **20th. February** when after the presentation and reading out of the Budget the Council adjourned till the **15th. March**, when replying to a question of *Khan Bahadur Ismail* regarding the National Flag hoisting and "Bande Mataram" song in schools and colleges, Dr. *Mahmud* said that the Government were aware that hoisting of the National Flag and singing of "Bande Mataram" song had been made a ground of resentment by a section of Muslims, but they believed that their policy in regard to these two matters had been misconstrued and misrepresented. The policy of the Government with regard to these was that in educational institutions the National Flag could be hoisted over the buildings only with the permission of the school or college authorities. If the latter gave such a permission the Government would not interfere with their discretion, provided the said permission was in respect of the National Flag. With regard to the "Bande Matram" song, Dr. Mahmud expressed regret that their policy had been entirely misunderstood. All action that the Government had taken in regard to this song had been according to the sentiments of a section of the Muslim community. It was according to the wishes of the Muslims that the Government had decided to impose certain restrictions on the singing of "Bande Matram" song in schools and colleges. Continuing Dr. Mahmud said that the first two stanzas of the song contained in them absolutely nothing that was either objectionable from religious or any other points of view or that could offend the susceptibility of any community. The Government regarded the first two stanzas wholly unexceptionable but even then they had impressed upon the authorities of the schools and the colleges that the singing of the first two stanzas should be made obligatory. Proceeding, the Minister said that the Government had issued instructions encouraging the singing of late Mr. Iqbal's song. The Government had thus tried to meet the objections of the Mussalmans in so far as they had intrinsic value. Proceeding further the Minister said that the Government had removed the ban that existed against the National Flag and the "Bande Mataram" song but they would never insist the school or the college authorities' hoisting of the Flag.

Thereafter the House held a general discussion of the Budget from the 16th. to the 20th. March and the fourth Supplementary Budget on the 27th. March, after which it adjourned ***sine die***.

May Session—Patna—4th. to 18th. May 1939

THE MUNICIPAL AMENDMENT BILL

The May session of the Council commenced on the **4th. May 1939** and held a very brief sitting. The House considered the appointment of a Joint Select Committee of both the Chambers for reporting on the Bihar Municipal Amendment Bill 1939. The motion proposing names from the Upper House, moved by Mr. *Rai Brijraj Krishna*, Leader of the Congress Party in the Council, was passed after a short discussion on the merits of the new system of joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities, envisaged by the Municipal Amendment Bill. *Khan Bahadur Ismail*, Leader of the Opposition, protesting against the system, said that it was not acceptable to Muslims. He also said that no Muslim member of the House would agree to serve on the Joint Select Committee as long as this provision was not changed. Even if one or two Muslim members agreed, they would not be representative of Muslim opinion and their agreement to the provisions of the Bill would not be acceptable to the Muslims. The *President* said that co-operation in the work of a Select Committee could not be interpreted as agreement with the provisions of the Bill. The *Leader of the Congress Party* and other members of the House stressed the need for the leader of the Opposition lending his services and said that his services and counsel were indispensable. It was also pointed out that Khan Bahadur Ismail could help in changing the provisions of the Bill which he considered to be undesirable by serving on the Committee. The motion, which included Khan Bahadur Ismail's name in the personnel of the Committee, was passed. The House then adjourned till the 8th.

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL

8th. MAY :—The Council passed the Bihar Agricultural Income-tax (Amendment) Bill and considered seven clauses of the Bihar Private Irrigation Work (Amendment) Bill. When the Bihar Agricultural Income-tax (Amendment) Bill was under discussion, Mr. *Mobarak Ali* moved an amendment to provide that an assessee would have right to sue the Government in law court to question the validity of a notice of assessment and he would be entitled to realise from them the cost of such suit. Subsequently he withdrew this amendment and moved another to provide that if an assessee sued the Government in civil court to question the validity of the notice of assessment of this tax issued against him before the 25th. April 1939, he would be entitled to receive cost of his suit.

PRIVATE IRRIGATION WORKS AMEND. BILL

Mr. *Brijnandan Prasad* next moved that the Bihar Private Irrigation Works (Amendment) Bill be taken into consideration. The mover said that the object of the Bill was to compel the landlords to give sufficient irrigational facilities to the kisans by amending the Bihar Private Irrigation Works Act. The lands were deteriorating day by day the effect of which was that the kisans were unable to raise more crop. This Bill was intended to restore the whole irrigation system of Bihar so that the kisans might have enough facilities for irrigation to improve their lands to raise more crop.

THE PUBLIC WORKS BILL

9th. MAY :—The Council to-day passed the Bihar Private Irrigation Works (Amendment) Bill and began the consideration of the Bihar Public Works Bill. Mr. *Gursahai Lal* distinguished the two Bills by stating that the amending Bill aimed at the improvement of inner system of a irrigation of village while the Bihar Public Works Bill, which was a new measure, was intended to construct and maintain outer system of irrigation. The inner system consisted in storing water of village inside it for irrigation purposes, while the outer system comprised of bringing water from outside places and storing the same in village. The Bill also aimed at reclaiming waste lands, draining out superfluous water, maintaining village sanitation etc. The Bill was passed on the next day, the **10th. May.**

MOTOR SPIRITS TAXATION BILL

11th. May :—*Raj Brijraj Krishna*, Leader of the Congress Party, moved that the Bihar Motor Spirits Bill be taken into consideration. The Opposition wanted the Bill to be referred to a Select Committee. The House agreed to adjourn in order to discuss the matter outside and arrive at an agreement if

possible. The House reassembled at 2 p. m., but adjourned for the day without arriving at a decision whether the Bill should be referred to a select committee or not.

MEASURES TO CHECK COMMUNAL TROUBLES

12th MAY :—After passing the first reading of the Motor Spirit (Taxation on Sales) Bill, the Council discussed this after-noon the adjournment motion moved by *Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail* regarding the instructions issued by the Government recently with regard to the policy to be followed by officers in communal troubles. Moving his motion, Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail said that, without censuring the Government he wanted to know the circumstances that led the Government adopting the "drastic measures" He wanted the Government to convince the House of the need for issuing such orders, and contended that the mere fact of what happened in Gaya on May 6 and 7 did not constitute substantial ground for the Government arriving at such a decision. Some members emphasised the need for vigilance on the part of the Government to prevent officers from misusing the powers conferred by the orders. The Finance Minister, Mr. *A. N. Sinha*, replying to the debate, said that the orders had been issued owing to the generally strained communal relations in the province and to prevent a further deterioration of the situation. He said that the Government were fully aware of their responsibilities, and assured the House that the powers given to officers would not be abused. After the motion had been talked out, the House adjourned till the 15th.

MOTOR SPIRITS TAXATION BILL (CONTD.)

15th. MAY :—The Bihar Motor Spirit (Taxation on Sales) Bill was passed by the Council to-day. Mr. *Gursahay Lal's* amendment seeking reduction of the rates of taxation from one and a half annas to one anna was lost by ten votes to three. Several amendments, mainly of a drafting nature, were adopted. As a result of an official amendment being accepted the penalty for an unauthorised retail sales of motor spirit was reduced from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 500. A new clause, providing for exemption to any motor spirits or class of motor spirits by notification, was added by an official amendment. The House then adjourned till the **18th. May**, when after twenty minutes' sitting during which the Bihar and Orissa Places of Pilgrimage (Bihar Amendment) Bill, passed by the Assembly, was laid on the table. Thereafter the House was *prorogued.*

The Assam Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. KUMAR AJIT NARAYAN DEV
2. THE HON'BLE BABU AKSHAY KUMAR DAS (*Minister*)
3. MR. ARUN KUMAR CHANDA
4. MR. BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE
5. BABU BALARAM SIRCAR
6. THE HON'BLE MR. BASANTA KUMAR DAS (*Speaker*)
7. SRIJUT BELIRAM DAS
8. SRIJUT BEPIN CHANDRA MEDHI
9. SRIJUT BHUBAN CHANDRA GOCOI
10. BABU BIPIN BEHARI DAS
11. SRIJUT BISHNU RAM MEDHI
12. BABU DAKSHINARANJAN GUPTA
13. SRIJUT DEBESWAR SARMAH
14. SRIJUT GHANASHYAM DAS
15. SRIJUT GAURI KANTA TALUKDAR
16. THE HON'BLE SRIJUT GOPINATH BARDOLOI (*Premier*)
17. SRIJUT HALADHAR BHUYAN
18. BABU HARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRAVARTY
19. „ HIRENDRA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY
20. SRIJUT JADAV PRASAD CHALIHA
21. SRIJUT JOGENDRA CHANDRA NATH
22. SRIJUT JOGENDRA NARAYAN MANDAL
23. SRIJUT JOGESCHANDRA GOHAIN
24. BABU KALACHAND ROY
25. SRIJUT KAMESWAR DAS
26. THE HON'BLE BABU KAMINI KUMAR SEN (*Minister*)
27. BABU KARUNA SINDHU ROY
28. MR. KEDARMAL BRAHMIN
29. SRIJUT KRISHNA NATH SARMAH
30. SRIJUT LAKSHESVAR BOROOAH
31. BABU LALIT MOHAN KAR

32. Srijut Mahadev Sarma
33. Dr. Mahendra Nath Saikia
34. Srijut Mahi Chandra Bora
35. Mr. Naba Kumar Dutta
36. Srijut Omeo Kumar Das
37. ,, Paramananda Das
38. Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutt
39. Srijut Purandar Sarma
40. ,, Purna Chandra Sarma
41. Babu Rabindra Nath Aditya
42. Srijut Rajani Kanta Barooah
43. ,, Rajendra Nath Barua
44. The Hon'ble Srijut Ramnath Das (*Minister*)
45. Rohini Kumar Chaudhury
46. Srijut Sankar Chandra Barua
47. ,, Santosh Kumar Barua
48. ,, Sarveswar Barua
49. Babu Shibendra Chandra Biswas
50. Srijut Siddhi Nath Sarma
51. Maulavi Abdul Aziz
52. ,, Abdul Bari Chaudhury
53. ,, Abdul Hamid Khan
54. Khan Bahadur Hazi Abdul Majid Chaudhury
55. Maulavi Abdul Matin Chaudhury
56. Maulavi Abdur Rahman
57. ,, Syed Abdur Rouf
58. ,, Md. Abdus Salam
59. ,, Dewan Muhammad Chaudhury
60. The Hon'ble Maulavi Md. Ali Haidar Khan (*Minister*)
61. Maulavi Dewan Ali Raja
62. ,, Muhammad Amiruddin
63. ,, Muhammad Amjad Ali
64. ,, Ashrafuddin Md. Chaudhury
65. ,, Badaruddin Ahmed
66. Khan Bahadur Dewan Eklimur Roza Chaudhury
67. The Hon'ble Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed (*Minister*)
68. Maulavi Ghyasuddin Ahmed
69. ,, Jahanuddin Ahmed
70. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Keramat Ali
71. Maulavi Muhammad Maqbul Hussain Choudhury
72. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mahmud Ali (*Minister*)
73. Maulavi Matior Rahman Mia
74. ,, Mabarak Ali
75. Khan Sahib Maulavi Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhuri
76. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mufizar Rahaman
77. Maulavi Munawwar Ali
78. ,, Muzarrof Ali Laskar
79. ,, Namwar Ali Barbhuiya
80. ,, Nazirudin Ahmed
81. ,, Sheikh Osman Ali
82. ,, Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadulla
83. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Sayidur Rahman
84. Shamsul Ulama Maulana Abu Nasr Muhammad Waheed
85. Col A. B. Beddow
86. Mr. W. J. Gray
87. ,, J. R. Clayton
88. ,, W. R. Faull
89. ,, A. H. Ball
90. ,, F. W. Blennerhassett
91. ,, F. W. Hockenhull
92. ,, D. B. H. Moore
93. ,, R. A. Palmer
94. Miss Mavis Dunn
95. Mr. Benjamin Ch. Momin
96. Srijut Bhairab Chandra Das
97. Srijut Bideshi Pan Tanti
98. Srijut Binode Kumar J. Sarwan
99. Srijut Dhirsingh Deuri
100. Rev. L. Gatphoh
101. Mr. C. Goldsmith
102. ,, Jobang D. Marak
103. Rev. J. J. M. Nichols Roy
104. Srijut Karka Dalay Miri
105. Srijut Khorsing Serang Mauzadar
106. Mr. P. Parida
107. Srijut Rabi Chandra Kachari
108. The Hon'ble Srijut Rupnath Brahma (*Minister*)

THE ASSAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

LIST OF MEMBERS

President :—The Hon'ble Sj. Heramba Prasad Barua

1. Mrs. Zubida Ataur Rahaman
2. Vacant
3. Rai Sahib Sonadhar Das Senapati
4. Babu Apurba Kumar Ghosh
5. Babu Satyendra Mohan Lahiri
6. ,, Jatindra Chandra Mitra
7. Rai Sahib Balabaksh Agarwalla Hamchoria
8. Babu Gazanand Agarwalla
9. Rai Bahadur Rameswar Saharia
10. Rai Sahib Hem Chandra Dutta

11. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bhattacharya
12. Babu Man Mohan Chaudhury
13. ,, Suresh Chandra Das
14. Maulvi Abdul Hai
15. Khan Sahib Maulvi Rukumuddin Ahmed
16. Maulvi Md. Asad-uddin Chaudhury
17. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Gous-Uddim Ahmed Chaudhury
18. Maulvi Golam Mastafa Chaudhury
19. Maulvi Abdur Rahim Chaudhury
20. R. Petgrave Jhonson
21. Mr. W, E. D. Cooper

Proceedings of the Assam Assembly

Budget Session—Shillong—9th. March to 6th. April 1939

Financial Statement for 1939-40

The Budget session of the Assam Legislative Assembly commenced at Shillong on the **9th. March 1939** with Mr. *Basanta Kumar Das*, Speaker in the chair. After interpellations, the Finance Minister, the Hon'ble Mr. *Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed* presented the Budget for the year 1939-40 and in doing so said :—"It should not be forgotten that we are carrying on the Government in the province under an irresponsible Centre, and almost under the shadow of the scheme of the All-India Federation which has been rejected not only by the National Congress but also by other political organisations and the Princes and the people of the States". The following is the Budget at a glance :

Revenue Receipt for 1938-39 :—2,64,24,000. Revenue Expenditure :—2,68 86,000. Deficit :—4,62,000. The Budget Estimates for 1939-40 show a deficit of Rs. 17,39,000, Receipts are expected to total Rs. 2,84,45,000 and expenditure Rs. 301,84,000.

The Finance Minister announced that the Government proposed to bring in five taxation measures immediately, the important being the levy of a tax on agricultural incomes, petrol and lubricant oil. Others are tax on amusement, betting, foreign liquor and other articles of luxury. The Minister said that levy of a tax on agricultural produce was estimated to bring in a revenue of about Rs 25 lakhs. The Government proposed to spend a portion of the amount from this source on the labour population in tea gardens. The tax, at the rate of two annas per gallon on petrol and three annas on lubricant oil, was estimated to bring an income of about Rs. 4 lakhs a year. Another measure for which the assent of the House was being sought was levy of a tax on the sale of goods. The Finance Minister observed, "If the Legislature will pass these measures at an early date and we are assisted by all sections of people in tapping the sources of the provinces, we hope to have in 1939-40 not only sufficient revenue to cover the deficit which has been shown above but also something to spare for supplementary grants for the purpose of pushing our schemes of improvement either actually formulated or in the course of preparation. Honourable Members will have realised that the net result of all these transactions for future year is that we may expect a revenue surplus of about Rs. 12 lakhs at the close of the year. Taxation is never popular. I have this satisfaction that the taxes I have proposed are neither harsh nor such as incidence of which will fall on the poor. They have, on the other hand, been resorted to with a view to carrying out our programme of prohibition and projects for additional expenditure for national development and reconstruction. The policy of the Government in getting rid of drink and opium revenue will increase the spending power of the masses which will mean corresponding benefit to the agriculturists and trading classes, as the masses, with more money to spare, will spend it on the purchase of goods. The Government propose to take a loan of Rs. 50 lakhs, payable after 20 years, with a Sinking Fund to which an annual contribution of Rs. 2,15,000 will be made from revenue in order to pay off outstanding dues to enable the Government to grant a loan to local bodies for their water supply schemes and also start schemes involving large capital expenditure."

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX BILL

10th. MARCH :—The Assembly divided twice in the course of 15 minutes this evening to take a decision on the Assam Agricultural Income-Tax Bill, 1939, introduced by the *Finance Minister*. The Finance Minister also moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of six members. *Sir Mohd. Saadulla*, Leader of the Opposition, moved an amendment to circulate the Bill for eliciting public opinion, which after discussion occupying two hours, was negatived by 56 votes to 23. The European Group *enbloc* remained neutral. When the original motion came before the House, the Opposition again claimed a division, but the original motion was carried by 56 votes to 31. This time the European Group voted against the Government. As many as ten speakers participated in the discussion. The Opposition members mainly attacked the Bill on the ground that its provisions were hasty, unsympathetic and complicated and suggested that a better Bill be drafted. Supporters of the Bill maintained that they would never be found wanting when called upon to bear a fair share of the national burden. The House also, on the motion of the Finance Minister, took the Assam Sales Tax Bill 1939 into consideration.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

11th. to 4th. MARCH :—The general discussion of the Budget commenced on the 11th. March. The opposition opening the discussion criticised the budget, that it did not include measures for improvement of general condition of all people, but had introduced a policy of favouritism to win over members with public money. some speakers charged the Government with having introduced an atmosphere of intense corruption and have subordinated provincial independence to the dictates of the Congress High Command who controlled their destiny from outside. The House adjourned after eight speakers had addressed it. The debate was resumed on Monday next, the 13th. March when only five members participated in the discussion. Separation question of Sylhet and attitude of the Coalition Government were discussed. Dewan Eklimur Roza and Dr. Saikia criticised the budget and for want of speakers the House adjourned till the next day, the 14th. March when the general discussion of the Budget concluded.

THE FINANCE BILL

16th. MARCH :—The Assam Finance Bill, 1939 was taken into consideration to-day. Mr. *Akshay Kumar Das's* motion for approval of the Prohibition scheme and the expenditure involved within the limits of Rs. 125,000, pending the submission of a supplementary demand, was passed.

A motion that the Assam Sale of Motor Spirits and Lubricants Bill be taken into consideration was then moved. The *Finance Minister*, replying to the Opposition criticism on this and the Finance Bill, said that motor buses and lorries were not included in the scheme of taxation and that proper measures would be taken so that the extra taxation did not divert the motor dealing business from the province. Taxation on cycles would also be tried. Regarding the Assam Amusements and Betting Tax Bill, which also came up for consideration, an assurance was given that charity and educative shows would be exempted from taxation. The Assam Municipal Amendment Bill, 1938, was passed into law.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

18th. to 30th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the **18th. March**, when the demands for grants under the head, "General Administration" came up for discussion. Mr. *Amjad Ali* moved the first "cut" that the whole provision of Rs. 44,239 under the head "Commissioners, which is in connection with the remaining post of Commissionership, be refused. The mover, explaining the object of the motion, narrated the history of the question of the abolition of both the posts of Commissioners and said that both the sides of the House had always advocated it. The *Premier*, replying, said that he was always ready to respect the wishes of the House and in fact the expenditure had been included in the estimate not at the instance of the present Ministry but in exercise of the special responsibility of the Governor. The Premier further said that though arguments were put forward in support of the retention of the remaining post of Commissioner as being necessary, the Government were ready to go in the same lobby with the opposition over the question. The cut motion was passed without a division. Five other cut motions were next discussed and were either rejected by the house or withdrawn on the assurance given by the Government. The House granted out of the Premier's total demand, a sum of Rs. 21,29,300 for

"General Administration" and then adjourned till Monday next, the **20th. March**, when unusual heat marked the proceedings when the *Revenue Minister's* demand for grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,797,600 to defray the charges of land revenue came up for discussion. Out of 25 cuts moved 7 were discussed criticising the policy of the Government in not granting remission of land revenue in flood affected parts of tenants and in not throwing open settlement reserves. On the question of not throwing open settlement reserves, vote was taken, but the cut motion was defeated by 38 to 56 votes, Europeans en bloc voting against the Government. The cut criticising the government for not granting 50 percent reduction in land revenue in the year 1938-39 was lost without division after a prolonged debate. The discussion of the demand was not finished when the House adjourned till Monday the **21st. March** when it granted a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,97,600 to defray the charges of land revenue administration, Rs. 696,400 for administration of justice and Rs. 351,800 for provincial excise. Most of the cuts were withdrawn. On the **24th. March** demands for grants of Rs. 1,48,600 under head "Registration", and Rs. 25,40,100 for Police were passed. Out of twelve cuts to the Registration demand two were discussed. One was lost without a division and the other was withdrawn. Out of 23 cuts to the Police demand two were discussed but lost. During discussion the Premier appealed for dealing with the communal problem in the province. Next day, the **25th March**, the House passed the *Premier's* demands for a sum of Rs. 3,596,100 under the head 'Administration of Education.' Out of the 63 cuts, eight were discussed, two were rejected without a division and the rest were withdrawn. The most important "cut" motion wanted to discuss the establishment of a university in Assam. The Opposition complained of the absence of a scheme for a university and maintained that financial difficulties should not stand in the way. They urged the pressing necessity of a university in an autonomous province. Some members pleaded for two residential universities, one at Sylhet and the other at Gauhati, while others opposed the idea of establishing a university, maintaining that rural education demanded prior consideration. The *Premier*, replying, assured the House that though the Congress believed in giving priority to rural education for which a fund had been provided in the current budget, a scheme for a university would be ready by the next budget. The Cunningham Report, which recommended the establishment of an examining university, as also other proposals of the members, would be taken into consideration. The House then adjourned till Monday next, the **27th. March**, when it granted demands for Rs. 776,300 under the head 'Public Health' Rs. 10,60,700 under 'Medical' and Rs. 6,11,000 under 'Agriculture.' The European group's cut under the head 'Public Health' to censure the Government having dispensed with the post of Dr. Rice of the Assam Medical Research Society was lost by 54 to 32 votes. The Government replying stated that it was felt that there was no necessity to maintain such a high salaried post. Next day, the **28th. March**, the demands under the heads, 'Industries, Rs, 2,31,000; 'Jails' and 'Convict Settlement Rs. 4,53,300; 'Civil Works' (excluding establishment) Rs. 36,86,900; 'Loans and Advances' bearing and not bearing interest, Rs. 5,30,000, were discussed and passed. During the discussion on cut motions the need for opening a tannery school and for finding avenues for employment for the resources of the province for industrial development was stressed and the Minister assured the house that the Government were considering the appointment of an expert to go into the question. Next day, the **29th. March**, all the demands for grants under heads Industries, Jails and Convict Settlements, Civil Works and Loans and Advances were passed. Altogether seven cut motions were moved and out of these six were withdrawn and one lost without division. Next day, the **30th. March**, the increased number of Ministers and their tours came for severe criticism by an opposition cut motion when voting on demands for supplementary grants was taken up. Six opposition members supporting the motion made a vehement attack on Government policy of increasing expenditure. The speakers maintained that the Cabinet was not following Congress principle and saw no reasons why the Ministers undertook extensive tours. Some excitement was caused when Mr. *Abdul Matin Chaudhury*, ex-Minister, challenged the Public Health Minister to condradict the statement that the latter actually travelled second class during his recent Madras tour and charged for first class. The *Health Minister*, who was not present in the House, had already replied earlier that he had charged for the class he had actually travelled. The *Premier* replying justified the Ministers' tours. The *Finance Minister*, giving a final reply, stated that they were not responsible for an increase in expenditure and that the opposition by the cut motion were only criticising the previous Cabinet's action much more. He held that there had

been substantial saving in view of the Ministers' accepting a lesser salary which saving had been utilised for public purposes. The cut was lost. All supplementary demands and grants under heads veterinary, cooperation and miscellaneous were passed. During discussion on supplementary statement, *Sir Mohd. Saadulla*, opposition leader, urged for definite method for budgetary estimates in areas. He asked the Government to take up the matter with higher authorities.

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX BILL (CONTD.)

31st. MARCH :—The *Finance Minister* moved that the Agricultural Income-tax Bill, as reported by the select committee, be taken into consideration. Mr. *J. P. Clayton* (European Group). opposed the motion, saying that the tea industry of the province would be adversely affected by the proposed taxation. He argued that tea at present did not yield much profit, and as tea was consumed largely outside the province, it would serve as a tariff. He regretted the hurried way in which a Bill of such great consequence was being rushed through. Mr. *Arun Chandra*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, attacked the European Group who, he said, in spite of the Government's promise that the tea industry would not be made to suffer, was not coming forward with sacrifices but was standing in the way of the country's progress. *Sir M. Saadulla*, Opposition Leader, advised postponement of the measure till the next session. *Khan Sahib Mudabir Hussain* opposed the motion, as in his view, "the contents of the Bill would disturb the Permanent Settlement, the Muslim Law as regards charity and the Hindu joint family system". Hon. Mr. *Fakhruddin Ahmed*, in the course of his reply, referred to a Privy Council ruling which held that incometax legislation was no encroachment on the Permanent Settlement, and assured the House that it was no encroachment upon Muhammedan law either. The decision held good in respect of the present case also. Proceeding, he said that the Government had the welfare of the tea industry in their mind and advised the planters to move for the repeal of the levy on tea in the United Kingdom. The motion was put to vote and carried by 56 votes to 36.

THE SALES TAX BILL

1st. APRIL :—The Assembly passed to-day the Sales Tax Bill, 1939, and accepted Mr. *Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed's* amendments to rectify certain errors. When the motion for the final passage of the Bill was made, objections were taken by the Opposition. Mr. *Ashrafuddin Mohamad Chaudhury* invoked the aid of Section 62 of the Assam Legislative rules, in which it is provided that, if any amendment be made, any member may object to the passing of a Bill at the same meeting and such objection shall prevail unless the Speaker in his discretion allows the bill to be passed. He objected to certain legal features of the Bill and particularly the provision regarding search at night and the absence of the right of appeal. Mr. *Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed*, Minister-in-charge, in his reply said that these objections were made to delay the passage of the Bill. These legal objections could have been raised at earlier stages. As regards the question of appeal it related only to confiscation cases and the consistency or otherwise of the legal aspects of the Bill could be tested in the law courts. The *Speaker* concurred with the Minister that these objections could have been raised at the consideration stage and he, in his discretion, allowed the passage of the Bill. The House then pased the Bill.

AMUSEMENT & BETTING TAX BILL

In the afternoon, the Assembly considered the Assam Amusement and Betting Tax Bill, clause by clause. Out of twelve amendments nine were moved by the European group. Four were accepted by the Government and the rest were lost. The most important amendment carried, stated that the tax shall not be charged on entertainments provided by the management of tea estates for the benefit of the estates labour force for which no charge for admission was made. The Bill was eventually passed.

The Assembly also pased the Assam Commissioners Powers Distribution Bill 1939 and the Assam Motor Vehicles Taxation (amendment) Bill 1939, and referred to a Select Committee the Goalpara Tenancy (amendment) Bill 1939.

THE SYLHET TENANCY AMEND. BILL

3rd. APRIL :—The Sylhet Tenancy (Amendment) Bill was introduced to-day and the motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee was moved by Mr. ***Fakruddin Ali Ahmed.*** The motion was passed at 4 p.m. after a considerable discussion. ***Maulavi Maq bul Hossain Choudhuri, Dewan Eklimur Roja, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, Maulavi Abdur Rahaman, Maulavi Abhab Choudhury, Khan Bahadur Abdul Mazid*** from

the Opposition spoke against the Bill on the ground that the Bill did not satisfy the modest expectation of the tenants. Babu *Rabindra Nath Aditya* and Babu *Karuna Sindhu Roy* from the Government side supported the motion. Mr. Aditya said that this Bill was far in advance of the Bill submitted by some of the members who spoke against the motion. Discontented tenants, he said, are a danger to both Government and Zemindars. The sooner this Bill is passed the better it would be for the tenants and landlords. It is a move in the right direction.

MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUE

4th. APRIL :—A heated discussion took place to-day on a resolution moved by Mr. *Amjad Ali*, that, in the opinion of the House, the hours fixed for stoppage of music before mosques by the Government Communique dated January 9, 1939, published in the Assam Gazette of January 11, 1939, were not suitable, and interfered with the religious prayers of Muslims in the province. The *Premier* refuted the contention that the recent communal riot was the result of that communique. When the motion was put to vote, it was defeated by 54 to 42 votes. Nine of the Opposition members were absent.

NON-CONFIDENCE IN MINISTRY

5th. APRIL :—A motion of "no-confidence" in the Ministry was handed over to the Secretary of the Assembly, before the commencemant of the day's sitting. The motion was however later withdrawn. After question time, which occupied only ten minutes, the *Speaker* called on Mr. *Maqbul Hussain Chaudhury*, to ask for the leave of the House to move his motion expressing want of confidence in the Cabinet. Mr. Maqbul Hussain informed the Speaker that he did not desire to move the motion.

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX BILL (CONTD.)

6th. APRIL :—The Assembly to-day passed by 57 votes to 28 the Agricultural Income-tax Bill. Amendments were mostly moved by the European group. Some of these were accepted and the rest were either turned down or were not moved. The Governor disallowed some of the amendments moved by the European Group. Mr. *F. W. Hockenhull*, opposing the Bill, said that their objection to the passing of the measure was inspired by the method of presentation of the Bill. He further said that the Bill could be considered in a special session instead of being hurried through. Mr. *Abdur Rahman* and Mr. *Zahanuddin Ahmed* also spoke opposing the Bill, the former saying that the taxation would overburden the middle class. Mr. Zahanuddin said that it would infringe upon the personal laws of the Muslims. Mr. *Ashrafuddin Choudhury*, opposing the measure, maintained that it could not be passed on the same day on which amendments were made. The *Speaker* declared that the matter was one within the discretion of the Chair. After a short reply by the *Finance Minister*, the Bill was put to vote and carried by 57 votes to 28.

The Assam Finance Bill was also passed with some changes proposed by the Government in view of the amendments to the Agricultural Income-tax Bill. The Assam Excise Amendment Bill 1939 was also passed. The Assembly was then *prorogued.*

Proceedings of the Assam Council

Budget Session—Shillong—9th. March to 13th. March 1939

COMMISSIONERS POWERS DISTRIBUTION BILL

The Budget session of the Assam Legislative Council commenced at Shillong on the **9th. March 1939** with the Hon'ble *Rai Bahadur Heramba Prasad Barua* in the chair. The budget for the year 1939-40, was presented and the Hon'ble Prime Minister read out the introductory speech of Hon'ble Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Finance Minister, who was at the time busy delivering his speech in the Assembly. After the speech was over, Hon'ble Fakruddin Ali Ahmed introduced the Assam Commissioners Powers Distribution Bill, 1939, and moved that the Bill be taken into consideration which was done without any dissentient voice. The Bill provided for the distribution of powers of Commissioners of Divisions in Assam, providing for

the discharge of powers devolving on Commissioners in the event of the remaining post of the Commissioner being also abolished. The house then adjourned.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

10th. to 13th. MARCH :—There was a full debate on the Budget on these days. The dominant note in the various speeches was the want of adequate provision made in the Budget for tackling the serious unemployment existing in the province. *Khan Sahib Maulavi Abdur Rahim Chaudhury* pointed out that while there was too much talk about ameliorating the lot of cultivators almost nothing was being done to remove the distress of persons belonging to the middle classes. The new taxation proposals he said, would hurt the middle classes in an indirect way and referred to the necessity of a medical school in Sylhet. Mr. *Monmohan Chaudhury* advised the Government to give proper wages to subsidized doctors and asked the Government to request tea garden authorities to employ Assamese doctors only. He referred to the terrible miseries of unemployed youth to whom Government were indifferent and suggested that they should put themselves in touch with the Calcutta University Employment Bureau and maintain a register of unemployed youths in Assam. Mr. *H. P. Gray* (European group) welcomed the prohibition scheme of the Government but emphasized the necessity of preventive measures against smuggling. He deplored the hasty drafting of the Agricultural Incometax Bill and pointed out that double taxation involved in the Bill was not a sound one. Mr. *H. Emblen* (Planting) brought to the notice of the Government the vast possibilities of fruit culture in Assam by means of which agriculturists might benefit considerably. He added that retrenchment rather than taxation should be the policy of the Government and thought that the subsidy of Rs. 10,600 to steamer companies was unnecessary. *Khan Sahib Rukunuddin Ahmed* referred to the question of unemployment and advised the Government to request tea companies and other private firms to give employment to local men. Mrs. *Zubeida Ataur Rahman*, Deputy President, said that women's education did not receive the attention it deserved. The Government spends on secondary education Rs 8,42,894 for boys. and only Rs. 89,373 for girls. The present curriculum of studies for girls was unsatisfactory and suggested that domestic science should be included. Mrs. Rahman also suggested state lotteries on the lines of the Irish Sweepstake lotteries for the improvement of hospitals in Assam. The Premier, Mr. *Gopinath Bardoloi* in his reply said that in proposing taxation measures they had in mind the needs of the masses and thought that taxation should fall on those who could pay. As regards the Retrenchment Committee proposals, he said that these were being carefully examined by the Government. The Government had not, as regards education, come to any decision on the question of the deprovincialization of Government high schools. In his opinion there was need for some model schools. As regards fruit culture he said that however much the quantity of fruit might be, marketing facilities were scanty and the art of preserving fruit had yet to be taught to the people. He agreed that an industrial survey of the province should be made and advocated the spread of Hindusthani in the province. Referring to the remarks made regarding the absence of some of the Ministers from the Upper House he observed that no discourtesy was meant as some Ministers had to attend the Lower House as well. The House adjourned *sine die* on the 13th. March.

May Session—Shillong—5th. May to 13th. May 1939

LEGISLATIVE OFFICERS' SALARIES BILLS

The May session of the Council commenced at Shillong on the **5th. May 1939.** The House passed the consideration stage of the Assam Ministers' Salaries Bill. 1938, the Assam Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's (Salaries and Allowances) Bill, 1939, and the Assam Prohibition Bill, 1939. Discussing the principles of the Assam Ministers' Salaries Bill and Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's Bills, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bhattacharjee* pointed out certain differences in the Bills, as while Ministers would be getting a conveyance allowance of Rs. 100 per month, the Speaker would have a conveyance allowance of Rs. 150 per month. though the latter does not travel as much as a Minister. The *Premier* pointed out that they were guided by Congress principles in this matter.

PROHIBITION BILL

Mr. *Akshay Kumar Das*, Minister for Excise, introducing the Prohibition Bill, pointed out that while the existing Acts with regard to Excise only aimed at regulating traffic in intoxicating liquors or intoxicating drugs, the present Bill aimed at bringing about prohibition of all transactions in liquor and intoxicating drugs, including consumption in the province. Mr. *P. Munday*, making his maiden speech, pointed out that they were unable to give their support to the measure in its present form as Government had included in the Bill prohibition of liquor. He made it clear that in no circumstances could they admit the principle of total prohibition of alcohol. He said that the Bill should be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion on it. As the House had already passed the consideration stage of the Bill, this could not be taken up.

THE DIGBOI STRIKE ECHO

6th. MAY:—The adjournment motion moved by *Maulvi Abdul Hai* yesterday to discuss the labour situation at Digboi, was talked out to-day. Mr. *Hai* characterized the Government action in this matter as vacillating. The Government, he observed, was leaning at times on the Company's side and at times on the side of the labour unions. He read the correspondence on this subject published in the *Statesman* of May 3, and inquired as to what the Government did to stop the "tyranny at Digboi". The motion sought to discuss the "failure of the Government to deal with the situation arising out of the labour strike at Digboi which has totally crippled every important industry in the province, is causing extreme hardship and discomfort and leading to danger of deterioration of public health by the withdrawal of all domestic servants, including scavengers, and the unfortunate firing incident with its potentialities for further breaches of the peace.

The Premier, Mr. *Gopinath Bardolol*, in his statement narrated the history of the strike and pointed out that the Government's attitude was one of strict neutrality and the Government was trying throughout the strike to maintain peace and order. When the Premier went to Makum on April 14, he found no party was agreeable to come to a compromise. Mr. Bardoloi asked the manager of the Company whether he was willing to take back the five dismissed persons immediately. The reply was disappointing. When the Premier met the Union representatives, whose attitude was also disappointing, they made three principal demands, first the reinstatement of the dismissed persons, second. not merely that the scale of pay should be within the grade but there should be a revision of the grade itself, and third, bungalow servants should be recognized as Government servants. The Premier disapproved of the Union's actions in embarking on a strike, and added that the Company "certainly did give provocation." When Mr. Bardoloi returned to Shillong and was considering the question of appointing a conciliation board, he heard of the shooting incident at Digboi. The Government had posted the millitary and police there to maintain order.

MONEYLENDERS BILL

The House to-day passed the Moneylenders Bill as amended by the Select Committee of the Council. The Bill will now be returned to the Lower House with a message asking concurrence of the Assembly to the amendments made by the Upper House.

NOTIFICATION RESCISSION URGED

The House carried a resolution moved by Mr. *Satyendramohan Lahiri*, urging the rescission of the notification of Octobor 9, 1911, relating to the extension of Sections 22, 23, 38(2) and 40 of the Chin Hills Regulation V of 1896 to the partially excluded areas of the Garo, Khasi and Jaintia hills (excluding the municipality and cantonment of Shillong) and the Mikir Hills tract. Mr. Lahiri, moving the resolution, said that according to those regulations, the Superintendent of Police or the Deputy Commissioner of any areas specified in the schedule, might order any person for reasons to be recorded in writing, to leave that area within a given time if he was satisfied that the presence of such a person not being a native of the area was injuriors to the peace and good administration of the area. Mr. Lahiri said that this regulation offended against the established principle of British jurisprudence that no man should be detained or deported by order of the executive without a trial. Mr. *H. Emblem* (European Group) opposed the resolution, pointing out that there were many undesirable persons for whom this regulation might be a necessity. Mr. *Bardoloi* pointed

out that a committee was shortly going to sit and that it would deal, with this and other connected matters. The Premier asked the mover to withdraw his resolution.

LEGISLATIVE OFFICERS SALARIES BILLS

8th. MAY :—The Council to-day passed the Assam Ministers' Salaries Bill 1938. The Bill was passed by the Assembly also and so the Assam Ministers' Salaries Act 1937 was thus repealed. The Ministers henceforward will get a salary of Rs. 500 p. m. and a House allowance of Rs. 100 and a Car Allowance of Rs. 100 only. At the outset Maulavi *Md. Asaduldin Chowdhury* moved an amendment by which he wanted to provide a consolidated amount of Rs. 700 as pay of the Hon'ble Ministers deleting the provision made in the Bill for House and Car allowances. Some of the Members raised a point of order that as there was no reference of any provision of allowance to Hon'ble Ministers in the Government of India Act the question cannot be raised here. Hon'ble the *Prime Minister* said that there might not be any reference to that point but he was sure that there was also no disqualifying section to that effect. The Hon'ble *President* over-ruled the point of order and the amendment of Maulavi Asaduddin Chowdhury was subsequently withdrawn. The Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's (Salary and Allowances) Bill 1939 was withdrawn by the Hon'ble Premier when the President pointed out that it cannot be introduced in this House under section 82 (C) of the Government of India Act.

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX BILL

9th. MAY :—The Council refused to pass by 11 to 9 votes the Assam Agricultural Income-Tax Bill. This Bill will have now to go to a joint session of both the Houses if His Excellency the Governor allows it. There was a good deal of discussion in the House about this Bill. Mr *H. Emblem*, opposing the introduction of the Bill, said that the European Group were prepared to support the principle of agricultural income-tax, but the present Bill fell short of what was necessary for adequate protection of the tax-payers. The Bill, he said, was based on the Bihar Bill, but the Bihar Bill dealt almost exclusively with the zamindars while in Assam 90 per cent of taxation would be realised from the tea industry. The most important defect of the Bill, he said, related to double taxation. He pointed out that the damage to tea industry would be damage to the province. Rai Saheb *Apurba Kumar Ghose* regretted that instead of reducing expenditure like an ordinary prudent man the Government had been bringing in legislation for increase in taxation. He pointed out that the Government had not yet done anything to give effect to the recommendation of a joint committee of both Houses on retrenchment and resources. Babu *Jatindra Chandra Maitra*, Khan Sahib *Rukunuddin Ahmed*, *Maulavi Abdul Hai* also spoke against the Bill while Mr. *Suresh Chandra Das*, Mr. *Satyendra Mohan Lahiri* and Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bhattacherjee* supported the Bill. The Hon'ble Premier, Sj. *Gopinath Bardoloi* appealed to the House not to throw out the Bill as it was meant not merely to cover deficit but to do good to the nation-building department. Mr *Fakruddin Ali Ahmed*, Finance Minister said that if any perfections were found in the Bill and they did not claim perfection for it, then this would be made good in the light of experience. The Government would give a sympathetic consideration to any just and proper amendments that may be made by the House in this Bill.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

12th. MAY :—The Council passed to-day the following Bills as passed by the Assembly during its last budget session:—(1) The Assam Municipal (Amendment) Bill, (2) Assam Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Bill, 1939, (3) The Assam Sales Tax Bill, 1939, (4) Assam Amusement and Betting Tax Bill, 1939, (5) Assam Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1939, and (6) Assam Excise Bill, 1939. There were amendments tabled to different clauses of these Bills but these were not moved except one of Maulavi Abdul Hai in the Assam Amusements and Betting Tax Bill. The amendment of Mr. Hai was lost without any division.

THE PROHIBITION BILL

The House also passed the Assam Prohibition Bill which was introduced by the Government in this session of the Council. There were eight amendments in the Bill moved by Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bhattachariee* and six of them were accepted by the Government. The remaining two were withdrawn by the mover. The amendment of Mr. Bhattacharjee to Clause 35 of the Bill relating to power

to cancel or suspend licences and permits caused considerable discussion in the House. Mr. Bhattacharjee was unwilling to empower the Government to cancel or suspend any licence or premit without assigning any reasons as provided in Sub-Clause (2) of Clause 35 of the Bill. Mr. Bhattacharjee characterized such power as arbitrary and he was afraid that the powers would be misused. Rai Bhadadur *A. K. Ghose* and some members supported Mr. Bhattacharjee's amendment. The *Finance Minister* and Mr. *Dhri Sing Deori* opposed the amendment. The Hon'ble Mr. *Akhay Das*, Minister of Excise, opposing it said that such provision was necessary. The reasons for cancelling licence could not, he said, be assigned for public interest and he requested the mover to withdraw the amendment. Mr. Bhattacharjee insisted the Hon'ble Minister to state instances he had in his mind in which cases of public interest might suffer by stating reasons in cancelling licence. The Minister referred cases of smugglers who are very intelligent. He also stated the difficulties of Government to cope with them unless there was such a provison as under discussion. Mr. Bhattacharjee withdrew his amendment.

The Digboi Firing Incident

13th. MAY:—The hon. Mr. *N. C. Bardoloi*, in the course of a statement in the Council to-day, referring to the enquiry that has just been concluded into the Digboi firing, said: "The point has been as to whether that inquiry has been judicial or magisterial under the Police Manual. Three complaints were lodged before the Magistrate at Digboi. The point that has arisen is whether this is a judicial inquiry. If it be a judicial inquiry, then the Government would be in a position to say something on the judgment but, if on the other hand, it is actually an inquiry under the Police Manual, then the Government will be in a position to publish the whole thing before the public. The opinion of the Legal Remembrancer will have to be obtained on this important point and as soon as this is done, we will either publish the whole report if it be Magisterial or extracts of the judgment in case the inquiry is held to be a judicial one. We do not know if publication of the result of that inquiry may not be contempt of court under certain circumstances. Therefore, my statement must be taken with that reservation." Replying to a query by Mr. *Satyendra Mohon Lahiri* whether the Government would consider the desirability of appointing a special tribunal if it was not a judicial inquiry, the Premier said that the matter was under consideration. The House was then *prorogued*.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker

THE HON'BLE CHAUDHURI SIR SHAHAB-ud-DIN

Deputy Speaker

SARDAR DASAUNDHA SINGH

Secretary

SARDAR BAHADUR SARDAR ABNASHA SINGH

Deputy Secretary

KHAN BAHADUR HAKEEM AHMED SHUJAA

Ministers

THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR MAJOR SIRDAR SIR SIKANDER HYAT-KHAN

THE HON'BLE SARDAR BAHADUR DR. SARDAR SIR SUNDAR SINGH MAJITHIA

THE HON'BLE RAO BAHADUR CHAUDHRI SIR CHHOTU RAM

THE HON'BLE MR. MANOHAR LAL

THE HON'BLE NAWABZADA MAJOR KHIZAR HAYAT KHAN TIWANA

THE HON'BLE MIAN ABDUL HAYE

Advocate-General

MR. M. SLEEM

Parliamentary Secretaries

KHAN BAHADUR MIAN AHMAD YAR KHAN DAULATANA

MIR MAQBOOL MAHMOOD

SARDAR BAHADUR SARDAR UJJAL SINGH

MRS. JAHAN ARA SHAH NAWAZ
RAJA GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN
CHAUDHRI TIKKA RAM
THAKUR RIPUDAMAN SINGH
SHAIKH FAIZ MUHAMMAD

Parliamentary Private Secretaries

SAYED AMJAD ALI SHAH
BHAGAT HANS RAJ
SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH MAN
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS
RAI BAHADUR CHAUDHRI SHAM LAL
NAWABZADA MUHAMMAD FAIYAZ ALI KHAN
KHAN BAHADUR MIAN MUSHTAQ AHMAD GURMANI
SARDAR GOPAL SINGH (AMERICAN)

Members

1. ABDUL AZIZ, MIAN
2. ABDUL HAMID KHAN, SUFI
3. ABDUL RAB, MIAN
4. ABDUL RAHIM, CHAUDHRI
5. ABDUL RAHIM, CHAUDHRI
6. AFZAALALI HASNIE, SAYED
7. AHMAD YAR KHAN, CHAUDHRI
8. AJIT SINGH, SARDAR
9. AKBAR ALI, PIR
10. ALI AKBAR, CHAUDHRI
11. ALLAH BAKHSH KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB MALIK
12. ANANT RAM, CHAUDHRI
13. ASHIQ HUSSAIN, CAPTAIN
14. BADAR MOHY-UD-DIN, QADRI, SAYED
15. BALBIR SINGH, RAO BAHADUR CAPTAIN RAO
16. BALDEV SINGH, SARDAR
17. BALWANT SINGH, SARDAR
18. BARKAT ALI, MALIK
19. BHAGAT RAM CHODA, LALA
20. BHAGAT RAM SHARMA, PANDIT
21. BHAGWANT SINGH, RAI
22. BHIM SEN SACHAR, LALA
23. BINDA SARAN, RAI BAHADUR
24. CHAMAN LALL, DIWAN
25. CHANAN SINGH, SARDAR
26. DESHBANDHU GUPTA, LALA
27. DEV RAJ SETHI
28. DINA NATH, CAPTAIN
29. DUNI CHAND, LALA
30. DUNI CHAND, MRS.
31. FAIZ MUHAMMAD KHAN, RAI
32. FAQIR CHAND, CHAUDHRI
33. FAQIR HUSSAIN KHAN, CHAUDHRI
34. FARMAN ALI KHAN, SUBEDAR MAJOR RAJA
35. FATEHJANG SINGH, 2ND. LIEUT. BHAI
36. FATEH KHAN, KHAN SAHIB RAJA
37. ,, MUHAMMAD, MIAN
38. ,, SHER KHAN, MALIK
39. FAZAL ALI KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB CHAUDHRI
40. FAZAL DIN, KHAN SAHIB CHAUDHRI
41. ,, KARIM BAKHSH, MIAN
42. FEW, MR. E.
43. GHULAM MOHY-UD-DIN, KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI
44. GHULAM QADIR KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR
45. GHULAM RASUL, CHAUDHRI
46. GHULAM SAMAD, KHAWAJA
47. GIRDHARI DAS MAHANT
48. GOKUL CHAND NARANG, DR. SIR
49. GOPAL DAS, RAI BAHADUR LALA
50. GOPI CHAND BHARGAVA, DR.
51. GURBACHAN SINGH, SARDAR SAHIB SARDAR
52. HABIB ULLAH KHAN, MALIK
53. HAIBAT KHAN DAHA, KHAN
54. HARI CHAND, RAI SAHIB RAI
55. HARI LAL, MUNSHI
56. HARI SINGH, SARDAR
57. HARJAB SINGH, SARDAR
58. HARNAM DAS, LALA
59. HARNAM SINGH, CAPTAIN SODHI
60. HET RAM, RAI SAHIB CHAUDHRI
61. INDAR SINGH, SARDAR
62. JAFAR ALI KHAN, M.
63. JAGJIT SINGH BEDI, TIKKA
64. JALAL-UD-DIN AMBER, CHAUDHRI
65. JOGINDAR SINGH MAN, SARDAR
66. JUGAL KISHORE, CHAUDHRI
67. KABUL SINGH
68. KAPOOR SINGH, SARDAR
69. KARAMAT ALI, SHAIKH
70. KARTAK SINGH, CHAUDHRI
71. KARTAR SINGH, SARDAR
72. KHALID LATIF GAUBA, MR.
73. KISHAN DASS, SETH
74. KISHAN SINGH, SARDAR
75. KRISHNA GOPAL DUTT, CHAUDHRI
76. LAL SINGH, SARDAR
77. MAZHAR ALI AZHAR, MAULVI
78. MOHY-UD-DIN LAL BADSHAH, SAYED
79. MUBARIK ALI SHAH SAYED
80. MUHAMMAD ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN CHAUDHRI
81. MUHAMMAD AKRAM KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR RAJA
82. MUHAMMAD ALAM DR.
83. MUHAMMAD AMIN, KHAN SAHIB SHAIKH
84. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF, CHAUDHRI
85. MUHAMMAD AZAM KHAN, SARDAR
86. MUHAMMAD HASSAN, CHAUDHRI
87. MUHAMMD HASSAN KHAN GURCHANI, KHAN BAHADUR SARDAR
88. MUHAMMAD HASSAN, KHAN BAHADUR MAKHDUM SAYED
89. MUHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON, NAWAB
90. MUHAMMAD HUSAIN, SARDAR
91. MUHAMMAD HUSAIN, CHAUDHRI
92. MUHAMMAD IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN, MIAN

93. Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Khan Bahadur Nawab Sir
94. Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Major Sardar
95. Muhammad Nurullah, Mian
96. Muhammad Qasim, Chaudhri
97. Muhammad Raza Shah Jeelani Makhdumzada Haji Sayad
98. Muhammad Saadat Ali Khan Khan Bahadur Khan
99. Muhammad Sadiq, Shaikh
100. Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Chaudhri
101. Muhammad Sarfraz Khan, Raja
102. Muhammad Shafi Ali Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri
103. Muhammad Wilayat Hussain Jeelani Makhdumzada Haji Sayed
104. Muhammad Yasin Khan Chaudhri
105. Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Khan
106. Mukand Lal Puri
107. Mula Singh, Sardar
108. Muni Lal Kalia, Pandit
109. Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash Sardar
110. Muzaffar Khan, Khan Bahadur Captain Malik
111. Muzaffar Khan, Khan Bahadur Nawab
112. Nasir-ud-Din, Chaudhri
113. Nasir-ud-din Shah, Pir
114. Nasrullah Khan, Rana
115. Naunihal Singh Mann Lieutenant Sardar
116. Nawazish Ali Shah, Sayed
117. Nur Ahmad Khan, Khan Sahib Mian
118. Partab Singh, Sardar
119. Pir Muhammad, Khan Sahib Chaudhri
120. Pohop Singh, Rao
121. Prem Singh, Chaudhri
122. Prem Singh, Mahant
123. Pritam Singh Siddhu, Sardar
124. Raghbir Kaur, Shrimati
125. Ram Sarup, Chaudhri
126. Ranpat Singh, Chaudhri
127. Rashida Latif Baji, Begum
128. Riasat Ali, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri
129. Rur Singh, Sardar
130. Sahib Dad Khan, Khan Sahib Chaudhri
131. Sahib Ram, Chaudhri
132. Sampuran Singh, Sardar
133. Santokh Singh, Sardar Sahib Sardar
134. Sant Ram, Seth
135. Satya Pal Dr.
136. Shahadat Khan, Khan Sahib Rai
137. Shah Nawaz Khan, Nawab Sir
138. Shri Ram Sharma, Pandit
139. Singha, Diwan Bahadur S. P.
140. Sita Ram, Lala
141. Mohan Lal, Rai Sahib Lala
142. Sohan Singh Josh, Sardar
143. Sudarshan, Seth
144. Sultan Mahmud Hotiana, Mian
145. Sumer Singh, Chaudhri
146. Suraj Mal, Chaudhri
147. Talib Hussain Khan, Khan
148. Tara Singh, Sardar
149. Teja Singh, Sardar
150. Uttam Singh Dugal, Sardar
151. Wali Muhammad Sayyal Hiraj, Sardar

Proceedings of the Punjab Assembly

Special Session—Lahore—9th. to 24th. January 1939

Agricultural Produce Market Bill

The special session of the Punjab Legislative Assembly which met at Lahore on the **9th. January 1939** to dispose of the Punjab Agricultural Produce Market Bill was marked by uproarious scenes. Only one amendment by the Parliamentary Secretary was taken up and discussion had not concluded when the Premier moved that the House should hereafter meet at 12-30 p. m. instead of at 2 p. m. as hitherto. Opposition benches considered that the motion was inadmissible and then there was a hot exchange of remarks between the Treasury and Opposition benches.

Allegations Against the Police

Serious allegations against police officials of the Jullundur district, including the arresting of three respectable persons at night, keeping them in the judicial lock-up, denying them facilities for using their own bedding and taking them in handcuffs through the street from the judicial lock-up to the court, were made by members of the Opposition during the debate on *Lala Dunichand's* motion for

adjournment. After the motion had been discussed for an hour and a half, it was withdrawn on an assurance by the *Premier* that he had already instituted an enquiry into the allegations and that he would take proper action against the police officers concerned if the allegations were proved to be true. The Opposition member. including Dr. *Gopi Chand Bhargava*, *Lala Duni Chand*, *Sardar Sampuran Singh* and *Mian Abdul Hafiz*, who participated in the debate, characterised the present Government as worse than the old bureaucratic Government and held that the police were ruling in the Punjab. The Premier, the hon. *Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*, replying said that on his return to Lahore, the allegations had been brought to his notice and he had at once ordered an enquiry. He had concluded that there was some truth in the allegations and had asked for further detail on receipt of which he would take proper action against the officers concerned. The House then adjourned.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE MARKET BILL (CONTD.)

10th. JANUARY :—The House proceeded to-day to a discussion of the remaining clauses of the Marketing Bill. Resuming discussion on an official amendment, moved by *Chaudhuri Tika Ram*, to empower gazetted officers to cancel or suspend a licence for breach of its conditions, *Mir Maqbool Mahmood*, Parliamentary Secretary, emphasised that "the object of the Government was to secure fair-play for small growers as well as businessmen. The amendment was carried by 79 votes to 38. Another official amendment was moved by *Chaudhuri Tika Ram*, aiming at a reduction of the maximum period of suspension or the cancellation of a licence for a period of from one year to five months for the first breach and of nine months for the second. The amendment was carried.

ALLEGATIONS OF PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

Allegations that the Punjab Government were according preferential treatment to their members in order to secure their position were made by the Opposition Party in the course of the debate on the adjournment motion of *Lala Deshbandhu Gupta*, who moving the motion, referred to a letter written by the Chief Engineer to a subordinate, ordering additional supply of water to the land belonging to Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana, Chief Parliamentary Secretary of the Punjab Government. He wanted to know why preferential treatment was accorded to Daulatana land at the cost of the poor zamindars. The hon. Sir *Sunder Singh Majithia*, Minister for Revenue, replying to the debate, said that the distributory belonged to the Daulatana family before the Government purchased it. When the distributory was owned by the Daulatana family, they used to get 67 per cent of the supply of water and the remaining 33 per cent was given to the other zamindars. After the Government had purchased the distributory, the supply to the Daulatana land had been reduced by 20 per cent and the supply to other zamindars had been increased. Concluding, the Minister refuted the allegations made by a member of the Opposition Party that the Chief Engineer had given this preferential treatment to Daulatana land in order to get an extension of service. The motion was rejected by 68 votes to 26.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE MARKET BILL (CONTD.)

12th. JANUARY : —The entire opposition party totalling over 35 staged a walk-out as a protest against the closure motion moved by a member of the Ministerial party when an adjournment motion was under discussion. Shouts and counter shouts of 'order' 'order' 'shame' 'shame', etc. were raised from both sections of the house. The remaining amendments to clause six having been disposed of, the House adopted without much discussion clause seven and proceeded with clause 8 which was the most contentions clause, no less than 131 amendments having been given notice of.

The House then took up an adjournment motion of *Sardar Sohan Singh Josh* to discuss the posting of a police reporter and some constables in the Central Kisan School organised by the Agrarian Reform Institute at Lahore between December 21 and 30. The mover pointed out that the institute was a private school and not a public meeting and hence the entry of the police was a violation of fundamental rights of the people. The *Premier*, replying to the debate, said that he had read reports that the object of the school was to mislead agriculturists by expounding perverted economic theories and he wanted to verify this statement. When closure was moved, *Diwan Chamanlal* and other members of the opposition protested that they had not spoken on the motion and left the hall in a body raising cries of 'shame, shame'. Closure was applied thereafter and the house adjourned.

13th. JANUARY :—A good progress was made with the Markets Bill when four clauses were passed without much discussion. The special feature of to-day's discussion on the Bill, which otherwise was quite dull, was a series of divisions. After the consideration of clause 8 had been postponed, the House took up clause nine. As many as 23 amendments to this clause figured on the agenda paper. Except a minor amendment of *Sardar Kartar Singh* which sought to exempt brokers, weighmen, measurers, surveyors and warehouse-men from the fee of license, the amendment was rejected by 57 votes to 37. Another attempt to exempt them from payment of license fee was made by the Opposition when they opposed subclause two of clause nine. The subclause when put to vote was carried by 61 votes to 34. *Chowdhuri Krishna Gopal Dutt* then moved an amendment which sought to exempt weighman, measurer, surveyor or warehouseman from taking license. The Hon'ble *Choudhuri Sir Chhotturam*, Minister for Development, opposing the amendment said that if those persons were found guilty of any offence they were liable to punishment. The provision of license for them was therefore necessary. The amendment when put to vote was lost by 56 votes to 32. Clause nine was then passed. On the motion of the Minister for Development discussion on clause ten which related to the period of term of office of the members of Marketing Committee was also postponed. The House then proceeded to discuss clause eleven which related to the removal of a member of Marketing Committee. *Chowdhury Krishna Gopal Dutt* moved an amendment which sought to provide a right of appeal to the High Court against the order of the Government for the removal of a member. The Hon'ble *Chowdhury Sir Chhotturam*, opposing the amendment, said that the provision of removal of members even existed in the Municipal Acts. The amendment, when put to vote, was rejected by 67 votes to 27 votes. Clauses eleven, twelve and thirteen were passed without discussion. Clauses fourteen to eighteen were passed with little discussion during the last hours' of sitting and the House took up consideration of clause 19. Two more divisions were challenged by the Opposition during the debate. There was some discussion on the fees to be charged by the Market Committees. Opposition amendments sought to fix the fees to a nominal figure. *Dewan Chamanlal* supporting said that the Government which claimed to be a "Kisan Government" should not add to the burden on the grower by imposing these fees. The cost of the scheme should be borne by the richer zemindars who could pay and not by the poor cultivator. He had not concluded when the House adjourned till Monday.

16th. JANUARY :—The Assembly had to be suspended twice to-day—once for half-an-hour and again for one hour—by *Sardar Dasaundha Singh*, the Deputy Speaker, following prolonged uproar over the Chief Minister's statement on the editorial comments of the "Daily Protap" over last Thursday's breeze between *Dewan Chamanlal* and the Deputy Speaker, which led to a walkout by the members of the Opposition. The *Deputy Speaker*, who presided, concurred with the Premier that the comments had passed the limits of fair criticism and if the editor of the paper did not apologise within the course of the day, the representative of the paper would be excluded from the press gallery. The Opposition protested against this ruling and *Dewan Chamanlal* suggested the appointment of a Committee of Privileges to go into the matter before taking any action against the paper. On the refusal of the *Deputy Speaker* to consider the suggestion there were uproarious scenes in the House. He was asked under what Rules he had been reading out from a written statement prepared in private consultation with the Premier. The Deputy Speaker refused to allow any discussion on his ruling and the House became uncontrollable, as a result of which the House had to be suspended for half an hour from 2-5 p.m. On resumption, the Deputy Speaker said that before suspension he had ordered *Pt. Munilal Kalia* (Congress) to withdraw from the House for the day. The order was objected to by the Opposition, who pointed out that he could not do so under the rules, as it was then a fresh sitting of the House. The Deputy Speaker insisted and ordered the Watch and Ward officer to show Mr. Kalia the way out. This was the signal for further uproar and the Deputy Speaker named another Congress member, Mr. *Chowdhury Kartar Singh*, to withdraw from the House. Ultimately, the House was again suspended, this time for one hour. On reassembling, the two members were found to have withdrawn under protest.

After some discussion, *Sardar Santokh Singh's* amendment to drop Clause 20 of the Marketing Bill was adopted without discussion and the House was considering amendments to Clause 21 when the clock struck 6-30 p.m. and an adjournment motion was taken up.

Pandit *Shriram Sharma*, moving an adjournment motion to discuss the refusal of the local authorities to take necessary steps to prevent interference in a peaceful public meeting, held at Asaudha in the district of Rohtak on December 29, from a band of organised hooligans, intent upon creating a breach of the public peace, said that civil liberties were in danger in the Province. This state of affairs should not happen under a Government which claimed to be democratic. The Premier, the hon *Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*, replying to the debate, read a report he had obtained about the incident, which showed that 0.2 of the people of the village were in favour of holding the meeting as against the rest, who were opposed. They had, therefore, decided not to permit the meeting to be held. The police were present by request to maintain order and maintained an attitude of neutrality. The motion was pressed to a division and was declared lost by 58 votes to 29. The House then adjourned.

17th. to 19th. JANUARY :—Considerable progress was made with the Marketing Bill to-day. Clauses 21 to 24 were adopted and Clause 25 taken up. All the 13 amendments to Clause 22, relating to the restriction of trade allowance were rejected and the Clause adopted by 73 votes to 28. *Rai Bahadur Mukandlal Puri* moved an amendment to Clause 23, seeking to raise the period of limitation to institute suits against any Marketting Committee from six months to one year. It was rejected by 69 votes to 37. Clause 24 was adopted without discussion When the House took up Clause 25, relating to the supersession of Marketing Committees, to which 53 amendments had been tabled, *Diwan Chamanlal* moved an amendment, seeking to appoint a board, consisting of one representative of growers and one of licensees and with an independent chairman, to consider the objections to and explanations from Marketing Committees before they were superseded. He was supported by Rai Bahadur *Mukandlal Puri*, *Lala Sitaram* and *Lala Dunichand*. Dewan Chamanlal contended that the Unionists had committed a fraud on the electorate as they had not told them at the time of the elections that they would undertake such legislation. The hon. *Sir Chhotu Ram*, Minister for Development, replying, stressed that in their election manifesto, the Unionist Party had given an undertaking that they would promote legislation to protect the growers and reform the markets. The amendment was rejected by 66 votes to 27. Next day, the **19th. January**, the House took up consideration of amendments to Clause 25. The Clause, which related to suppression of a Market Committee, was adopted by the Assembly without much discussion. An official amendment, moved by Mr. *C. H. Tikaram*, providing a fine of Rs. 50 for contravention of Section 9 and Rs. 100 for contravention of Section 22, was opposed by Congress members and the Independent Party. The amendment was adopted by 70 votes to 33. *Diwan Chamanlal* opposed the adoption of Clause 26 on the ground of its extensive character and that double penalty was provided for a simple offence. The Clause was adopted by 73 votes to 31. Consideration of Clause 27 having been postponed, the remaining clauses of the Bill, including a new clause, were adopted in quick succession without much discussion. The House then took up Clause 8 which along with clause 10 and 17 were now the only ones still remained to be considered. Moving a number of amendments to Section 13 of Clause 8, Congress members sought to reduce the members of nominated Government officers on the Market Committees from 2 to 1. They urged that even this gave the Government a majority of 11 in a committee of sixteen. The *Premier* pointed out that the section provided that "not more than two members may be appointed" and whenever two members were not necessary only one would be appointed. In the case of bigger markets like Amritsar, however, it would be necessary to have two Government officers on the committee. Hence this provision. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned.

ADJ. MOTION ON RATIO QUESTION

20th. JANUARY :—*Lala Deshbandhu Gupta's* fresh motion of adjournment regarding the views expressed by the Punjab Government on the ratio question led to great excitement and uproar to-day. Stressing the importance of the acceptance of the motion, the mover said that he was surprised at the Finance Minister's statement that the matter was not urgent enough. He held that if the sixteen pence ratio agitation succeeded the Punjab would derive the maximum benefit, being an agriculturist country, and the Punjab Government should take a lead in this matter. *Dewan Chamanlal* submitted that what the House asked to discuss was not the exchange ratio question, but the Punjab Governmen't reply given on the floor of the House, and there should be no confusion of the issue. At this stage

a great uproar was created in the House as *Mian Nurulla*, who had recently resigned from the Unionist Party, wanted to speak and the Chair did not allow him and disallowed the motion, stating that the matter did not fall within the administrative responsibility of the Punjab Government. Mr. Nurulla said that he never expected such ruling from the Deputy Speaker who himself was an agriculturist, and walked out. The Hon. *Premier* amidst uproar drew the attention of the Chair to the "undignified" remark from Mr. Nurullah which cast reflection on the Chair and stated that Mr. Nurullah had been expelled from the Unionist Party last night. Opposition leaders, including Mr. *Gopichand*, Dr. *Narang* and others protested. At this stage Mr. *Nurullah* returned and wanted to make a personal explanation. He said that it was not a fact that he was expelled from the Unionist Party. He had resigned long ago and had submitted two more resignations.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE MARKET BILL (CONTD.)

20th. to 24th. JANUARY :—The House then resumed discussion on the remaining amendments to Clause 8 of the Marketing Bill and rejected by 80 votes to 26 an amendment to reduce the strength of nominated members from two to one. Mr *Krishna Gopal Dutt* moved that the nominated members should not have the right to vote in the committee. This was rejected without a division. *Sardar Sahib Sardar Santokh Singh* moved the deletion of the whole subclause providing for nomination. Opposition speakers contended that the Government, by this provision, wanted to control the constituencies and use the Market Committees as a political weapon. The amendment was rejected by 70 votes to 33. Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava* moved an amendment that of the remaining members three-fifths will be representatives of growers, elected by the growers, and two-fifths of licence-holders, elected by licence-holders. He opposed the method of indirect election which would result from the panel system proposed in the Clause. Mr. *Krishna Gopal Dutt* wanted a representative of the consumers to be included on the Committee. He made a plea for the Market Committees being free from official influence. Indirect elections, he contended, instead of affording a training in democracy, would put back the hands of the clock. Discussion had not concluded, when the House adjourned till Monday the **23rd. January,** when consideration of amendments to Clause 8 was continued. Three amendments were taken up together, viz, one by the Government, providing that in the Market Committee, apart from two nominated members, the proportion of growers and licence-holders should be in the ratio of two and one, the representatives to be nominated out of a panel ; the second by Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava* to the effect that three-fifths should represent growers and two-fifths licence-holders, to be chosen by election ; and the third by Dr. *Gokulchand Narang* to the effect that more than one-half shall represent growers. Opposition speakers criticised both the ratio and the method of election proposed by the Government amendment. They emphasised the need for the composition of the Market Committee of being fair and equitable. The zamindars, they feared, would be saddled with an additional burden and would hardly benefit from the measure. The *Leader of the House*, replying to the debate, refuted the charge that the Market Committee could be used to suppress the Congress. The system of indirect election he had proposed was the best under the circumstances. Dr, Bhargava's amendment was adopted without a division. The remaining amendments to Clause 8 having been disposed of, the House adopted the entire Clause as also the remaining Clauses 10 and 27 without much discussion. The second reading of the Marketing Bill was gone through and on the next day, the **24th. January**, the third reading was taken up and the Bill was adopted. During the third reading, Opposition criticism centred on the composition of Market Committees and the implications of the Bill. The *Leader of the House*, in an able defence of the Bill, replied to the various arguments put forward and the third reading was passed without a division.

ASSEMBLY OFFICES (SERGEANT-AT-ARMS) BILL

Good humour marked the proceedings when the *Prime Minister* introduced the Punjab Legislative Assembly Offices Bill providing for the appointment of a Sergeant-at-Arms. The Premier moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of ten members with instructions to submit its report by February 27, 1939, when the Budget session of the Assembly will begin. Preliminary objections to the Bill were overruled by the Speaker. *Diwan Chamanlal*, moving for circulation of the Bill, to elicit public opinion, pointed out that there was no precedence for this measure in any Province

in the whole of India and as there was no urgency about the matter, he suggested that the public should have their say on a question of such great constitutional importance. Mr. *Maqbul Mahmud*, opposing the motion for circulation, appealed to the House to uphold the dignity of the Chair and to strengthen the hands of the Government by supporting the measure. Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava*, while asserting that he yielded to none in his desire for upholding the dignity of the Chair, said that if he had reason to feel that the orders conveyed to him by the Sergeant-at-Arms were unreasonable, he would feel justified in resisting even a Sergeant-at-Arms. The *Premier* pointed out that no-where else in India had situations arisen such as necessitated the office of a Sergeant-at-Arms and appealed to the House to demonstrate that they were capable of running a democratic institution and leave a legacy of honour and integrity.

The motion for circulation was lost by 45 votes to 42 and the Premier's motion was adopted without a division. The House thereafter adjourned till the **27th. February.**

Budget Session—Lahore—27th. February to 24th. April 1939

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1939—40

The Budget Session of the Assembly commenced on the **27th. February**, when the Budget for 1939—40 was presented by Mr. *Manohar Lal*, Finance Minister. Duty on motor spirits and lubricants, which is expected to bring in an additional revenue of Rs 6½ lakhs was the main feature of the taxation proposals included in the budget. This, the Finance Minister said, was a measure to secure permanent addition to the revenues of the Province. He announced further that Government had in contemplation a number of other additional sources of revenue but they were still at the stage of examinations. The main principles in regard to them that would have to be borne in view would be to secure as far as possible equity and equality in the burden of taxation. There was an increase in the Provincial excise as a result of enhancement in the issued prices of excise opium and the levy of a transport fee on charas. The Minister referred to an income of Rs. 1.42 lakhs during 1938-39 by careful short-period investments of all available money not required for the immediate needs of the province. The following are the salient budget figures at a glance :—Total estimated revenue receipts for 1939-40—Rs. 11,67 lakhs. Total estimated expenditure for 1939-40—Rs. 11,96 lakhs. Deficit—Rs. 29 lakhs. This deficit, explained the Minister, was entirely due to the famine which dominated the finances of the year as in the previous year. The total effect of famine in 1939-40 is Rs. 55 lakhs—Rs. 38,85 lakhs in direct expenditure and Rs. 16 lakhs in reduced revenue—as against a budgeted deficit of Rs. 29 lakhs ; but for the famine there would have been no deficit at all, and under normal conditions a surplus of Rs. 26 lakhs may have been expected. Even as it is, the extraordinary receipts during the year were estimated at Rs. 35 lakhs with no corresponding expenditure and therefore, the real effect of the year's working was not in any minus direction. Taking the normal revenue receipts, and the extraordinary receipts technically so-called together, there would on the present estimates be actually a surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs. The tax proposed to be levied in the next year on the retail sales of motor spirit is at the rate of Re. 0-1-3 per gallon and Re. 0-2-6 per gallon on lubricants used for motor vehicles. During the current year, excise duty on spirit contents of toilet preparations and perfumery and on medicinal preparations, which might be used for other than medicinal purposes, was raised from Rs. 5 to Rs. 17-8 per L. P. gallon. With effect from the 1st April, it has been decided to increase the rate of duty or fee on certain liquors and intoxicating drugs as follows :— Special spiced spirit from Rs. 6-14 to Rs. 7-8 and Rs. 8-2 respectively per L. P. gallon, issue price of excise opium Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 per seer, transport fee on 'charas' at Rs. 20 per seer and fee on denatured spirit from Re. 0-12-0 to Re. 1 per imperial gallon. The explanatory memorandum to the budget points out how, if the extraordinary receipts are taken into consideration, the deficit of Rs. 27 lakhs in 1938-39 is reduced to Rs. 6 lakhs, and of Rs. 29 lakhs in 1939-40 is converted into a surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs. It is further pointed out that the extraordinary receipts figure in the Revenue Account, but a principle has been established with the concurrence of the legislature, that they should be devoted to the avoidance of debt by using them to meet capital expenditure and loans and advances by Government. If they are used in any emergency to come to the rescue of an adverse revenue

account, this does not violate the principle of sound finance, for it is in effect a borrowing from one's own capital to meet ordinary revenue expenses instead of borrowing from an outside source.

Motor Spirits Sales Taxation Bill

The Punjab Motor Spirits and Lubricants (Taxation of Sales) Bill which was introduced by the *Finance Minister* was referred to a select committee after an hour's heated debate. The motion of *Dewan Chamanlal* (Congress) for circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion by October 1 was rejected by 78 votes to 37. The circulation motion was supported among others by Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava*, Rai Bahadur *Mukandlal Puri*, *Lala Bhagat Ram* and *Sardar Kapur Singh*. They contended that the poorer classes in the Punjab preferred to travel by motor buses and the ultimate burden of this taxation would be shifted to their shoulders. The object of the circulation motion was that those who were directly concerned with the measure should be consulted. *Syed Amjad Ali*, opposing, said that on a fiscal measure like this, the Government should not be asked to ascertain public opinion. The House then adjourned till March 13.

General Discussion of Budget

13th. to 16th. MARCH :—General discussion of the Budget commenced on the 13th. March. Next day, the 14th March, *Choudhury Mahomed Hussain* made a strong plea for separation of the judiciary from the executive. Mr. Hussain complained of corruption in Government Departments, particularly the Police, and criticised the Government for being as bureaucratic as pre-Reform Governments. *Begum Shah Nawaz*, Parliamentary Secretary, sought to answer the various criticisms levelled against the Government by the previous Opposition speakers, particularly *Choudhury Krishna Gopal Dutt*. With an income less than those provinces with which the Punjab had been compared, she felt that the Punjab Government deserved to be congratulated for spending as much as Rs. 3,44,00,000 on beneficent departments. Begum Shah Nawaz was confident that the Punjab finances were safe in the hands of a noted economist like Mr. Manoharlal and his lucid and sound budget had elicited the commendation of a Congress member like Mr. Krishan Gopal Dutt. She did not agree with Mian Nurullah that the expenditure could be reduced from Rs. 12 to 10 crores, unless some department was scrapped, which was out of the question. The Government, she said, would give due consideration to the recommendations. Next day, the **16th. March**, *Sir K. Roberts* stressed that though provision had been made for the famine-stricken area, the bulk of the agriculturists got no relief. He urged the Government to press for a five-year period of protection to wheat-growers. *Mian Abdul Haye*, Minister for Education, cited figures to show that primary school teachers in the Punjab were better paid than elsewhere and also the percentage of trained teachers was larger in the Punjab than in other provinces. The hon. Mr. *Manoharlal*, Finance Minister, winding up the discussion, replied to the criticisms levelled by the members. He maintained that immediately after taking up office, the Government took steps to reduce the scales of pay. There was little scope for further retrenchment. He referred to the Hissar famine and said that the Government had not only met the immediate needs but had provided a huge sum for natural calamities in the next year's budget. The only tax the Punjab Government had proposed was the petrol tax which had been levied in other provinces also. The Finance Minister was lustily cheered when he declared, "It is in view of this that our credit in the loan market stand high." Among others who participated in the discussion were Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava*, Leader of the Opposition party, *Sir Chotturam*, Minister for Development and *Mrs. Dunichand*. The House at this stage adjourned.

Voting on Budget Demands

17th. to 30th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the 17th. March and on the next day, the **18th. March**, the policy of the Government in respect of the economic and social condition of the scheduled castes in the province formed the subject of a lively debate when a demand for grant in respect of "Ministers' salaries" was moved. The mover of the "cut", *Lala Naranamdas*, and other members of the Opposition criticised the Government for having done nothing for the amelioration of Harijans as compared with the work done in the Congress provinces. *Sardar Gopal Singh*, Parliamentary Secretary, while expressing sympathy with their legitimate grievances, referred to the Government's achievement in

abolishing "begar" (forced labour) and in providing facilities to Harijans as regards Government employment. The cut motion was rejected by 69 votes to 32. A spirited speech was made by *Diwan Chamanlal*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Opposition Party, when he moved a token cut to censure the general policy of the Government. Diwan Chamanlal strongly criticised the Government for taking no steps for the uplift of the Harijans and for the improvement of the economic conditions of the province. He had not concluded when the House adjourned till Monday, the **20th. March,** when he, continuing his speech, returned to the attack on the Government over his cut motion under the head "General Administration." He referred specially to the failure of the Government to reduce land revenue and water rates and for their continuing to draw "fat salaries." The hon. Sir. *Chhoturam*, replying to the debate, dwelt at length on the achievements of the Ministry, particularly as regards the launching of various projects, the passing of agrarian legislation and the promotion of industrial development. The hon. Sir. *Sikandar Hyat Khan*, Premier, winding up the debate, answered the charges made by Diwan Chamanlal and appealed for cooperation from all sections of the House in view of the difficult times ahead. The cut motion was lost by 36 votes to 101 and the demand for Rs. 93,03,400 in respect of "General Administration" was granted. Next day, the **21st. March**, the Hon'ble Mr. *Manoharlal* moved the demand for grant of Rs. 28,88,300 under the heak "Jails and Convict Settlements." Mr. *Santram Seth* moved a cut to raise the question of general policy of Government underlying the jail administration. The mover and other Congress speakers alleged that corruption and ill-treatment prevailed in jails and urged that the quality of food and clothing supplied to prisoners should be improved. Speakers from the Treasury Benches, refuting these charges, drew attention to the brighter features of the jail administration. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned till the next day, the **22nd. March**, when the cut was put to vote, was rejected by 90 votes to 35 and the whole demand was passed. The *Minister*, refuting the several charges made by the speakers, pointed out that he had paid several surprise visits to jails and found the food supplied was quite good. It could be further testified by the fact that 77 per cent of the prisoners, when released, were in good health. The Government were also liberal in the matter of infirm and sick prisoners. Among other amenities provided were the supply of news-papers (English, Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi), installation of radio sets in jails and provision of facilities for physical exercise in jails. During the fifteen or sixteen months of its regime, the Punjab Government had released a considerable number of political prisoners and Babar Akali prisoners. As regards I. M. S. officers in the Jail Department, the Minister expressed his inability to make any abrupt change in this respect as they were still under the Secretary of State. He, however, assured the House that ultimately there would be no I. M. S. officers in the Jail Department. Next day, the **23rd. March,** the hon. Mr. *Manoharlal*, Minister for Finance, moved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,16,500 be granted to the Governor to defray the charges that will come up for payment during the year ending March 31, 1940, in respect of the Medical Department. A cut motion moved by *Lala Dunichand* was withdrawn as the discussion assumed a communal turn. Supporting another 'cut' moved by *Chaudhri Muhammad Hasan*, Mr. *Deshbandhu Gupta*, *Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt* and other Opposition speakers expressed themselves disappointed with the achievements of the Government during their two years' regime. They suggested the introduction of indigenous systems of medicine such as Unani, Ayurvedic and Homoeopathic in rural areas, so as to afford greater relief to the sick and the suffering. They urged that firm action should be taken to ensure that false medical certificates were not issued by medical officers. *Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt* held that the Medical Department in the Punjab was starving as the money earmarked for it was not being properly utilised. *Begum Shah Nawaz*, in a spirited reply which was lustily cheered, refuted the suggestion that the funds of the Department were not being spent properly. She dwelt at length on the various reforms in the Department introduced by the Ministry and referred in particular to three features in which the Punjab led the rest of India, namely the scheme of education which was an improvement on the Wardha scheme, the large percentage of trained *dais* and nurses employed and the system of rural uplift in operation. Next day, **the 24th. March**, tumultuous scenes marked the concluding part of the debate on the Congress cut which was designed to criticise the policy underlying the expenditure on the Medical Department, while the Minister for Education, who was also in charge of the Public Health, was replying to the debate

on the cut motion. Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava*, Leader of the Opposition, interrupting him asked a question. The Minister, who was concluding his speech, shouted at the top of his voice saying that he was not going to be interrupted. Objection was taken by the Opposition members to the tone in which the Minister addressed the Leader of the Opposition party. This was followed by shouts of "Shut up, Shut up." Confusion prevailed for a little while and the *Speaker* had to call members to order several times. The *Education Minister* rose amidst unroarious scenes and expressed his regret. This was followed by a demand from the Ministerial benches that the members of the Opposition benches should withdraw the words "Shut up" used against the Minister. The cut motion, when put to vote, was rejected by 71 votes to 36 and the whole demand for Rs. 48,16,500 under the head "Medical" was passed and the House adjourned till Monday, the **27th. March** when a note of warning that the Government would be face to face with a crisis if drastic steps were not taken to improve the lot of zamindars of the province was uttered by *Sardar Hari Singh* moving a token "cut" in the demand under "Agriculture". Sardar Sahib *Sardar Ujjal Singh*, opposing the 'cut", dealt at length with the great strides taken by the Ministry so far to improve the agricultural conditions in the province. They were spending Rs. 9¼ lakhs more than during the last two years on agriculture. Supplies of improved seed to the cultivator had resulted not only in increase in yield, but in fetching better prices. For instance, cultivators had obtained Rs. 1,06,00,000 extra under wheat, Rs. 1,55,00,000 under cotton and an equal amount under sugar. He expressed the inability of the Government to push the prices up, while the question of ratio was the concern of the Central Government. Sardar Sahib *Sardar Santokh Singh*, leader of the Independent Party, supported the "cut" and had not concluded his speech when the House adjourned till the **29th. March**, when a demand for a 25 per cent reduction in water rates, which was made by the Opposition Party through a cut motion on the Government demand under the head "Land Revenue", was rejected by 79 votes to 53. The division list showed that four members of the Ministerial Party voted with the Opposition, while over a dozen members of the Ministerial Party remained neutral. *Mian Nurullah*, one of the seceders from the Unionist Party, moving three cuts together reminded the Ministerial Party of their pledges given to voters at the time of election and urged them to redeem them by making a reduction in land revenue and water rates. He dwelt at length on the sliding scale system of land revenue which, he said, instead of giving any relief to poor peasants, had raised the burden of taxation. Making a vigorous defence of the Government's policy regarding land revenue, the Premier, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, explained at length the working of the new system and held that it had been introduced in the interests of the zaminders. The Government wanted to raise the standards of the zamindars by raising their incomes. The Premier concluded with a fervent appeal to the members of the Opposition to rise above the party spirit and join hands with the Government in the interests of the poor peasants of the province. Next day, the **30th. March**, the guillotine was applied after which the rest of the demands, numbering 31, were passed. The Opposition claimed division on the demands in respect of Police and Excise but both demands were passed by 91 votes to 34 and 89 to 42 respectively. Earlier, the cut motion of *Mian Nurullah* which sought to reduce land revenue by 10 per cent was rejected by 74 votes to 43. The House then proceeded to discuss the cut motion of *Sardar Muhammad Hussain*, another seceder from the Ministerial Party, which protested against the high rate of assessment of land revenue in Lahore district and urged its reduction. After three hours' debate, in which *Sir Gokulchand Narang* and *Sardar Sampuran Singh*, members of the Opposition, participated, the cut motion was lost by 86 votes to 46. The hon. *Choudhury Chotturam*, Minister for Development, replying to the debate, contended that the Government, by passing the agrarian legislation, had relieved the poor peasants from the clutches of money-lenders. The Minister refuted the charge levelled by the Opposition that the Premier had refused to meet the deputation of the Kisans of Lahore district who had come to Lahore to complain against the high rate of assessment of land revenue, and said that the Premier was prepared to meet those who had some grievances and not others.

Assault on a Member

28th. MARCH :—An allegation that *Mian Iftikarud-Din*, Secretary of the Assembly Congress Party, was assaulted by a police officer when he objected to the arrest by the officer of some persons in connection with Kisan Satyagraha was made

towards the end of the sitting to-day. The Leader of the Opposition. Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava*, rising on a point of order, asked the Premier whether he had instructed the police to beat a member of the House who had visited the scene of the Kisan Satyagraha. The *Premier* repudiated the allegation in reply to which *Mian Iftiker-ud-Din*, rising on a point of privilege, said that if this was the sort of truth uttered by the Premier, then he had not much respect for him. Continuing, Mian Iftiker-ud-Din explained that to-day he went to the scene of the Kisan Satyagraha. He noticed a police officer picking some persons from the crowd and putting them under arrest. When he (the speaker)objected, the officer insulted him by telling him to "shut up". The officer, he further alleged, gave him two or three blows. The *Speaker*, giving his ruling, held that the matter concerned a private and personal affair of a member and there was no breach of the privilege of the House. He added that if any authority was produced under which he could entertain the privilege motion then he would be prepared to take it up.

Motor Spirits Sales Taxation Bill (contd.)

31st. MARCH :—The House took up to-day the Motor Spirits Bill and after rejection of a dilatory motion to elicit public opinion on it, discussed it clause by clause and adopted it on substantially the same form as it emerged from the Select Committee. An important amendment, which the Opposition pressed to a division, sought to reduce the proposed tax on motor spirit from one anna three pies to one anna, but the amendment was rejected by 83 votes to 34. The House then adjourned till Monday.

Insolvency & Entertainments Duty Bill

3rd. APRIL :—The House passed two official Bills to-day, namely the Provincial Insolvency (Punjab Amendment) Bill and the Punjab Entertainments Duty (Amendment) Bill without much discussion. The first was designed to remove certain defects in the old Act, while the second secured unifo.mity and obviated the necessity for frequently amending the Act, whenever alterations in rates have to be made A motion for circulation in respect of the second Bill was lost without a division.

The hon *Major Khizar Hyat Khan*. Minister for P. W. D. next introduced the Village Panchayats Bill, which sought to extend the powers and duties of panchayats in the province. He moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. *Sardar Hari Singh* (Congress) moved for circulating the Bill for eliciting public opinion. Opposing the circulation motion. Major *Khizar Hyat Khan* said that the Bill sought to revive the old village panchayat system which was in force before the British Raj. The motion was discussed for about two hours and eventually was rejected by the House by 92 votes to 37. The original motion of the Minister for referring the Bill to a Select Committee was carried.

Sergeant-at-arms Bill (contd.)

The Premier, Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan*, next moved that the Assembly (Offices) Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration. The Bill sought to provide for the appointment of a sergeant-at-arms to attend on the Punjab Legislative Assembly, for the appointment of deputies and subordinates and for other matters. A constitutional point, raised by *Pandit Munilal Kalia* (Congress), that under the Government of India Act, the House had no power to pass such legislation, was ruled out by the Speaker. *Sardar Hari Singh* moved for circulation of the Bill and observed that no legislature in the world had passed such a bill. The British Parliament, which was considered to be the Mother of Parliaments, did not pass such legislation in spite of the fact that the members, some time exchanged blows on the floor of the House. Sardar Hari Singh had not concluded, when the House adjourned till the next day, the **4th. April**, when the circulation motion was rejected. The supporters of the circulation motion, who included Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava*, leader of the Opposition, Dr. Sir *Gokulchand Narang* and Dr. *Mohammad Alam*, made trenchant criticism of the bill which they described was a coercive measure intended to throttle the rights of the minority. *Sir Maqbool Mahmood*, Parliamentary Secretary, opposing the motion said that the object of the bill was to derive powers from the Government of India Act for the Speaker in order to enforce the rules of the House. As the Speaker was above party, nobody should oppose arming him him with powers which could be derived from the Government of India Act. The motion, which was also opposed by *Malik Barkatali* and *Shaikh Karamat Ali* was rejected without division. *Chowdhury Krishna Gopal Dutta* then moved that

the bill be committed to the same Select Committee with instructions that the Select Committee should re-examine the matter after holding consultations with the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the Punjab Assembly as well as the Speakers and Deputy Speakers of the legislatures in other provinces of India and report before August 1, 1939. The mover was still speaking when the House adjourned till the next day, the **5th. April**, when the motion was negatived and the House proceeded to consider the Bill clause by clause.

OFFICIAL BILLS INTRODUCED

6th. APRIL :—Six non-official Bills, including the Punjab Relief of Indebtedness (Amendment) Bill the Punjab Court (Amendment) Bill, the Punjab Debtors Protection) (Second Amendment) Bill, the Punjab Homeopathic Faculty Bill, the Punjab Motor Spirits (Regulation of Prices) Bill and the Punjab Customary Law (Amendment) Bill were introduced to-day.

The Punjab Homeopathic Faculty Bill, which was sponsored by *Chowdhri Krishna Gopal Dutt*, aimed at regulating and standardizing instruction in homeopathy and controlling its practice in the Punjab.

The Punjab Motor Spirts (Regulation of Prices) Bill aimed at avoiding competition.

On an assurance given by the Premier, Sir *Sikandar Hayat Khan*, that the Government would not object to a similar Bill which had been introduced earlier being referred to a Select Committee, Mrs. *Dunichand* withdrew her Punjab Hindu Marriage Reform Bill, which sought to prohibit, except in certain cases, the Hindus, Sikhs and Jains marrying a second wife in the life-time of the first wife. The House then adjourned till the 11th.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS BILL (CONTD.)

11th. APRIL :—The Assembly made very little progress with the Sergeant-at-Arms Bill to-day. After several Opposition amendments had been lost, the House adopted an important Government amendment, which sought to substitute the words, "the Governor or such person as he may direct may appoint the Sergeant-at-Arms" for the words, "the Punjab Government shall appoint the Sergeant-at-Arms." In the course of the discussion of an Opposition amendment that the Sergeant-at-Arms be appointed on the requisition of the Speaker, the Premier said that there was an improvement in the tone of the discussion in the House and he hoped that if this state of affairs continued, it might not be necessary to appoint a Sergeant-at-Arms. The Government wished to have this measure passed to serve in the case of emergency. He maintained that it would be inadvisable to vest the power of appointing a Sergeant-at-Arms in the Speaker. Next day, the **12th. April**, the amendment of *Munshi Hari Lal* (Congress), which was moved yesterday and which sought to invest the power of suspension, reduction and punishment of the Sergeat-at Arms in the Speaker, when put to vote, was lost by 72 votes to 42. A heated debate then ensued on the motion of *Dewan Chaman Lal*, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, opposing Clause 3 relating to the appointment of a Sergeant-at-Arms. Diwan Chamanlal felt that they were insulting the Speaker by not investing him with powers of appointing the Sergeant-at-Arms. A division was claimed on the motion, which was rejected by 91 votes to 36 and the clause, as amended, was passed. The House divided on an amendment of Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava* which sought to provide that a member, who deliberately and persistently behaved in a grossly disorderly manner and refused to withdraw, when called upon by the Speaker, may be excluded through the Sergeant-at-Arms, if the House agreed by a majority. The amendment was lost by 91 votes to 33. Clause 4 of the Bill, which related to the power of the Speaker to order the removal or exclusion of persons, was under consideration when the House adjourned till the **14th. April** when the House adopted it. An Opposition amendment to Clause 5 of the Bill, seeking the deletion of the portion empowering the Sergeant-at-Arms or his deputies to enlist aid from servants of the Crown, if they considered that necessary, to execute orders given by the Speaker was defeated by 86 votes to 34. *Diwan Chamanlal*, supporting the amendment, said that he could not remember any instance when the police had been requisitioned in the House of Commons to remove a member. Opposing the amendment, the *Premier* said that the provision had been made to meet an emergency which, he hoped, would never arise. They did not want to keep permanent police for the purpose, because it would be an unnecessary burden on the exchequer. Therefore, a provision had been made to requisition outside help in case of emergency. Clause 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were passed in quick succession. All

Oppotition amendments were rejected. After the consideration of the Bill clause by clause was over, the Premier moved the third reading and discussion had not concluded, when the House adjourned till Monday, the **27th. April**, when the closure motion was pressed to a division and carried by 92 votes to nil. The Bill was thereupon passed.

NO-CONFIDENCE ON DY. SPEAKER & MINISTERS

19th. APRIL :—A 'no-confidence' motion against the Deputy Speaker, which was tabled by *Sardar Pratap Singh*, (Congress), under Section 65 of the Government of India Act and signed by 51 members of the Opposition Party was adjourned to-day by the Speaker amidst loud opposition applause. Next day, the **20th. April**, in a a statement explaining the position regarding the allotment of time for the discussion of the no-confidence motion against the Deputy Speaker, the *Premier* said that he could have been delighted to accommodate the Opposition, but his hands were tied by the Government of India Act which laid down that a no-confidence motion could not be discussed before the lapse of fourteen days. As the session would not continue till then, it was not possible to take up the motion in the present session. Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava*, Leader of the Opposition, said that if the Opposition wanted to move a no-confidence motion they would do so and did not want any recommendation or suggestion from the Premier. He added that it was for the Speaker and not for the Premier to fix a time for a no-confidence motion against the Ministry. They had been compelled to table a no-confidence motion against the Deputy Speaker because they had grievances against him. If those grievances were removed, the Opposition would withdraw the motion. The Speaker, Sir *Sahab-Ud-Din*, pointed out that, according to the rules, if the Assembly were prorogued, the motion of no-confidence against the Deputy Speaker would automatically lapse.

22nd. APRIL :—Five motions of no-confidence against the Premier, Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan*, *Chaudhri Sir Chhoturam*, Mr. *Manohar Lal*, *Major Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana* and Sir *Sundar Singh Majithia* were admitted to-day. The motion of no-confidence against the Premier was tabled by *Mian Nurullah* who had seceded from the Unionist Party. *Chaudhri Kartar Singh* tabled the motion againgt Mr. *Manohar Lal*, Finance Minister, *Sardar Sampuran Singh* against Sir *Sundar Singh Majithia*, *Sardar Kapur Singh* against *Major Khizar Hyat Khan* and *Diwan Chamanlal* against *Chaudhri Sir Chhoturam*.

The *Speaker* at the outset called upon *Sheikh Karamat Ali* (Unionist) to move his motion expressing confidence in the Ministry, which stood first in to-day's agenda. The Opposition members urged that the motion of no-confidence against the Education Minister, which was admitted yesterday, be taken up first. *Munshi Harilal* (Congress) argued that under the Government of India Act, a motion of confidence could not be moved. This view was supported by Mr. *K. L. Gauba* and Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava*, Leader of the Opposition. The *Speaker* ruled that since the confidence motion had been received in his office earlier, he must give priority to it. When the turmoil subsided, the Speaker called upon Mr. *Karamat Ali* (Unionist) to move his motion of confidence. Mr. Karamat Ali rose to do so when *Diwan Chamanlal*, Deputy Leader of the Opposition Party, announced that as a gesture of protest his party will not take part in the discussion on the motion of confidence. Thereupon, all Opposition members walked out, except Chaudhry Mohd. Hussain, whose no-confidence motion against the Education Minister appeared next on the agenda. Mr. Karamat Ali's motion was then carried by 107 votes to nil. Immediately after the announcement of the result, the Opposition Party walked into the House and *Chaudhry Mohd. Hussain* moved his no-confidence motion against the Education Minister. The debate on the motion lasted three hours. Two members, including the mover, spoke in favour of the motion and one member of the Ministerial Party opposed it. Initiating the debate, *Choudhri Mohd. Hussain* strongly criticised the policy of the Minister in regard to education and medical aid. During the course of the two years, he said, no improvement had been made either in spreading education or in the giving of medical aid to the rural population. He charged the Minister with not redeeming the pledges he had given to his electorate. *Bhai Fateh-Jang Singh* (Unionist), opposing the motion, detailed at length the progress made in education and medical aid since the advent of the present Ministry. He maintained that in spite of natural calamities, such as famine and hailstorm, the Government had provided huge sums of money for education and medical aid. Next day, the **24th. April**, Mr. *J. D. Ambar* (Christian), who recently seceded from the Ministerial Party, supporting the no-confidence motion, said that the present Government had the same policy as its predecessor. The Reforms had made no difference

in the Punjab. He criticised the Government's policy in passing the agrarian Bills, which, he said, had not given relief to the poor peasants but had caused a split among the different classes. *Chaudhuri K. G. Dutt*, who tabled the motion of no-confidence againt the Finance Minister, said that Mr. Manoharlal had failed to adopt any sound economic policy. It was stated that he was opposed to the agrarian Bills. If he were, why did he not resign when the Bills were passed? Far from resigning, he was subscribing to Muslim League policy by remaining in a Ministry which was virtually a Muslim League Ministry. *Mian Nurulla*, who had tabled the no-confidence motion against the Premier, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, said that since he had left the Ministerial Party, he was being attacked ruthlessly by the members of that Party. There was a talk of even murdering him. Ministerial benches: Oh, oh.) Mian Nurullah said that he differed from the Ministerial Party not on personal grounds but on public grounds The Unionist Party had not redeemed its pledges to the electorate. The backward classes and the poor zamindars were not fairly treated. A very reasonable and moderate demand for reduction in the land revenue made by him was not accepted by the Government. Winding up the debate, *Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan* expressed pleasure that the no-confidence motions had been moved because firstly they would stir the Ministerial Party up to do their duty by the electorate and secondly, the result would give a little respite to the Opposition who had been forecasting landslides in the Ministerial Party. It, however, grieved him to hear that his Government had done nothing for the political prisoners. "Barring a handful of people," he declared, "we have released all, in spite of the fact that the assurance given to us by the Leader of the Opposition and other friends have not been kept. If those still in custody give the necessary assurances, their case will be considered sympathetically." As regards the securities demanded from the press, the Premier said that he could not tolerate two things, namely, rousing of communal bitterness and preaching of violence. Even the Congress-governed provinces were using the weapons against the press. They were being forced to do so. He was sorry to hear that the Opposition was still accusing the Government of doing little for the amelioration of the peasantry. When the Government brought forward the agrarian Bills, the Opposition opposed them tooth and nail despite the mandate of the Congress to the contrary.

At this stage the House divided and the no-confidence motion against *Mian Abdul Haye*, Education Minister, was defeated by 112 votes to 55. The no-confidence motion against *Choudhri Sir Chhoturam*, Minister for Development, tabled by *Diwan Chamanlal*, was rejected by 112 votes to 54. *Mian Muhammad Nurullah's* motion against the Premier was also negatived by 112 votes to 53. The motions against the Revenue Minister, the Finance Minister and the Public Works Minister were not put. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

The C. P. Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker:—THE HON'BLE MR. GANASHYAM SINGH GUPTA

Deputy Speaker:—MRS. ANASUYABAI KALE

Members

DR. NARAYAN BHASKAR KHARE
MR. L. N. HARDAS
„ KHUSHALCHAND GHASIRAM KHAJANCHI
„ NARMADA PRASAD MISHRA
„ KESHORAO RAMCHANDRARAO KHANDEKAR
DR. JAGANNATH GANPATRAO MAHODAYA
MR. PIARELAL SINGH
THE HON'BLE MR. SAMBHAJIRAO V. GOKHALE (*Minister*)
MR. P. B. GOLE
„ BAJRANG THEKEDAR
„ SITARAM LAXMAN PATIL
„ BHIKULAL LAXMICHAND CHANDAK
„ A. N UDHOJI
„ T. J. KEDAR
„ PUKHRAJ KOCHER
„ DASHRATH LAXMAN PATIL
„ R. S. DUBE
„ D. B. KHOBERGADE

MR. NILKANTH YADAORAO DEOTALE
„ DHARAMRAO BHUJANGRAO
SETH DIPCHAND LAKSHMICHAND GOTHI
MR. BIHARILAL DEORAO PATEL
„ GULAB CHAND CHOUDHARY
„ G. B. JAMBHOLKAR
„ PRABHAKAR D. JATAR
THE HON'BLE MR. DURGASHANKAR KRIPASANKAR MEHTA (*Minister*)
THE HON'BLE PANDIT DWARAKA PRASAD MISHRA (*Minister*)
MR. MATUA CHAITU MEHTA
„ KASHI PRASAD PANDE
„ N. HANUMANT RAO
„ G. K. LOKRAS
„ JALAMSINGH MOTI
„ VASUDEORAO VENKATRAO SUBHEDAR
„ PREMSHANKER LAXMISHANKER DHAGAT
„ BHAGIRATH RAKHAN CHOUDHARY
„ MAHENDRALAL CHOUDHARY
„ LAL CHOODAMAN SHAH
„ LALA ARJUN SINGH
„ DATTATRAYA BHIKAJI NAIK
„ SHANKERLAL CHOUDHARY
„ RAMESHWAR AGNIBHOJ
„ BHAGWANTRAO ANNABHOW MANDLOI
„ M. R. MAJUMDAR
„ ANANTRAM
MAHANT PURANDAS
MAHANT LAXMINARAYANDAS
THE HON'BLE PANDIT RAVI SHANKAR SHUKLA (*Prime Minister*)
MAHANTA NAINDAS
MR. JAMNALAL TEJMAL CHOPDA
DR. E. RAGHAVEDRA RAO
MAHANTA SUKRITDAS
MR. RANGOPAL TIWARI
„ AGAMDAS GURU GOSAI
SARDAR AMARSINGH BAIJNATHSINGH SAIGAL
THAKUR CHHEDILAL
MR. BAHORIKLAL SURYAWANSHI
MR. M. L. BAKLIWAL
MAHANT POSUDAS
MR. VISHVANATHRAO YADAORAO TAMASKAR
„ GHANSHYAM SINGH GUPTA
„ KANHAIYALAL
SETH BADRINARAIN AGARWAL
MR. GANPATRAO PANDE
„ RAGHOBA GAMBHIRA GHODICHORE
„ V. M. JAKATDAR
„ SUGANCHANDRA CHUNNIAL LUNAVAT
„ R. A. DESHMUKH
„ GANESHRAO RAMCHANDRA DESHMUKH
„ LAXMAN NARAYAN NATHE
„ GANESH AKAJI GAVAI
„ BHIMSINGH GOVINDSINGH
„ KESHAO JANUJI KHANDARE
„ UMEDSINGH NARAYANSINGH THAKUR
„ VITHALRAO NARAYANRAO JAMADAR
RAO SAHIB DINKARRAO DHARRAO RAJURKAR
„ DAOLAT KISAN BHAGAT
„ NARAYAN BALAJI BOBDE
„ M. P. KOLHE
„ PANDHARI SITARAM PATIL
„ LAXMAN SHRAWAN BHATKAR
„ TUKARAM SHANKAR PATIL
„ KRISHNARAO GANHATRAO DESHMUKH
KHAN SAHIB SYED MUZAFFAR HUSAIN
MR. MOHAMMAD MOHIBBUL HAQ
MR. MOHAMMAD YUSUF SHAREEF
KHAN SAHIB SYED YASIN
„ ABDUL RAZAK KHAN
„ IFTIKHAR ALI
„ WALI MOHAMMAD
KHAN BAHADUR SYED HIFAZAT ALI
MR. S. W. A. RIZVI
„ MOHIUDDIN KHAN
„ HIDAYAT ALI
KHAN BAHADUR MIRZA RAHMAN BEG
MR. SYED ABDUR RAUF SHAH
KHAN SAHIB ABDUR-RAHMAN KHAN
MRS. ANASUYABAI KALE
MRS. SUBHADRA KUMARI CHAUHAN
MRS. DURGABAI JOSHI
THE REVD. G. C. ROGERS
MR. L. H. BARTLETT
MR. UDAI BHANU SHAH
THE HON'BLE MR. CHHAGANLAL JAIDEO PRASAD BHARUKA (*Minister*)
SETH GOPALDAS BULAKHIDAS MOHOTA
MR. RAJENDRA SINHA
„ MADHAV GANGADHAR CHITNAVIS
„ R. M. DESHMUKH
„ GANPATI SADASHIV PAGE
„ V. R. KALAPPA
„ B. G. KHAPARDE

Proceedings of the C. P. Assembly

Budget Session—Nagpur—15th. March to 20th. April 1939

Financial Statement for 1939-40

The Budget session of the C. P Legislative Assembly commenced at Nagpur on the **15th. March 1939.** The Hon'ble Mr. *D. K. Mehta*, the Finance Member introduced the Budget for 1939-40 which revealed a small surplus of Rs. 1.26 lakhs. Receipts are expected to total Rs. 434.74 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 433.48 lakhs. The revised Budget Estimates for 1938-39 indicate a revenue deficit of Rs. 34.18 lakhs instead of a budgetted surplus of Rs. 82,000, attributed mainly to fall under "land revenue." To meet this deficit, the Minister said that the Government proposed to impose certain new taxes, an enhancement of rates of stamp duties on nonjudicial stamps as prevailing in most provinces, levy of license fees and an ad valorem tax on the sale of tobacco, enhancement of the rate of the sales tax on the motor spirit and lubricants, and enhancement of the rate of fees on private motor vehicles. Stamp duties will yield an additional Rs. 4,50,000. The tobacco tax will produce Rs. 3,00,000 and the enhanced tax on lubricant oil is estimated to bring in an income of about Rs. 1,5,000. Referring to expenditure in Berar, Mr. Mehta said that there was no aspect of the Budget which the members of the House from Berar did not scrutinize with a more watchful eye than the proportion of divisible expenditure allotted to Berar. For the first time for many years, they would meet with a pleasant surprise at finding that their demand has neared fulfilment. While the proportion of divisible revenue contributed by Berar has fallen from 36.7 to 35.5, the percentage of divisible expenditure allotted to Berar has risen from 30.8 to 33.7 of real new expenditure, as much as 41 per cent having been allotted to it.

Proceeding, the Minister announced that the total new expenditure for which provision has been made, amounts to Rs. 26.09 lakhs. A road programme, amounting to Rs. 45 lakhs, to be financed largely from the Road Fund, has been drawn up and forwarded to the Central Government for approval. A fairly large proportion of the new expenditure this year has been allotted to the Medical and Public Health Departments. Rs. 52,000 has been carmarked for the promotion of Ayurvedic and Unani medicine. Rs. 9,000 has been provided for subsidizing allopathic practitioners. The plan for organizing a public health service has been completed and Rs. 64,000 has been provided for making a beginning. The most important scheme is the one for vidya mandirs, with a capital expenditure of Rs. 2.66 lakhs, which is sufficient for financing 100 vidya mandirs. Speaking on the policy and programme which is engaging the attention of the Government, the Minister declared that the water rates for irrigation were considerably reduced but this had failed to attract new agreements in certain tracts. A final effort would be made to make people realize the gravity of the situation. Out of prudence and sheer necessity the Government had decided to continue with the extension of the prohibition scheme, which would be extended to two more districts. The total recurrent loss of revenue due to prohibition was Rs. 38 lakhs. Another important proposal, he said, was the introduction of tenancy reform in general, and transferability of occupancy holdings in particular.

The proposal to separate the executive and judicial was under examination specially with regard to the administrative and financial implications, said Mr. Mehta. Concluding, the Minister said that the constitutional barriers must, one by one, yield ultimately before the pressure of public opinion and considerations of justice and fair play. "But meanwhile it is becoming increasingly difficult for us to bear our cross of financial orthodoxy, and unless the Secretary of State is prepared to assist us in securing a reasonable reduction in the cost of administration, and thus to ease the strain, we shall be compelled to seek some effective means of ending the situation".

Prisons Act Amend. Bill

After the Budget had been presented, the House took up official Bills. On the motion of the Ministry for Jails, the House passed into law two Bills, one amending the Prisons Act, 1894, in its application to C. P. and Berar, and the other amending the Indian Bar Councils Act, 1926. The first Bill defined political prisoners and secured better treatment

for them in the matter of food and other amenities in jails, while the second Bill empowered the High Court to take action in the form of reprimand, suspension or removal from practising against such lawyers as are found guilty of professional misconduct or criminal offience, rendering them unfit to continue as advocates.

General Discussion of Budget

16th. & 17th. MARCH :—General discussion of the Budget commenced on the **16th. March.** Rao Sahib *D. T. Rajurker*, leading the attack, complained that the Government had not effected all economies they had promised, that salaries of highly-paid officers were not reduced and that the Government was taxing people at a time when no further burden could be borne. He alleged that the Congress Government was leading the province to insolvency and charged the Government with neglecting the interests of Moslems and Harijans by not including their representatives in the Cabinet. Mr. *M. G. Chitnavis* referred to the fact that ever since the Congress came into office taxation to the tune of Rs. 20 lakhs had been imposed. He urged that experts from foreign countries should be brought for developing local industries. Mr. *V. M. Jakatdar*, secretary of the Congress party, alleged that the Ministry was not acting up to 'Gandhian' principles as they spent Rs. 50,000 in furnishing bungalows while hundreds of people were living in mud huts. He stated that appointments made by them had evoked complaints of partiality and favouritism, and urged that the Ministers' conduct should, like Cæsar's wife, be above suspicion. He referred to the economic condition of the people and said that from personal knowledge he could say that people were unable to pay second kist land revenue and urged its suspension. Other Congress members also participated in the debate. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **17th. March**, when Mr. *K. G. Deshmukh* (Congress) drew the attention of the Ministry to the defects in the present system of preparing crop estimates in Berar and said that revenue officers paid no heed to the reasonable grievances of the people in this respect. Mrs. *Durgabai Joshi* (Congress) emphasised the urgent need for reducing enhancement of revenue in the 12 taluks comprising Berar and the C. P. Marathi tracts. Khan Sahib *Abdur Rahaman Khan* (Muslim League) referred to the sad plight of Kisans of Berar, particularly Buldana and Khamgaon districts, and complained that the Government had shown discrimination in giving relief to the peasantry. Mr. *V. R. Kalappa* (Congress) appreciated the Ministry's action in balancing the budget this year under difficult conditions and supported generally the new development schemes and taxation measures to finance them. The Rev. *G. C. Rogers* (European and Anglo-Indian representative) congratulated Mr. Mehta on producing a balanced budget this year, which, he said, was fair, just and reasonable to all interest. He deprecated the destructive criticisms of the Budget proposals in the House. Rev. Rogers objected to the high salaries of the Services and urged the Government to take concerted action in this matter with the other provinces with a view to reducing administrative expenditure. Mr. *T. J. Kedar* characterised the budget as "most useless" and found fault with the Finance Minister for showing it as a surplus one, though in reality it was a deficit budget. He was sorry to confess that though they had come to the House to wreck the new Constitution, the Indian Act 1935 had broken them. Mr. Kedar complained that the C. P. Marathi tract has been treated as an orphan by the Government in the matter of affording relief to the peasantry. He also objected to the extension of the Prohibition experiment this year, costing about Rs. 8 lakhs loss in revenue, without the Assembly being consulted in the matter, particularly since the Ministry had come forward with the new taxation proposals to meet this loss of excise revenue. Replying to the debate, the Finance Minister, Mr. *D. K. Mehta* answered Mr. Kedar's criticisms of the Government's policy. Speaking in Hindi, Mr. Mehta pointed out that Prohibition was the Congress policy and the House had already passed the Prohibition Act last year. They had extended the Prohibition experiment this year in pursuance of the policy which had been approved by the Assembly. He regretted that no constructive suggestions had been made during the debate. Dealing with the Harijan Member's complaint about inadequacy of grants, Mr. Mehta mentioned the provision of Rs. 40,000 this year for the benefit of their educational advancement. He emphasised that Harijans, more than any other community, would reap the benefit of the Government's Prohibition policy. He remarked that he and his colleagues owed allegiance to an institution (the Congress) which believed in action and not in mere empty talk. The Finance Minister added that after a series of deficit budgets in the last

ten years, he considered it essential to balance the budget this year in order to increase the credit of this province in the market. He assured the House that they would continue to remain in office only as long as the Congress wanted them to do so. Mr. Mehta maintained that enhanced petrol tax would not hit the poor and that the additional taxation burden had been imposed on those capable of bearing. They were examining the question of augmenting revenues by tapping new sources and in this connection, he mentioned the possibility of their considering imposition of an employment tax on the lines of the U. P. measure.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS.

18th. to 27th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the **18th. March**. Mr. *P. B. Gole* (Congress) through a token cut raised the question of the Government's policy, particularly the failure of the co-operative banks in Berar. The mover said, in its initial stages, this movement was encouraged by Government and its officers but later, the Government became indifferent to its fortunes. Mr. Gole said he had expected better treatment from the Congress Government this year in the budget but he had been disappointed. He asked the Government either to help the co-operative banks in the present crisis or advance loans to needy agriculturists who had no credit in the market. Mr. Gole alluded in this connection to the Bombay Congress Government's determination to finance these credit societies and the provision made in this year's Bombay budget for this purpose and asked the C. P. Ministry to move in the matter. Nine members spoke on the subject, emphasising generally the need for Government assistance. Some speakers from Berar held that mismanagement of the banks and the high rates of interest charged on loans were responsible for the present critical state of affairs, while others pointed out that co-operation had failed only in Berar. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **20th. March**, when the Minister, Mr. *D. P. Mishra*, in the course of his speech, rebutting the charge that the Government had been indifferent to the critical situation in Berar, pointed out that they had appointed a committee to examine the entire situation in respect of the co-operative movement there and the report of this committee, which the Government had received only this week, would be shortly considered by them. He assured the House that there had not been any departure in respect of Government policy for which they deserved censure. The Government fully recognised, as any member of the House, the immense value of the co-operative movement. Next day, the **21st. March**, Mr. *Gole* withdrew his cut motion on the assurance given by Mr. *Mishra*. Discussion on the demand under "Industries" was next moved by the Minister, Mr. *C. J. Bharuka*. Speaking on a Congress member's token cut motion, Mr. Bharuka gave details of the progress hitherto made by the Industrial Survey Committee constituted by the Government and said that the Government would take up the question of assistance to both small and large scale and cottage industries in the province after considering the Committee's suggestions, which he expected to receive shortly. The Committee, he added, had recently completed a preliminary survey of typical rural industries in select villages. The Minister also gave a resume of the several activities of the Industries Department, particularly in the matter of reviving village industries with the co-operation of the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association at Wardha. The cut motion was withdrawn by the Congress member, Mr. *M. P. Gole* (from Berar), who urged the Government to expedite the enunciation of a definite policy on the subject. The House then adjourned till the **23rd, March**, when the Government's policy in respect of appointments to posts under its control was explained by the Minister, the hon. Mr. *J. C. Bharuka*. A cut motion was moved by the Leader of the Opposition, Rao Saheb *D. D. Rajukar*, who urged the removal of the present Deputy Director of Industries of C. P. on the ground that he was not a bonafide resident of the province. Six members from all sections of the House strongly pleaded that preference should be given to provincial men having the requisite qualification as against those who were not bonafide residents of the province. The Minister, replying to the debate, asserted that the present incumbent of the post, Mr. C. L. Gupta, had the requisite qualification and wide practical experience and in appointing him, the Government had acted in the best interests of the province. The Government considered it its duty to give preference to provincial men, bnt while filling up technical posts they could not subscribe to the view that in no case should an outsider be appointed. It would be a suicidal policy, he said, not to utilise the services of the best qualified persons in the interests of the province, merely because they were not residents of this provin-

cc. Mr. *Rajurkar*, however, protested that the Government had turned down the claims of the other candidate (a resident of the Central Provinces) even though he possessed, according to the speaker, the necessary qualifications for the post and had appointed a non-resident of the province. Describing this as "an act of injustice", the mover pressed the cut motion to a division. It was defeated by 57 votes to 18. The House then granted the enti e Industries demand. Nex day, the **25th. March,** discussing the famine Relief Demand of Rs. 5,700, six members from Berar, both Congress and Non-Congress, supported a token cut motion of Rao Sahib *D. Y. Rajurkar* who demanded that a state of famine should be declared in Berar. The mover of the "cut", emphasising the need for Government action, described the acute economic distress prevalent in Berar. Complaining about the inadequacy of relief, Mr. *Rajurkar* said that out of a total Land Revenue demand of Rs. 36 lakhs, the Government had suspended only Rs. 4 lakhs in Berar. He warned the Government that the situation might become worse, if famine was not declared and concluded by suggesting that the Government should advance liberal taccavi loans to cultivators, enabling them to improve the productivity of land. Most of the speakers from Berar, supporting the motion, endorsed generally the demand made by Mr. Rajurkar. The Revenue Minister, Mr. *S. V. Gokhale*, admitted that the agrarian distress this year was acute, particularly in the cotton produ.ing areas of Berar and Nagpur Divisions. The crop failure, he maintained, was not wholesale, but was confined to some parts. Since 1930, they had a series of successive crop failures in Berar and the Government recognised that in addition to this, conditions this year had become worse in certain parts, in which crops were damaged owing to excessive rains. Land revenue suspensions amounting to Rs. 9 lakhs had already been given by the Government in areas where crops had failed. They had also earmarked a sum of Rs. 5,700 in the Budget and opened test relief works in some places of Berar where the distress was acute. The Government had also decided to distribute Rs. 12 lakhs to needy agriculturists in the form of taccavi loans and, if necessary, they would allot extra funds to help Kisans, for whom the Government had full sympathy in their distress. The House then adjourned till Monday next, the **27th. March,** when the discussion on the Famine Relief demand was continued the whole day, and gulliotine was applied at 5 p. m., whereafter the House voted the rest of the demands. In all, twelve members, mostly from the Congress benches, spoke to-day. They urged the Government to render all possible help to the peasantry, particularly in the cotton producing tracts of Berar and the Nagpur Division, where economic distress this year was acute owing to the failure of crops and scarcity of money which was the main problem facing the ryots. The need for the Government expediting its relief measures to save the peasantry was emphasised by all those participating in the discussion. Two Congress members, however, definitely stated that Government should not declare famine in Berar. The revenue Minister, Mr. *S. V. Gokhale*, replying, pointed out that the outturn of crops other than cotton was satisfactory in Berar. The figures for the last ten years had shown, they should remember, a gradual fall in the area of cotton cultivation. He concluded by assuring the House that the Government were fully alive to the situation and would do their best to help the peasantry. The "cut" motion was lost. This concluded the voting on Budget demands and the House adjourned.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

28th. MARCH :—The Assembly discussed non-official resolutions to-day. The first resolution moved by Mr. *D. L. Patil* (Harijan) from the Opposition benches recommended to the Government that the age-limit for entry of Harijans into Government services be increased from 25 to 30. After most of the Harijan members had supported it, the mover withdrew the resolution in view of Premier *Shukla's* assurance of sympathetic consideration of the suggestion on the part of the Government. The Premier also took the opportunity to explain what Government had done for the general betterment and educational advancement of Harijans and other backward classes. A major portion of to-day's sitting was devoted to a discussion of a Congress member's resolution (Mr. *L. N. Nathe* from Berar) urging the Government to grant total remission of rents and revenue in the cotton tracts of the Nagpur and Berar division this year. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 30th.

THE TAXATION BILLS

30th. MARCH :—The Assembly to-day discussed the first of the four new taxation measures undertaken to augment the revenues of the Province. On the

motion of Mr. *C. J. Bharuka*, Industries Minister, the House agreed, after a prolonged debate, to refer the C. P. and Berar Indian Stamp Amendment Bill to a select committee with instructions to report before the 3rd. April. 1939. The Bill provided for the enhancement of the rates of stamp duties on non-judicial stamps to the level prevailing in most other provinces. Opposition motion for the purpose of eliciting public opinion, was rejected by the House by 51 votes to 20. The Opposition was mainly led by Mr. *Rajurkar* (Leader of the Opposition) and Mr. *B. G. Khaparde*, who vehemently criticised the Government's action in trying to impose "fresh burdens on the people at a time when economic conditions made it impossible for them to shoulder the weight of new taxes". They threw a challenge to the Congress Party to get a resolution endorsing the taxation measures passed at a public meeting at any place in the province. Mr. *D. K. Mehta*, Finance Minister, repudiating the charge that the Congress Party had forgotten its election promises to reduce the tax burden, declared that they knew fully their duties to their constituencies, and to the organisation they belonged. The Minister pointed out that they had lighted the burden of taxation to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs by conferring direct benefits on the people, including substantial relief from land revenue dues. While admitting that they had not achieved all that they intended, Mr. Mehta claimed that they were entitled to credit for conferring benefits on poor cases. A saving of Rs, fifteen lakhs had already been effected through economies in administrative expenditure, and further scope for reduction was under the consideration of the Government. Mr. Mehta justified the new taxation measures on the score of balancing the budget and money being needed for the development schemes.

31st. MARCH :—The Assembly to-day was occupied chiefly with discussion of the Bill seeking to levy a tax on sale of tobacco in the province at the rate of ten per cent on the value of tobacco sold. The Bill provided that the tax be not levied and collected from the grower who sold tobacco grown by him. The Hon. Mr. *C. J. Bharuku* said that the Government anticipated next year an yield of Rs, 3 lakhs from this tax. He assured the House that the effect on the consumer of tobacco would be imperceptible and the burden of the proposed taxation would not be excessive. During the debate Mr. *T. J. Kedar*, from the Congress benches, took the House by surprise when speaking on the Bill he said that it was 'ultra vires' of the legislature. Elucidating his point, Mr. Kedar stated that he felt that this legislation sought to impose a tax on the sale of tobacco and it came within the scope of Excise Duty as defined in Item 45, Schedule 7 of List 1 contained in the Government of India Act. 1935, which the Federal Legislature has alone entitled to impose. Mr. Kedar was of the opinion that the proposed tax in reality amounted to a levy on manufacture of tobacco and therefore could be constructed as an Excise Duty on tobacco, the imposition of which was within the competence of the Federal Legislature and not the Provincial Legislature. The Hon. Mr. *D. K. Mehta*, Finance Minister, rebutting Mr. Kedar's contention that the tax was in the nature of an Excise Duty, explained that the Bills sought to impose a tax on the sale of tobacco in the province, not on its manufacture. The levy of the proposed duty would operate, he added, only when tobacco was sold wholesale or retail. The Government had carefully considered this aspect when examining the Bill and he held that the C. P. Assembly was competent to deal with the legislation. As for the suggestions made by Mr. Kedar and others, Mr. Mehta said that the Select Committee would consider them. Discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned for the day.

1st. APRIL :—The three Government Bills incorporiting fresh taxation measures were referred to select committees to-day. Attempts of opposition members to secure circulation of the Bills failed. All the three Bills came in for severe criticism from members of the Opposition, who argued generally that the new taxation proposed would primarily hit the poor classes, imposing on them a fresh burden, which they were incapable of bearing. They also complained that the Government had not placed before the House details of the new Government schemes to finance which the Government had brought forward the taxation measures. It was pointed out, on behalf of the Government by the hon. Mr. *Bharuka*, that the reasons for the fresh taxation were clearly set out in the Budget speech, and the new schemes which the Government had undertaken were fully described in the detailed Budget statement. They refuted the contention that the new taxes would affect classes of people ill able to bear the burden. The Tobacco Bill was referred to a Select Committee after discussion. The two other taxation Bills sought to en-

hance the registration fees payable by private motor vehicles excluding lorries and to increase the sales tax rate on motor spirit and lubricants from 5 to 8 per cent. The Government expect two and a quarter lakhs extra revenue from these sources. The Opposition members did not press their motions for circulation to a division.

Official Bills Passed

3rd. APRIL :—Five Bills, as reported by the select committee, were passed into law to-day. Two of these sought to amend the Debt Conciliation Act, two others to amend the Moneylenders Act and another to amend Section 13 of the Legal Practitioners Act. The select committee on the Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Bill limited the operation of the measure to a year and made it clear that the enhanced tax would apply to sales during the period for which this amending Act would remain in force. The select committee on the Prisoners' Bill had increased the period of parole from one week to ten days, and the select committee on the Factories Bill fixed the registration fee at a maximum of Rs. 150.

Village Panchayats Amend. Bill

4th. APRIL :—Khan Saheb *Abdur Rahman* (Moslem League) moved to-day his Bill to Amend the Village Panchayat Act. The Bill was designed to ensure that one-third of the total members of *panchayats* belonged to the minority communities. The Khan Saheb's demand for separate representation was supported by some non-Congress Harijan members. Pandit *D. P. Mishra*, Minister for Local Self-Government, replying to the debate, asked the mover of the Bill to realise that joint electorates were the best safeguard against any encroachment and curtailment of the rights and interests of the minority communities. He earnestly appealed to the sponsor of the Bill to do nothing which was sure to spread communalism into rural areas.

Economic Distress in Berar

5th. APRIL :—The condition of peasants in the province hard hit by economic distress was referred to by several speakers to-day, when two resolutions sponsored by Congress members were discussed. During the resumed debate, on Mr. *L. N. Nathe's* resolution recommending the grant of full land revenue remission to peasants in the cotton producing areas (Berar and Nagpur divisions) owing to failure of the crop this year, speakers supporting the resolution, emphasised the urgent need for relief, and appealed to the Government to help the kisans. The Revenue Minister, the hon. Mr. *S. V. Gokhale*, was frequently interrupted by members of the Congress Party and other groups when replying to the discussion. He explained the measures taken so far with a view to enabling the peasants to tide over the distress. The resolution was withdrawn by the mover after the Minister's reply. The mover stated that his object was merely to draw the Government's attention to the acute and widespread distress of the peasantry.

Arrears of Taccavi Loans

Discussion had not concluded on the resolution demanding that all arrears of taccavi loans outstanding for more than three years should be remitted by the Government. Mr. *K. R. Khandekar* (Congress), who moved the resolution, was supported by six members of the Congress Party, all of whom urged the Government to take into consideration the peasants' inability to repay and to remit this amount, which Mr. Khandekar estimated was just over Rs. 25 lakhs. The House then adjourned till the **11th. April** when the motion was ultimately withdrawn, Mr. *S. V. Gokhale*, Revenue Minister, stating that the Government's attitude was one of sympathy.

Improvement Trust Operations

Mr. *M. G. Chitnavis's* resolution demanding the postponement of the Improvement Trust operations till the Nagpur Improvement Trust Act was amended to make the Government financially liable for the improvement was defeated. Mr. *K. G. Deshmukh* (Congress) urged through his resolution that, in view of the failure of crops this year, the Government should not sell the movable or immovable property of agriculturists for recovery of land revenue. He advised Ministers not to look through official glasses but view things as elected representatives of the people. The Revenue Minister was replying to the debate when the House adjourned.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS AMEND. BILL (CONTD.)

11th. APRIL :—By an overwhelming majority, the Assembly, this evening, rejected the motion for reference to a select committee of Khan Saheb *Abdur Rahaman Khan's* (Muslim League) Bill seeking to amend the C. P. Village Panchayats Act to ensure representation of minority communities on the village panchayats through separate electorates. Practically, the whole day was devoted to a discussion of the Bill, which was supported by Muslim League members and was opposed by Congress members. Nine members from the Opposition benches supported the select committee motion (six Muslims and three non-Congress Harijans) while two Harijans from the Opposition side opposed the Bill along with the Government.

OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

13th. APRIL :—The Assembly transacted official business to-day and disposed of a number of Government Bills. On the motion of Minister *D. P. Mishra*, the House, after an hour's debate, agreed to refer to a select comittee the Bill amending the C. P. Municipalities Act. The Bill provided for the adoption of adult franchise for elections to local bodies and municipalities. The Government proposed to make a beginning in selected municipalities. During the debate, the Congress members supported the measure, while Mr. *M. M. Huq* (Muslim League) thought that the introduction of the Bill was premature at the present juncture.

The Assembly next without discussion passed into law the bill amending the Prohibition Act, 1938 on the motion of the Excise Minister. The bill prohibited the publication of liquor advertisements in any form whatsoever.

14th. APRIL :—The Assembly to-day enacted into law an official Bill, which was in pursuance of the Economy Committee's recommendations and empowered the Government to levy a licence fee on factories to meet charges of supervision by Government Inspectors. During discussion on this Bill, the Opposition Leader, Rao Saheb *C. Y. Rajurkar*, declared, amidst laughter, that he was even to-day a primary member of the Indian National Congress. This was by way of retort to a Congress member who had invited Rao Saheb Rajurkar to join them.

On the motion of the Industries Minister, Mr. *C. J. Bharuka*, the House took up further consideration of the Bill (as reported by a Select Committee) seeking to enhance the tax on the sale of motor spirit and lubricants. Discussion was continued on the next day, the **15th. April**, when a walk-out by four Opposition members was led by Mr. *Rajurkar*. Mr. Rajurkar, before walking out, declared that the Government were not open to reason and the Opposition arguments, explaining why they opposed the fresh taxation measures, fell on deaf ears. Therefore, no useful purpose would be served by their participating in the discussions.

The Assembly next passed into law the Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Amendment Bill, the Motor Vehicles Fees Amendment Bill, the Indian Stamp Amendment Bill and the Tobacco Bill, the four new taxation measures undertaken by the Government this year. During discussion on the Bills, members of the Muslim League and other groups from the Opposition benches expressed their strong opposition to fresh taxation, which they maintained would ultimately fall on the poor classes. The Tobacco Bill, particularly, came in for strong criticism from Opposition members, who were unanimously of the opinion that the tax would hit hard the smaller tobacco merchants and the consumers of "bidis". All the Bills were passed without any amendments.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION REFORM BILL

17th. APRIL :—A legislation, calculated to improve the tone of civic life and ultimately to result in a more efficient and purer municipal administration in the province, was introduced to-day by the Minister, the Hon. Mr. *D. P. Mishra*. Explaining the urgency of the measure, the Minister drew the attention of the House to the serious state of affairs now prevalent in several municipalities, owing to friction between members of the Municipal Councils and their office-bearers, the latter being unable to function efficiently. Mr. *P. B. Gole* (Congress), in the course of a lengthy speech, criticised the drastic provisions of the bill and said that the House should not pass such a legislation in a hurry without proper consideration. He objected particularly to the provision relating to presidential election by the general body of voters instead of by the municipal members. Next day, the **18th. April**, the House rejected, without a division, the motion of Mr. *A. R. Razak Khan*

(Opposition) suggesting the circulation of the Bill for the purpose of obtaining public opinion thereon and passed the first reading. The second and third readings were gone through rapidly in ten minutes and the Bill was passed into law with a few minor alterations. During the first reading, two Muslim members from the Opposition, while acknowledging the necessity of such a legisiation, pleaded for the circulation of the Bill with a view to ascertaining the viewpoints of the municipalities on the reforms proposed. Mr. *P. S. Patil* (Non-Brahmin), from the Opposition benches, congratulated the Minister Pandit Mishra, on bringing forward a legislation intended to check maladministration owing to party feuds in several municipal committees in the province. *Pandit Mishra*, replying to the debate, explained that a popular Government, representing the people, could not tolerate or ignore the mismanagement in local bodies any longer. It was necessary for the House to pass the Bill expeditiously. Dealing with the existing proviso which requires a two-third majority for the removal of the Municipal President from his office, the Minister declared that this rule was not democratic and therefore the Bill contained a new proviso whereby a no-confidence motion, if carried by a bare majority, would result in the President's removal from office. Pandit Mishra hoped that the proposed reforms would lead to efficient municipal administration.

THE TEMPLE ENTRY BILL

20th. APRIL :—The Assembly, this evening, accepted the Premier's motion to circulate the Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of Disabilities) Bill for eliciting public opinion. Altogether a dozen members participated in a two and a half-hours' discussion on the Bill. Harijan members (Congress as well as non-Congress) expressed their dissatisfaction with the Bill which, they thought, was a half-hearted measure. They felt that, instead of doing any good to the Harijans, the measure, if passed by the House in its present form, would harm them by creating fresh obstacles to their movement to secure recognition of their right to temple-entry. Their complaint was that the Bill, being an enabling measure, would fail in its objective, as public temples were mostly managed by caste-Hindu trustees who refused to concede the right of entry and worship in the temples to Harijans. They were, therefore, opposed to the Bill and demanded a more progressive measure to satisfy the Harijans. The Minister, Pandit *D. P. Mishra*, fully recognised the intensity of the feelings of the Harijan Members of the House on the subject. He assured them that, after ascertaining public opinion on the measure, the Government would effect improvements to the Bill. He appealed to them not to oppose it. The Government preferred to secure temple-entry for Harijans by persuading caste-Hindus of compelling them by statute to throw open the temples, for, legal compulsion would result in violence and conflict, frustrating their objective. *Pandit Shukla*, speaking later, explained that the Bill was intended to remove external barriers in the way of Harijans entering temples. At present, legislation, he held, could not and did not solve all their difficulties and remove their disabilities immediately. The pace of reform must necessarily be slow, and public opinion had to be ascertained at every stage of a social reform measure of this kind.

Earlier, the Debt Relief Bill was passed into law on the Revenue Minister, Mr. *S. V. Gokhale's* motion, without any vital changes. The House was then adjourned *sine die*.

The Sind Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. ABDUL MAJID LILARAM
2. ABDUS SATAR ABDUL RAHAMAN
3. AKHIJI RATANSING SODHO
4. K. S. ALLAH BAKSH KHUDADAD KHAN GABOL (*Premier*)
5. HON. K. B. ALLA BAKHSH MUHAMMAD UMER (*Minister*)
6. S. B. MIR ALLAHDAD KHAN IMAM BAKHSH KHAN TALPUR
7. K. B. HAJI AMIR ALI THARU KHAN LAHORI
8. ARBAB TOGACHI MIR MUHAMMAD
9. HON MIR BANDEHALI KHAN MIR HAJI MUHAMMAD HUSSAIN KHAN TALPUR (*Minister*)

10. Mr. G. T. Valechha
11. Hon. Dialmal Doulatram (*Minister*)
12. Doulatram Mohandas
13. Ghanshyam Jethanand Shivdasani
14. Ghanumal Tarachand
15. Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Bundeh Ali Khan Talpur
16. Mir Ghulam Allah Khan Mir Haji Hussain Bakhsh Khan Talpur
17. Hon. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah (*Minister*)
18. Makhdum Ghulam Hyder Makhdum Zahir-ud-din
19. Pir Ghulam Hyder Shah Sahibdino Shah Bulri
20. K. B. Ghulam Muhammad Abdullah Khan Isran
21. Sayed Ghulam Murtaza Shah Muhammad Shah
22. K. B. Syed Ghulam Nabi Shah Moujali Shah
23. Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas
24. R. S. Gokaldas Mewaldas
25. Hassaram Sunderdas Pamnani
26. Hon. Dr. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhwani (*Minister*)
27. Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani
28. Hotchand Hiranand
29. Hon. Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawaz Ali
30. Issardas Varandmal
31. K. S. Jaffer Khan Gul Muhammad Khan Burdi Slet
32. Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta
33. S. B. Jam Jan Muhammad Khan Muhammad Sharif Junejo
34. Mrs Jenubai Ghulam Ali Allana
35. Miss Jethibai Tulsidas Sipahimalani (*Dy. Speaker*)
36. K. B. Sardar Kaiser Khan Ghulam Muhammad Khan
37. Sayed Khair Shah Imam Ali Shah
38. Col. H. J. Mahon
39. Hon. Miran Muhammad Shah Zainulabhim Shah (*Speaker*)
40. Sayed Muhammad Ali Shah Allahando Shah
41. K. B. Muhammad Ayub Khan Shah Muhammad Khan Khuhro
42. Muhammad Hashim Faiz Muhammad Gazdar
43. Mir Muhammad Khan Nawab Ghaibi Khan Chandio
44. Muhammad Usman Muhammad Khan Sumro
45. Muhammad Yusif Khan Bahadur Khair Muhammad Khan Chandio
46. Naraindas Anandji Bechar
47. Newandram Vishindas
48. Hon. Nihchalds Chatumal Vazirani (*Minister*)
49. Sayed Nur Muhammad Shah Murad Ali Shah
50. Mr. J. Fraser
51. Partabrai Khaisukhdas
52. Dr. Popatlal A. Bhoopatkar
53. Lt.-Col. W. B. Hossack
54. Rasul Bakhsh Khan Sahib Muhammad Bakhsh Khan Uner
55. K. S. Pir Rasul Bakhsh Shah Mahbub Shah
56. Rustomji Khurshedji Sidhwa
57. Shamsuddin Khan Abdul Kabir Khan
58. Sitaldas Perumal
59. K. S. Sohrab Khan Sahibdino Sarki
60. Mohamed Amin Khoso

Proceedings of the Sind Assembly

Winter Session—Karachi—4th. to 18th. January 1939

Land Revenue Code Amend. Bill

The winter session of the Sind Legislative Assembly opened at Karachi on the **4th. January 1939**, the Hon. Mr. *Miran Mahomed Shah* presiding, and adjourned without transacting any business as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Kamal Ataturk and Maulana Shaukat Ali. Next day, the **5th. January**, a mock trial of strength occurred when the first Government Bill was taken up for consideration, the Government registering a victory by 24 votes. The division was necessitated by the failure of ministerialists to say "no" sufficiently loudly to defeat the Congress amendment seeking to delete a few words from a clause in the Bill. The Bill sought further to amend the Bombay Land Revenue Code of 1879 and thereby providing for a penalty being imposed for the wilful removal of theodolite stations which form the boundary marks and the basis of survey in various places and

which are frequently removed during road repairs or the excavation of drainage works. The Bill occasioned a prolonged but futile discussion and eventually passed its third reading.

SANITARY BOARD ABOLITION OF NOMINATION BILL

Towards the close the second Government Bill, aiming at making the constitution of both Sanitary Committees and Boards in Sind wholly elective in pursuance of the Government policy to abolish nominations, was moved. The Government were robbed of an opportunity to dispose of the Bill in record time by the infliction of a vehement speech by a Congress member. The bill had passed its first reading when the House adjourned till the next day, the **6th. January**, when a Congress party amendment seeking to invest in the Assembly the power to modify rules framed by District Collectors for the constitution of a District Sanitary Board, was thrown out by 29 votes to 25. The Opposition joined the Congress in the division. The amended Government motion, to which the Congress moved an amendment, laid down that rules in the matter of the constitution of a Sanitary Board should be framed by the Government and not by the Collectors, and these rules should be placed before the Assembly, which would have the power to modify them. The Bill was eventually passed into law.

OTHER GOVERNMENT BILLS

Another Government Bill, providing for the payment of certain sums to the local authorities, was next passed. Thereafter another Government Bill further to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act of 1923, which at present empowers the Government to levy a local cess on "every sum payable to the Government as ordinary land revenue" so that the word "payable" should equitably mean the amount actually payable after the deduction of *fasli* remission, was taken up. A clause in this Bill occasioned an amendment from the Congress and was the subject of a division in which the Government scored another victory by 23 votes to five. The third reading of the Bill was, however, opposed by Sir Ghulam Hussein towards the close of the day's sitting and the matter was, consequently, unfinished when the Assembly adjourned.

NO-CONFIDENCE ON THE PREMIER

10th. to 12th JANUARY :—The House was full and the galleries were packed when Mr. *G. M. Syed* moved a motion to-day, expressing want of confidence in the Premier, the hon. *Khan Bahadur Allah Bux*. Mr. Syed made a lengthy speech strongly criticising the actions of the Premier. He explained the reasons that impelled him to move the no-confidence motion. He said that the Premier, for whose coming into office he was greatly responsible, had failed to implement the undertakings and assurances he had given to the Party in particular and to the electorate and the community in general. Mr. Syed further accused the Premier of having inflamed the whole country by his obstinacy and defiant attitude and conduct. He reminded Mr. Allah Bux that when he accepted office, he had declared that he should be judged by his actions after six months. Now nine months had elapsed and the mover could boldly say that the Premier had fallen far below the mark and the people's hopes had been completely frustrated. Narrating specific allegations against the Premier, Mr. Syed said that instead of curtailing expenditure, he was creating new posts without seeking the sanction of the Assembly. He cited, in this connection, the appointment of I. C. S. Officers, a Deputy Secretary for the Revenue Department, a Deputy Secretary for the Finance Department, and an Officer on Special Duty. Mr. Syed particularly drew the attention of the House to the Premier's treatment of agriculturists which he characterised as a poignant one. Despite past declarations, the Premier now believed in the imposition of increased assessment proposals, which were severely criticised and condemned all over Sind, on the already overtaxed agriculturists. This was done in defiance of the United Party and the entire Assembly. Supporting the no-confidence motion, *Khan Bahadur Khuro* presented the Opposition case in a speech, lasting two hours, which the House heard with rapt attention. Khan Bahadur Khuro was of the opinion that the Premier had violated all canons of democracy by tendering advice to H. E. the Governor, enhancing the assessment, without consulting his Party or the House. The speaker accused the Ministry of being extravagant where economy was needed and miserly where generosity was required. It was not for being governed by a Government which had no respect for the principles of democracy that they had fought for separation from

Bombay. The Premier was a super-dictator, without the dictator's sense of responsibility. Next day, the **12th. January**, the key-note of the speeches was the advice tendered to the Alla Bux Ministry to look up to the Congress administered provinces which had made a striking progress in alleviating the miserable lot of the masses. Speaker after speaker paid eloquent tributes to the Congress Governments and bewailed the backward condition of Sind. Five members spoke to-day, four from Government benches including Mr. *Nichaldas*, the P. W. D. Minister and one from the Opposition. The Minister held that political squabbles were responsible for retarding the progress of their Ministry. He enumerated the achievements of the Ministry during the nine months of its office which included abolition of Honorary Magistrates and nominations in local bodies, release of Hansraj, return of Moulvi Obedullah, restoration of forfeited pensions and confiscated properties of Cengressmen, encouraging of Swadeshi and removal of disabilities of depressed classes. Mr. *Jamshed Mehta*, another supporter of Government, wanted to know if there was better Government waiting to take the place of the Allah Bux Ministry, so that he might support the no-confidence motion. Mr. *M. H. Gazdar* (Muslim League), in the course of his speech, bewailed the day when Sind was separated from Bombay Presidency. In Provincial Autonomy Sind was being governed by the officials because of the Ministry. Services were getting strong as collectors were being used as tools to terrorise members of the Assembly. He appealed to His Excellency the Governor to dissolve the House which would be the only panacea for the ills as better people would return elected. Next day, the **12th. January**, the non-confidence motion was defeated by thirty-two votes to seven, the Congress members remaining neutral. An analysis of the voting showed that besides the Congress, Sir Ghulam also remained neutral. In a ninety-minutes reply to the debate, *Khan Bahadur Allah Bux*, the Premier, made a sensational disclosure of a plot to kill him, unless he joined the Muslim League. The Premier declared in the course of the reply: "I would rather die than join the Muslim League. It is good that the Muslim League has failed in Sind. I wish, it would fail everywhere" Regarding the assessed proposals, he said it was not constitutional for the Government to consult the party for executive orders on taxation. He was sorry that the Congress had withdrawn support after being a party to instal him in power. Concluding, the Premier assured the House that it was far from his intention either not to revise the proposals or respect the wishes of parties, including the Congress. When Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad were here, he continued, they were given the impression that the present Ministry had no Muslim following and that the Congress was dividing Muslims and running the Government. The merits of the assessment proposals had not been gone into. Maulana Azad viewed the question from an All-India political point of view as to how Sind would fall in with the All-India point of view. Maulana Azad thought that he had no Muslim following. Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad carried the impression that he worked against his Party. So he was asked to carry out the wishes of his Party and postpone the assessment. The second position was that the Congress would remain neutral and the Muslims should fight and decide the issue. He could not blame the Congress. They did not bargain like him from wire-pullings behind the scene. The charge that the Congress was dividing the Muslims had now been wiped out. He was glad of this. *Khan Bahadur Gabole*, Deputy Speaker, who was one of those who resigned from the Muslim League Party, opened the debate as an independent member and said that it was a matter of shame that the Muslims should be fighting amongst themselves. He held no brief for the Ministry, but he wanted to know from the House what was the alternative scheme before the Ministry was thrown out. *Sir Ghulam Hussain*, who resigned the leadership of the opposition two days ago, urged the House to consider the question dispassionately and seriously as it was fraught with far-reaching consequence. He had expressed the opinion that after his fall last year a new heaven would not spring up. The plight of the Prime Minister in Sind was unenviable, as he was a tool in the hands of dictators. We wanted to know from the mover of the motion a practical alternative scheme for working Reforms. He asked whether there was a single party, which could carry on the Government. Turning to the Congress benches, he said that they were as much responsible as the speaker for the masses of Sind. If they did not want to join the Muslim League, let them join the present Ministry and form a coalition Ministry. If the Congress Party remained neutral, it was upto the rest of the House to join together and form a stable Ministry. There was still time for them, if they could combine, but he

saw no hope at present. Had he known of the present fate that had overtaken Sind, he would never have fought for separation. Owing to the race for jobs, both Hindus and Muslims were divided. If the Congress were well-wishers of masses in Sind, they must do some constructive work. In the alternative, if the Hindu Party formed a Coalition with the Muslim League, he would vote for it. He requested the House to put their heads together; otherwise the province was faced with chaos and deadlock. His hopes of Muslims had been shattered and he did not hope for unity among them. If an alternative to the Ministry was shown, he would vote for it. They must be practical men. Destruction should go hand in hand with construction. Mr. *J. Fraser*, European, cleared the position of his group. He said that as long as Government legislated for the good of the country, without communal bias, the European group must support the Government.

RULES OF BUSINESS DISCUSSED

18th. JANUARY:—The Government sustained a defeat during the discussion of rules of business. The Government wanted a clause added stating that the speaker may not adjourn the House for more than seven days. Although Government whips collected several supporters when the division was called, the clause was lost by 20 votes to 18. The defeat, of course, was of no consequence in judging the strength of parties, but all the 10 Congressmen opposed the motion.

SIND ASSESSMENT PROPOSALS

23rd. & 25th. JANUARY:—A two-days' debate on the Government's assessment proposals opened on the 24th. Outlining the procedure he intended to follow for regulating discussion, the *Speaker*, at the outset, said that he had received notice of a number of motions on the subject, but he proposed to treat the Congress motion as the main resolution and the other motions, moved by Mr. *G. M. Syed* and *Khan Bahadur Khuhro*, as amendments. The latter were almost of an identical nature requiring the Government to drop the entire proposals instead of re-examining the taxation scheme. The following was the text of the Congress Party's resolution on the Government's assessment proposals:—"The Assembly, having considered the Government resolution regarding the revision of settlement in the Barrage area, is of opinion that the rates of assessment on cotton and other commodities are an increase on the rates under the last settlement, which already constitutes a heavy burden on small khatedars and encroaches on their means of subsistence. The Assembly, therefore, recommends to the Government, firstly, that the new rates of assessment be modified, the rates of the last settlement on cotton be charged when the average price per maund of lint desi cotton at Karachi is Rs. 18 and American cotton Rs. 21. These rates, corresponding to the above prices, be considered as the datum line. With every fall or rise above average prices, rates of assessment in cotton should fall or rise proportionately, subject to a minimum rate of Rs. 5 and a maximum rate of Rs. 10 per acre. Secondly, the Government, having ignored the fall in price in fixing the rates of assessment for wheat, the new rates be reduced in proportion to the fall in price from the figure taken as the basis for the last settlement. Thirdly, with a view to encouraging the growing of fruits and vegetables, the same rates of assessment of gardens and vegetables be charged as under the last settlement. And fourthly, the present division of lands into three groups being unscientific and unjust, a detailed classification of land be undertaken, regard being had to the fertility for the soil and, till that is done, the groupings of last settlement may not be changed." Mr. *Issardas Varandmal* (Congress, representing Indian Commerce), moving the main resolution, made it clear that the Congress was anxious to meet the Government more than half-way and so to reshape the proposals as to make them acceptable to the House. He pointed out that the Premier, a year ago, when he was sitting in the Opposition benches, sponsored a resolution favouring that the Government should share 25 per cent of the zamindar's net assets, but his present proposals sought to tax the zamindar to the extent of forty to sixty per cent of their assets. Moreover, the entire scheme was unscientific and arbitrary. He was of the opinion that the argument which was advanced that the zamindars of the Punjab and Gujerat paid more or less double the Sind assessment would not hold good as the conditions were quite different, the yield per acre in Sind being less than half of that in the Punjab and Gujerat. Mr. Varandmal favoured more groupings of land on the lines of the Punjab so as to give proportionate relief to small khatedars. *Khan Bahadur Khuhro*, moving an amendment urging that the Government order be held in abeyance till they were examined by a Committee of five members of

the Assembly, said that the important point for consideration was what percentage of the zamindar's net assets should be the share of the Government. He urged that the orders should be withdrawn and that modified rates should be brought forward based on the principle that the Government's share shall be a fixed percentage on the net profit of the zamindars. Next day, the **24th. January**, was a field day for Zamindari (peasant) members. who monopolised the discussion on the assessment proposals. Speakers, opposing the proposals, contended that these were unjust and would fall heavily on agriculturists, who were already overburdened with taxation and debt. They held that the percentage of assessment fixed by the Government was arbitrary and wanted that the average yield of cotton per acre in the Barrage area should be assessed at eight maunds and the assessment fixed at twenty-five per cent of the net assets of Zamindars. They further urged that the Government scheme should be submitted to an expert committee for examination. The Revenue Minister, upholding the Government's proposals, observed that the scheme was framed so as to benefit the Province as a whole and assured the House that, as far as regrouping was concerned, a satisfactory arrangement would be made at the next settlement, for which the Government would appoint a Special Officer who would undertake classification of lands. Mr. *Jamshed Mehta*, supporting the Government's scheme of a sliding scale in which they had taken the yield, price, outturn and other factors into consideration. Moreover, the water rate there was uniform and the assessment was based on profit. In Sind, both being combined, it would be preposterous to base the assessment on net profits. The Government proposals, if put into effect, would yield an additional revenue of eight lakhs only and the argument that they would affect agriculturists to a great extent would not hold good. The Congress spokesman said that the Government proposals affected small khatedars all over Sind numbering two lakhs and if the Government wanted to increase revenue he suggested other means, for example, an agricultural income-tax. Next day, the **25th. January**, a Congress resolution, which had the backing of the Muslim League on the Government's assessment proposals was defeated by 30 votes to 20. At the conclusion of the debate, the Premier announced slight modifications in the original proposals regarding the cotton sliding scale, conceding the principle of giving reductions when prices go below the minimum fixed. The Premier also assured the house that Government would examine any glaring cases of injustice regarding regrouping.

Non-official Resolutions

26th. JANUARY :—Non-official resolutions was dicussed in the House to-day. The Opposition sustained two defeats on two resolutions, one urging a rebate in land assessment in the non-Barrage talukas of the Hyderabad district, where the outturn of paddy crop had been reduced due to the advent of the Sukkur Barrage and the price of paddy had fallen, and the other recommending to the Government to give substantial relief from the Famine Relief Fund agriculturists who had suffered from the recent frost. The Premier, the hon. *Khan Bahadur Allah Bux*, replying, said that the Government had under consideration the question of providing a graded scale for rebates so as to enable agriculturists to get benefits in proportion to the fall in prices and on an equitable basis. Before coming to a decision the Government would consult party leaders. The motion was pressed to a division and lost by 21 votes to 16.

Speaking on the second resolution, both the *Premier* and the *Revenue Minister* extended their sympathy to the people affected by famine but pointed out the difficulty in affording relief from the Famine Relief Fund. However, the Ministers assured the House that they would see if they could so adjust the road-construction and engineering works as to provide work for the needy. The Government also expressed their readiness to discuss other means for alleviating the hardship of the people. The resolution was pressed to a division and lost by 29 votes.

Relief to Peasants

27th. JANUARY :—The Premier, the hon. Khan Bahadur *Allah Bux*, this afternoon, replying to the debate on the Congress motion recommending to the Government to take early legislative measures to regulate relations between zamindars and halis (agriculturists) so as to prevent the imposition of all unjust exactions, observed :—"The Sind Government have repeatedly declared that they will follow the Congress policy and programme. Despite the Assembly Congress

Group's withdrawal of support to the Ministry and individual differences here and there, and also the possibility of Cabinet expansion, I reiterate that the Cabinet will continue to follow the Congress policy and programme". Continuing, the Premier observed :—"In the event of disagreement, I shall have no objection to referring the matter to the arbitration of the Congress High Command." The Government having, thus, openly declared their policy, which stood unchanged, the Premier had no desire to put the the Congress Party in the wrong. The Congress motion was withdrawn.

ANTI-DOWRY BILL

28th. JANUARY :—*Dr. Hemandas Wadhwani* introduced a Bill to abolish the system of dowry prevailing in the province. Explaining the objects of his Bill, Dr. Wadhwani stated that the custom had outlived its utility and had become an instrument of oppression. The custom originated as a result of Hindu law which did not allow daughters to inherit parental property. A dowry was given by parents at the time of their daughters' marriage as gift, but gradually the boys' parents had regarded it as their right. The House accepted the principle that the dowry system prevalent amongst Hindus in Sind should be totally stopped, but owing to want of time, the Bill was held over till the next session. The House then adjourned till the **13th. February.**

Budget Session—Karachi—13th. February to 30th. March 1939

CORRUPTION IN P. W. D.

The Budget Session of the Assembly commenced on the **13th. February.** Two new Ministers, Mr. *Bundeh Ali Khan Talpur and* Mr. *Dialmal Daulatram* took their seats on the treasury benches, while Sir *Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah* was seen occupying the Government benches. The Government came in for strong criticism at the hands of the Opposition, when a private member's resolution recommending to the Government to bring into effect their recommendations of the anti-Corruption Committee, with particular reference to the Public Works Department, was passed by 18 votes to 14. The Government opposed the resolution. A vehement attack on the Government's alleged lethargic attitude in the matter of eradication of the evil was made by Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa*, on behalf of the Congress during the discussion. Mr. Sidhwa quoted a number of instances of corruption in the P. W. D., pointing out that the Government had not acted even after this evil had been brought to their notice. It was further alleged that the Government were not sincere in their profession, and the pernicious evil was still prevalent though the Ministry had been in office for nearly a year. Replying to the debate, Mr. *Nichaldas Vazirani*, Minister for Public works, refuted the charge of inaction. He pointed out how the Government had implemented the recommendations of the Committee wherever possible. He said that the Government had issued circulars stating that drastic measures would be taken against officers guilty of corruption and that honest officers would be rewarded.

ANTI-DOWRY BILL (CONTD.)

14th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly took up consideration of Dr. *Hemandas's* Anti-Dowry Bill this afternoon. Speakers on the Bill were unanimous in their condemnation of the practice, which was responsible for ruining many families and for a number of marriageable girls remaining unmarried. Miss *Jethi Siphiamalani*, espousing the woman's cause in a spirited speech, considered that the right of inheritance for women would remedy this evil. The Bill was eventually referred to a Select Committee for report.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1939—40

18th. FEBRUARY :—The Budget for the year 1939—40 was presented to-day by the Premier, Khan Bahadur *Allah Bux*. The following are some of the items for which provision was made :—Extension of compulsory primary education ; grants to local bodies for education of girls ; facilities for education of Harijan children ; appointment of lady doctors at Dadu, Nawabshah and Mirpurkhas ; provision for anti-rabi treatment at all civil hospitals in the Province ; opening of additional agricultural institutes at Malir and Sakrand ; three more veterinary dispensaries ; provision for a family budget inquiry among the working classes of Karachi ; and grants to institutions doing considerable social and medical service.

The estimates for the revenue section of the Budget are: Revenue receipts, Rs. 3,83,23,000; expenditure debitable to revenue, Rs. 3,76,35,000; revenue surplus Rs. 6 88,000. The Government propose to make use of this surplus for meeting an expenditure of Rs. 5,07,000 on capital account. The share of Sind in the Income-tax is placed at Rs. 3 lakhs in the Budget estimates for 1939—40. In the course of an introductory note, the Finance Secretary to the Government says that the revenue receipts for 1939—40 are expected to cover not only the revenue expenditure for the year, but also meet five lakhs of capital expenditure. Though this may give an unduly favourable impression as to the state of Sind's finances, a reference to the debt position of the Province shows that they are extremely unsound. The Barrage revenues show no sign of being able to cope with the redemption of the Barrage debt and the position in 1942—43 is likely to be a desperate one. Considerable expenditure is required to complete the Barrage and non-Barrage irrigation works and the Province is taking on liabilities in the way of provision for education, medical relief, etc., at a rate much faster than that at which the revenues are improving. The statement on the debt position of Sind shows that at the end of 1938—39 the Barrage debt will stand at Rs. 24,81,00,000 and other debts at Rs. 4,14,00 000. Debt charges provided in the Budget for 1939—40 amount to Rs. 140½ lakhs, of which interest charges alone will be Rs. 1,15,65,000 for Barrage debt and Rs. 16,54,000 for other debts, while Rs. 4,66,000 will be made for liquidation of former debt. After the presentation of the Budget, voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the **18th. February** and continued till the **25th. March** and did not evoke any lively interest.

Om Mandali Arrests

24th. MARCH :- The atmosphere of the Assembly was charged with excitement when an adjournment was moved by *Rao Sahib Gokuldas* in connection with to-day's arrests. Supporters of the motion vehemently opposed the promulgation of an order under sec. 144 against the Satyagrahis, who, they said, were observing absolute non-violence. They insisted that the "Om Mandali" should be banned. *Sheikh Abdul Majid* (Muslim League) appealed to the Ministry to protect the religious interests of minorities and suggested the bringing in of necessary legislation to ban the institution, if there was no legal provision at present. *Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah*, Minister for Law and Order, opposing the motion, said that those who demanded equity should come with clean hands. The Government had to protect the civil liberties of all. The Hindu Independents had been showing the pistols at the two Hindu Ministers. He stated that the Government had tried to satisfy their demands and several girls, major and minor, had been restored to their parents. The Government had done everything in their power. They would, however, try to find out if there was any law whereby they could close the Mandali. Supporting the Government action in promulgating orders under Section 144, he said that the processionists indulged in rioting. He informed the House that there was now no male member either in the "Om Mandali" or the "Om Nivas" He added, that cases were pending in the court, and if truth was on their side, they would get justice. The Premier, *Khan Bahadur Allah Bux* was giving an account of the genesis of the trouble when the allotted time expired and the adjournment motion was thus talked out.

No-confidence on Premier

30th. MARCH :—The Assembly met in a tense atmosphere to-day when Dr. *Wadhwani* moved his no-confidence motion against the Allah Baksh Ministry. Dr. Wadhwani observed that it was an unpleasant duty to do it, particularly when two of his former colleagues were in the present Cabinet. He added that the Opposition had gradually gained strength and were now 28 in a House of 60 which was an indication that the Ministry was losing confidence. He accused Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh of not implementing the assessment concessions and not keeping his promises and concluded, saying, that with six formed Ministries and 28 members in the Opposition, it befitted the Ministry to resign, before the issue was decided by the House. Mr. *Jamshed Mehta* appealed for a stable Ministry which was the crying need of the Province. He declared that the Ministry had no time to carry out its programme. Justifying the expansion of the Cabinet, Mr. Mehta said that Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh did that with a view to bring about stability for the purpose of working out reforms in the province. He opposed the motion. Mr. *G. M. Syed* said that twelve months had elapsed and nothing concrete had been done by the Ministry, who had gradually lost confidence and

were now on the brink of a well. Answering Mr. Mehta's plea for a stable Ministry, he said that he did not want stability without a party programme. He asked Mr. Mehta what steps he took in the direction of forming a Congress coalition in the province. Mr. *Valecha* (Congress) refuted Mr. Mehta's arguments that the Government had no time to do anything. He observed that the Congress was responsible for bringing the Ministry into office, but the Ministry had fallen far below their expectations. *Col. Mahon* observed that Hindu Ministers had resigned on the "Om Mandali" issue, in which the Government had done all that could be done. He joined the appeal for a stable Ministry and requested the members to save the Ministry for the sake of the Province. After paying tributes to the Premier for his honesty and statemanship, Mr. *Nichaldas Vazirani*, ex-Minister, admitted that he had nothing to say against the Ministry. On the other hand, he thanked the Premier for his service to the Province in putting down rank communalism. The only thing he would say against him was that there was no organised party behind him. He assured the House that his resignation had nothing to do with anti-Om Mandali agitation. But he wanted to set a good example by obeying his party mandate, whatever be the grounds which actuated the party to take this course. He traced the dissatisfaction of the party over Mukhi Gobindram's defeat in the election of Deputy Speaker, which was due to the defection of some Muslim Ministerialists. The *Premier*, speaking next, observed that no major issue was involved in the censure motion. The real issue, he said, was the Om Mandali. It was alleged that the Government did not yield to the unanimous demand of Hindus. He must admit that he would not submit to any political influence of this kind and things would be decided on merits, irrespective of caste or religion. He added that the Government's decisions so far were based on merits. He requested the Congress Party to rise to the occasion and coalesce and share responsibility with any of the parties. The Premier added that it was the decided policy of the Congress not to create a split in Muslim ranks and he thought that their action of trying to break the Ministry was tantamount to creating a split among Muslims. The Premier also accused the Congress of going back on the decision taken at Wardha by which they had agreed to remain neutral in the first session of the Assembly and appealed to the Congress to vote against the motion. There was some heat when Mr. *Mahomed Khuso* (Congress member) took the Congress to task for joining the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha members with a view to defeating the Ministry on flimsy issues. The debate had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned till the next day, the **31st. March**, when the motion against the Ministry was withdrawn following a conference between the Ministers and the Hindu Independent Party at which an understanding was reached.

Immediately after the withdrawal of the motion, all the members of the Hindu Independent Party, with the exception of Dr. *Hemandas Wadhwani*, crossed the floor and sat on the Treasury Benches, amidst the ironical cheers of the Muslim League and the Congress Parties. Withdrawing the 'no-confidence' motion, Dr. Wadhwani said that though, in pursuance of the understanding arrived at last night at the conference between the Hindu Independent and the Ministerialist Parties he was withdrawing the motion, he had his own differences with the Hindu Party and had, therefore, resigned from it.

It transpired that since last night, peace talks were in progress between the Hindu and Ministerial Parties which eventually fructified. The Premier agreed to meet the demands of the Hindus to some extent and promised to deal with the Om Mandali suitably. In future, he would consult the Hindus on important matters. There would be no further expansion of the Cabinet and no more Parliamentary Secretaries would be appointed. The communal ratio in the services and the recommendations of the Retrenchment and Corruption Committees would be enforced. Messrs. Nichaldas Vazirani and Dialmal Doulatram were sworn in as Ministers on the next day.

The House was, at this stage, *prorogued.*

The Orissa Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

1. Hon'ble Mr. Mukunda Prasad Das (*Speaker*)
2. Hon'ble Mr. Biswanath Das (*Premier*)
3. Hon'ble Mr. Nityananda Kanungo (*Minister*)
4. Hon'ble Mr. Bodhram Dube (*Minister*)

Members

5. Sj. Nanda Kishore Das
6. „ Bichitrananda Das
7. „ Jadumani Mangaraj
8. Srimati Sarala Devi
9. Srimati A. Lakshmi Bai
10. Sj. Godavaris Misra
11. „ Jagabandhu Sinha
12. „ Charu Chandra Rai
13. „ Jagannath Das
14. „ Jagannath Misra
15. „ Nabakrushna Choudhury
16. „ Dwarakanath Das
17. „ Rajkrushna Bose
18. „ Dibakar Patanaik
19. „ Lokenath Misra
20. „ Radha Krushna Biswas Ray
21. „ Prannath Patnaik
22. „ Pyari Sankar Roy
23. „ Sadhu Charan Das
24. „ Atal Behari Acharya
25. „ Radhamohan Sahu
26. „ Mohan Das
27. „ Chatradhar Behera
28. „ Nidi Das
29. „ Sadsiva Tripathi
30. Vacant
31. „ Punya Naiko
32. „ Prahlad Rai Lath
33. „ Biswanath Behera
34. Sj. Govinda Pradhan
35. Sj. Fakir Behera
36. Captain Maharaja Sri Sri Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo
37. Sriman Mandhata Gorachand Patnaik Mahasayo
38. Maulavi Muhammad Latifur Rahman
39. Babu Rang Lal Modi
40. Babu Brajanath Misra
41. Babu Birakishore Behera
42. Raja Bahadur Sri Rama Chandra Mardaraj Deo Garu
43. Babu Bisi Bibhar
44. Vysyaraju Kasi Viswanadham Raju
45. Lal Artatran Deo
46. Sriman Radhamohan Panda
47. Sriman Balabhadra Narayan Samonthroy
48. Babu Braja Sundar Das
49. Babu Nrupalal Singh
50. Raja Krishna Chandra Mansing Harichandan Mardaraj Bhramarbar Rai
51. Sri Gobind Chandra Thatraj Bahadur
52. Babu Birabar Narayan Chadra Dhir Narendra
53. Babu Ram Chandra Debo
54. Saiyid Fazle Huque
55. Maulavi Abdus Sobhan Khan
56. Mr. Premanand Mohanty
57. Khan Bahadur Saiyid Ahmad Baksh
58. Rev. E. M. Evans
59. Mr. Hari Pani Jennah
60. Babu Kinai Samal

Proceedings of the Orissa Assembly

Budget Session—Cuttack—6th. February to 4th. April 1939

The Religious Endowments Bill

The Budget session of the Orissa Legislative Assembly commenced at Cuttack on the **6th. February 1939** under the presidency of the Hon .Mr. *Mukunda Prasad Das*, the Speaker, when glowing tributes were paid to the memory of the late Mr. *Girija Bhusan Dutt*, member of the House representing Angul, and Maulana Shaukat Ali. The *Premier* then moved for consideration of the Select Committee report on the Orissa Religious Endowments Bill. Mr. *Brajasundar Das* moved an amendment for its recommittal to a Select Committee for examination of witnesses. :He said that the Bill followed the Madras Act, which was not satisfactory. The Premier, Mr. *Biswanath Das*, replying, explained the main features of the Bill and said that public opinion was to-day in favour of proceeding still further in the matter of controlling endowments, but the power of the Legislature was limited. The recording of evidence by a

Select Committee was an exceptional procedure and not the rule. He felt no necessity for recommittal. The amendment was rejected and the Assembly took up the Bill for consideration clause by clause. The clauses dealt *inter alia* with the definition of religious endowments and appointment of a Commissioner to administer the Endowments Department. The Commissioner will be an officer in the executive or judicial service, professing the Hindu religion, and shall be deemed as holding an office under the Crown in India. Discussion on clauses of the Bill continued up to the **9th. February** when the third reading of the Bill was passed and the Bill became law. The Bill aimed at the proper administration under Government control of endowments of mutts and temples, with a separate department with a Commissioner as its head. It also made it necessary to make proper sanitary arrangements for pilgrims and for the care of public health. The surplus was to be diverted to other charitable lines.

THE MONEYLENDERS BILL

10th. FEBRUARY:—The Money-lenders Bill, as it had emerged from the Select Committee, was introduced to-day by the hon. Mr. *Biswanath Das*, Premier. Mr. *G. Thatroj Bahadur* moved an amendment urging recommittal of the Bill to a Select Committee. He said that since it was an important legislation affecting universally the people of the Province, he felt that more caution should be observed. He, however, congratulated the Government on having brought forward a measure of this nature with a view to protecting both money-lenders and borrowers. The House rejected the amendment without a division, after Mr. *Biswanath Das* had explained the urgency of the measure. He pointed out that it had been before the public for about a year and a half now and observed :—"The value of land has gone down. House property has deteriorated, the borrowing capacity of the people has been reduced and the circumstances demand necessary legislation as the existing laws are insufficient to give necessary protection. This measure is even small and imperfect in comparison with the vastness of the problem, but is expected to give protection to the section of the people who need more protection."

INCLUSION OF ORIYA TRACTS

11th. FEBRUAY:—A non-official resolution requesting the Government to communicate the wishes of the House to the Secretary of State for India to take immediate steps for the inclusion in Orissa of all the excluded areas lying in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Berar and Madras, was adopted to-day. The resolution was moved by Mr. *G. C. Thatraj Bahadur* and was subsequently amended. It had the support of all sections of the House. In the course of discussion emphasis was laid on the inclusion of Singbhum district. Mr. *Biswanath Das*, the Premier, speaking on the resolution, said that under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, the Secretary of State for India was to be moved in the matter through the Government of India. Mr. Das added that public opinion had to be mobilised in this matter. The people of the Oriya areas in the adjoining provinces should organise themselves so as to make the necessary representations to the Congress High Command and to the Governments of the various provinces. The Orissa Government were prepared to represent the matter to the Government of India.

MINIMUM WAGES TAXATION BILL

Mr. *Pyari Sankar Roy* next moved for consideration of the Fixation of the Minimum Wages Bill. The hon. Mr. *Nityananda Kanungo*, speaking on behalf of the Government, said that while they were not opposed to such a measure it would be good if a rapprochement between labour and capital was possible. Mr. *Roy* withdrew his motion in view of the Government's desire for a rapprochement.

HIGH COURT FOR ORISSA

Srimati Sarala Devi's resolution for the setting up of a committe to investigate the question of having a separate High Court was withdrawn after Mr. *Bodhram Dubey*, Minister, had stated that the matter would be considered by the Government. Mr. Dubey added that the Government were not opposed to having a separate High Court but explained the difficulties. They preferred a full-fledged Court to any other proposal like a judicial commissioner's court.

STIPEND TO VIDYA MANDIR STUDENTS

13th. FEBRUARY:—The Assembly considered the demands for supplementary grants under different heads to-day. Replying to the cut motion on the demand

for Rs. 1,319 towards the expenses of seven students, who had been deputed to Wardha to receive training in the Vidya Mandir Training School at Wardha, the Hon. Mr. *Bodhram Dubey*, Minister for Education, stated that the present system of education was out of date and had been able only to produce clerks. The Basic Education system, he said, would be able to impart such education as to enable students to earn their livelihood. As the financial condition of Orissa was unsound the Government proposed to start, as a first step, 25 schools all over the Province and a training school for the purpose would be started in May next on the return of the students from Wardha. The cut motion was withdrawn. All the supplementary demands under the head 'Education' were passed.

THE MONEYLENDERS BILL (CONTD.)

14th. to 25th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly took up for discussion to-day the Orissa Money-Lenders Bill clause by clause. Opposing an amendment, which sought to include co-operative societies within the purview of the Bill, the hon. Mr. *Biswanath Das*, the Premier, stated that the Government intended to bring a separate measure to guide cooperative societies and limit the interest chargeable by them to 9 per cent. He further stated that the Government had proposals to make the co-operative societies work more efficiently. The amendment was put to vote and declared lost. Next day, the **15th. February**, clauses three to eight were passed, which dealt, *inter alia*, with the registration of money-lenders and the duration of registration certificates. Next day, the **16th. February**, the House passed the second reading of the Bill, excepting for a few minor amendments from the Opposition and the Government. The main object of the Bill was to regulate money-lending transactions and grant relief to debtors. The Bill made it compulsory for money-lenders to register themselves and fixed the maximum rate of interest at nine and twelve per cent per annum on secured and unsecured loans respectively. Mr. *Biswanath Das*, Premier, said that the Bill contained clauses affecting certain Central Acts, which would necessarily involve its reference to the Governor-General. The House then adjourned till the **25th. February**, when it passed the third reading of the Bill by 30 votes to 1 and this solitary champion of the cause of the money-lenders was Mr. *Viswanadham Raju*, who had fought and fought bravely for preserving the vested rights of the money-lenders during the consideration of the Bill, clause by clause.

OPIUM AMENDMENT BILL

Within ten minutes the Assembly passed the first, second and third readings of the Opium (Orissa Amendment) Bill, 1939 which aimed at amending the Opium Act, 1878, in its application to the province of Orissa. The Hon. Mr. *Bodhram Dube* thanked the members for passing the Bill without any discussion even as it indicated that they had given their full support to the excise policy followed by the Government.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1939—40

25th. FEBRUARY :—No fresh taxation proposals were announced in the speech of the hon. Mr. *Biswanath Das*, Premier, when he introduced the Budget estimates of the province for the year 1939-40 to-day. Mr. Das admitted that his Budget was a deficit one in the sense that it reduced "the free balance of Rs. 7.78 lakhs, which is less than the minimum treasury and bank balance of Rs. 9 lakhs. In spite of our retrenchment and economy, there is bound to be growth of expenditure in all nation-building departments." A reference to the actuals of expenditure for 1936-37 showed that the expenditure during the year was Rs. 1,56 lakhs, while the revised estimate for 1938-39 is Rs. 1,92 lakhs and the budget estimate for 1939-40 is Rs. 202 lakhs.

Referring to Prohibition, Mr. Biswanath Das said :—"Rev. C. F. Andrews has very prominently brought to our notice the opium evil in Orissa. We have, however, taken a more ambitious and comprehensive scheme which includes all intoxicants. The annual income under Excise was Rs. 32.78 lakhs in 1936-37. Our Excise programme is expected to reduce this revenue by Rs. 9½ lakhs, which is 30 per cent of the entire Excise revenue. We decided to start prohibition in Balasore District. The first step in this direction was taken by resorting to restricted and regulated sale of opium under strict State control, in the district from October 1938, where all shops were closed and fourteen shops only were opened on the borders of the district. Certain other Excise reforms, combined with restricted sale of opium during the current year, are expected to result in a reduction of Rs. 2 lakhs in revenue during the current year, 1938-39." The full effect of Excise reforms in all directions during the year 1939-40, said the Premier, reduced the revenue by a further Rs. 7½ lakhs or

or by Rs. 9½ lakhs compared with their usual income under the head. "Added to this loss of revenue, we have provided in 1939-40 to spend in Balasore on propaganda Rs. 11,248, besides increased preventive staff which costs us Rs. 44,342 and Rs. 22,840 for treatment of addicts. Prohibition, therefore, in the first year of its start, by loss of revenue and increase of expenditure is expected to cost us over 33 per cent of our Excise revenue.

"Preparations are afoot to undertake a country-wide literacy campaign in a regulated manner in the course of three years. A sum of Rs. 1,000 has been put in the budget to enable Honourable Members to discuss this question. It is expected that the activities may cost about a lakh of rupees in the course of this year. Our attempts to make men literate are useless if what little is learnt is soon forgotten. It is, therefore, proposed to carry on a library movement also, with a central library at the headquarters, as is being done in Baroda. The Budget provides a sum of Rs. 25,000 for this library movement, as also for a contribution to libraries in Municipal areas. Early in 1938, an official and a non-official were deputed to Baroda to study the library movement in the State." The Budget also provides half a lakh of rupees for construction of a museum. A step is proposed to be taken in the direction of compulsory primary education in Municipalities, Union Boards and also Notified Areas and the Budget provides Rs. 25,000 for these purposes.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

27th. & 28th. FEBRUAY :—The general discussion of the Budget was taken up on the 27th. *Khan Bahadur Ahmed Baksh*, while congratulating the Government for not imposing fresh taxation, said that adoption of Oriya language as a medium of instruction would create a great disadvantage to Muslim students as they would have to learn three languages viz. English, Urdu and Oriya. So far as Muslims were concerned the Budget was disappointing. Mr. *V. K. V. Raju* said that there was no proposal for remission of land tax in the Budget. South Orissa had also been badly laid down as regards allocation of money for new schemes. Rev. *E. M. Evans*, while congratulating Government for its policy on Prohibition, thought that it had not gone far enough. There had been, he thought, too much of window dressing. He regretted that no reference had been made regarding the building of the new capital. The Assembly had pronounced its views and a resolution had already been passed. The public were anxious to know and were asking questions and the Ministry should state what actions had up till now been taken with regard to this matter. Mr. *Abdus Sobhan Khan*, while criticising the Budget, characterised Hitler as the greatest man of the world and roused cries of "question". Continuing Mr. Khan said that Hitler had asked the people not to believe in merchants and missionaries and he wanted to add to this galaxy also the Ministers. *Swami Bichitrananda Das*, while congratulating the Ministry on launching a bold programme of constructive work and the Prohibition scheme, urged the necessity of floating a loan for further development. They must industrialise the country and raise the standard of living of the people. Sj. *Mohon Das* said that the present budget had clearly proved that in spite of the desire to help the people it was not possible to frame a popular budget within the limitations of the Government of India Act. He held the Principal and the Professors responsible for reported indiscipline among the students of the Ravenshaw College and pressed for an enquiry. Sj. *Pyarisankar Roy*, while congratulating the Government urged for changes in factory laws so that labourers might live as men. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **28th. February**, when the *Raja Bahadur of of Khallikote*, speaking first, congratulated the Government on their attempt at Prohibition. He thought that the States' problems should have by this time been solved with proper co-operation of the Orissa Government. Referring to the appointment of Committees and experts, the speaker regretted that their work had not produced proportionate results. Continuing, the Raja Bahadur expressed satisfaction at Government's attempt to harness water falls of Koraput District for producing Hydro-Electric power. Whatever might have been, the Speaker continued, the neglect of Bihar and Orissa to North Orissa, South Orissa was not very much neglected by the Madras Government. The people of South Orissa were rather worn off under the Orissa Government. The Raja Bahadur further stated that co-operative banks in North Orissa had miserably failed. No provision seemed to have been made for refund of deposits of individual depositors, although some provision had been made for paying up dues to the Bihar Provincial Co-operative Bank. In conclusion, he deprecated propaganda for non-payment

f rent and held Government responsible for not checking these activities. m. *Sarala Devi* (Congress), while congratulating the Government, asked for ıore money for education of women in the Ravenshaw Girls' School and wanted high school for girls in each district. Mr, *G. C. Thatraj* felt disappointed at ıe Budget as promises of previous years had not been fulfilled. In view of the nancial position he could not justify launching of Prohibition scheme on such large scale. Mr. *Biswanath Das*, Premier, replying to the debate, said that no udget, under the existing conditions of the Government of India Act, could be opular, even though it was framed by a popular Ministry, because of the restric- ons placed on them under the Act. Besides, the finances of the province were oor and consequently Orissa's Budget was a poor man's budget. He explained ıat actually the deficit was not as much as Rs. 18 lakhs but only Rs. 1,22,000 ecause of the utilisation of the last year's balances this year. Referring to the ıarge of indifference towards the Partially Excluded Areas, Mr. Das gave figur- es of income and expenditure in Ganjam and Koraput districts, which showed deficit of Rs. 7¼ lakhs. He claimed that the Ministry had tried to improve ıe conditions "in every way, even at the cost of ourselves". He hoped that ıeir efforts to utilise the Bogara water-falls would materialise which would ead to the introduction of useful schemes.

Voting on Budget Demands

18th. to 29th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the **8th. March.** Mr. *Nityananda Kanungo*, Revenue Minister, moved a demand for ls. 4,35,058 under land revenue. *Khan Bahadur Ahmad Bux*, moved a cut ıotion to draw attention to the "inordinate delay in the partition of the estates." he motion was withdrawn after the Minister had replied. The *Khan Bahadur* ıoved another cut motion to discuss the failure of the khas mahal authorities) provide lands for cattle grazing for their estates in Cuttack, and referred to ıe hardships of the khas mahal tenants. Mr. *Brajasundar Das*, supporting the ut motion, said that the hardships that had been removed from the tenants under amindars, still existed in khas mahal areas. The *Revenue Minister*, replying, aid that free grazing ground could not reasonably be provided in towns. The ut motion was defeated and the Assembly adjourned till Monday, the **20th. larch**, when the House resumed discussion on *Raja Bahadur of Khallikote's* ut motion on the demand for Rs. 4,35,058 to defray charges under land revenue. Ir. *Patnaik*, supporting the motion moved on Saturday, criticised the Govern- ıent decision to take up survey operations in the zamindari areas of the Ganjam istrict. He said that this was not a proper time to undertake operations, as neither he zamindars nor the tenants were in a position to pay. The speaker did not deny he Government's powers to order a survey, but such powers ought to be exer- ised in special circumstances. Criticizing the general land revenue policy, Mr. 'atanaik stated that the Ministry was entirely following the bureaucrats and are worse than bureaucrats". Khan Bahadur *Ahmed Bux*, supporting the motion, eferred mainly to zamindars in the temporary-settled estates in north Orissa. Ie said that by passing the Tenancy Amendment Act the zemindars had lost a ubstantial part of their income and their status had been so adversely affected hat it became impossible for them to keep their revenue obligations. "The zemin- lars are dead," said the speaker, "and they will be buried any day the sale law s enforced." Last September, the Khan Bahadur continued, nearly 70 estates ere sold for areas of revenue in Cuttack alone, and this year conditions have ecome worse still, about 1,500 towzies being in arrears. Next day, the **21st. March**, he House passed the Land Revenue demand and discussed the Excise Policy f the Government when Mr. *Bodhram Dube*, Minister, moved a demand for Rs. ,02,783 under "Excise." Mr. *Brajasundar Das*, deputy leader of the Opposition, ıoved a cut in the demand by a rupee to discuss the fall in excise revenue ıd the sale of date palm juice in students' hostels. Mr. *M. G. Patnaik*, sup- ›orting the cut motion, characterized the excise policy of the Government as thoughtless." Mr. *Bodhram Dube*, replying to the debate, said that Balasore was a ıotorious district for opium consumption. The opium prohibition scheme of the ›overnment was a bold step. Continuing, Mr. Dube accused the Bengal Govern- ıent of trying to reduce the price of opium in the neighbouring district by s much as 50 per cent. The cut motion was defeated. Next day, the **22nd. larch**, the House adjourned after five minutes' sitting, the only business before he House being the presentation of the supplemeutary demands, and the de- ıand for Rs. 39,740 under "Stamps." A cut motion by Mr. *Brajasundar Das*

was rejected and the demand was passed. Next day, the **23rd. March**, the House assented to the demands under the heads "Forest" (Rs. 5,27,558), Registration (Rs. 1,50,750) and "Irrigation" (Rs. 5 49,485) The House divided when Rao Sahib *D. Y. Rajurkar* pressed his token cut of Re. 1 under the head "Industries" urging the removal of Mr. C. L. Gupta (who was not a domicile of the province) from the post of Deputy Director of Industries. The motion was defeated by 18 votes to 57. Next day, the **24th. March**, the claims of Moslems in the services were put forward by Khan Bahadur *Ahmed Bux* when the House discussed the grants under "General Administration." Mr. *Biswanath Das*, the Premier, replying, said that soon after the creation of the province, the Government came to the conclusion to do away with the communal rotation of services. He described the minorities of the province as members of a joint family. The Government, the Premier said, always did their best to accommodate not only Moslems but also other minorities of the province. Out of 20 sub-deputy collectors recruited last time, one was a Mohammedan. Since Moslems constitute about 2½ per cent of the population they got representation in the same service at 5 per cent. The cut motion was withdrawn. Next day, the **25th March**, the Premier replying to the cut motions observed : —"There is a strong feeling that the outlook of the officials was not changed yet. The Congress aims to see the officials discharge their duties worthy of their responsibility. I want to feel the change. They are not more or less than public servants and there would be a proper appreciation of their work unless they came to that standard. The Premier added that the Congress Government had not done anything to create a feeling of insecurity in the country. He maintained that while the previous Government had a soft corner for certain classes, the present Government, being representative of the interests of the people, had to keep a balance and see that the claims of all the communities were duly met. The Premier indicated that the Government might effect economy by further retrenchment and might bring forward proposals for fresh taxation to make up the deficit in the present budget. The cut motion was withdrawn and the demand for Rs. 22,65,574 was passed. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **27th. March**, when a warning that the Government would be compelled to "take drastic action if papers continue to publish articles which are considered indecent and wanting in decorum" was given by the hon. Mr. *Bodhram Dube*, in the course of his reply to the 'cut' motion on the Education grant. The Minister stated that although the Government had given freedom of Press they were not prepared to countenance the indulgence of "nefarious publication". Next day, **29th. March**, a cut motion on a supplementary demand under the head "Education" was carried towards the close of to-day's sitting without a division. When the Premier challenged a division, Mr. *Nand Kishore Das*, who occupied the Chair in the absence of the Speaker, informed him that a decision had already been taken. The *Premier* urged withdrawal of the motion. This was resented by the Opposition. Mr. *Brajasundar Das*, Leader of the Opposition, criticized the Premier's action, declaring that it would be better for them to withdraw. Thereupon, they walked out of the House. Earlier, the House voted the remaining Budget demands under the heads "medical" (Rs. 8,33,377), "public health" (Rs. 2,87,802), "agriculture" (Rs. 2,32,478), "veterinary" (Rs. 1 14,931) and "Co-operation" (Rs. 1,99,392). The House next took up the supplementary demands. Mr. *Brajasundar Das*, moving a cut on the medical demand, urged the raising of the status of the Orissa medical school into a college. Mr. *Raj Krushna Bose*, parliamentary secretary, speaking on behalf of the Government, said that the medical college would require an initial expenditure of about Rs. 20 lakhs and a recurring expenditure of about three lakhs. The question of a college could not be taken up for some time. Voting on Budget demands then concluded and the House adjourned.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

30th. MARCH :—There being no question the Assembly was finished to-day within 15 minutes. On the motion of Hon. *Bodhram Dube*, the Orissa Court Fees (Amendment) Bill was referred to a select committee.

The House then passed the Madras Estates Land (Orissa Amendment) Bill. The object of the Bill was to stop the eviction of right in soil, i.e., Kudivaram rights in the main lands till the 31st March 1940. Next day, the **31st. March**, the Assembly met for five miuutes when Mr. *Biswanath Das*, Premier placed on the table schedules of authorized expenditure for 1939-40 and supplementary expenditure for 1938-39 approved by the Governor under sections 80 and 81 of the Government of India Act, respectively. The Assembly then adjourned until April 3.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

3rd. & 4th. APRIL :—Non-official Bills were taken up to-day. Mrs. *Sarala Devi* did not move her Orissa Dowry Abolition Bill.

Mr. *Braja Sundar Das*, Deputy Leader of the Opposition next moved for reference of the Management of Estates Bill to a select committee. He referred to the economic conditions of zemindars. The Bill was intended for taking up the management of estates by the Court of Wards in cases of voluntary offers from zemindars. This procedure, Mr. Das said, was also likely to ease the situation created following the recent tenancy legislation. Mr. *Pyari Sankar Roy* moved that the Bill be circulated. Mr. *Nityananda Kanungo*, supporting Mr. Roy's motion for circulation, referred to the allegation of the Opposition that the Government were attempting to muzzle the Opposition by their measures. The Minister said that they were very anxious to have the Opposition's considered opinion even if they were contrary to the Government's proposals. Referring to the Bill, he said that it touched the very land revenue system prevalent in the deltaic part of North Orissa. The Government had already appointed a special staff to make inquiries but sufficient material had not yet been collected. In accepting Mr. Roy's amendment after being satisfied with the Minister's statement, Mr. *Das* wanted the Government to circulate the Bill in vernacular to have better publicity. Next day, the **4th. April**, Mr. *G. C. Thatraj Bahadur* moved a resolution urging the Government to take immediate steps for an inquiry into the social and economic condition of Oriyas living in outlying Oriya tracts. The *Maharaja of Parlakimedi*, Opposition Leader, supporting the resolution, stressed the necessity for an inquiry into the grievances of Oriyas outside, before any attempt was made for the inclusion of the areas in which they lived in Orissa. Mr. *Biswanath Das*, Premier, opposing the resolution, stressed the advisability of friendly intervention instead of following the course contemplated in the resolution. Besides, a Provincial Government could not conduct such an inquiry. In respect of concrete instances, the Provincial Government would correspond with the Governments concerned. He concluded that a constitutional agitation should emanate from places where there were inconveniences, and Oriyas should make themselves felt. If, by all these processes, they could not get their grievances redressed, they could approach the Congress High Command. The resolution was rejected without a division.

A resolution by Mr. *Thatraj Bahadur* seeking to bring down the Motor Vehicles Tax prevailing in South Orissa to the Nort Orissa rates, was withdrawn after the Premier gave a hint that the tax prevailing in North Orissa would be raised to the rate prevailing in South Orissa. The House was then *prorogued*.

The N. W. F. Pr. Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

THE HON'BLE MALIK KHUDA BAKHSH KHAN (*Speaker*)

Ministers

THE HON'BLE DOCTOR KHAN SAHIB (*Premier*)
THE HON'BLE LALA BHANJU RAM
THE HON'BLE QAZI ATTA ULLAH KHAN
THE HON'BLE KHAN MUHAMMAD ABBAS KHAN

Parliamentary Secretaries

KHAN ABDUL GHAFOOR KHAN
ARBAB ABDUL GHAFOOR KHAN
RAI BAHADUR LALA CHIMAN LAL
KHAN AMIR MUHAMMAD KHAN

Members

KHAN ABDULLAH KHAN
KHAN ABDUL AZIZ KHAN
KHAN SAHIB ABDUL MAJID KHAN
ABDUR RAB KHAN, NISTAR
KHAN SAHIB RAJA ABDUR RAHAMAN KHAN
ARBAB ABDUR RAHAMAN KHAN
MR. ABDUL RASHID KHAN
S. AJIT SINGH
KHAN AKBAR ALI KHAN
KHAN ALLAHDAD KHAN
NAWABZADA ALLAH NAWAZ KHAN
KHAN SAHIB ASADULLAH KHAN
CAPTAIN NAWAB BAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN

KHAN FAIZULLAH KHAN, GHAZNI KHEL
M. FAQIRA KHAN
DR. C. C. GHOSH
LALA HUKAM CHAND
RAI BAHADUR LALA ISHAR DASS SAWHNEY
MIAN JAFFAR SHAH
SARDAR JAGGAT SINGH, NARAG
PIR SYED JALAL SHAH
LALA JAMNA DASS
KHAN KAMDAR KHAN
RAI SAHIB LALA KANWAR BHAN, BAGAI
KHAN SAHIB MALIK-UR-RAHAMAN KHAN
RAJA MANOCHEHR KHAN
RAI BAHADUR MEHR CHAND KHANNA
KHAN MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN
KHAN SAHIB MUHAMMAD ATTAI KHAN
SARDAR MUHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN
PIR MUHAMMAD KAMRAN
NAWABZADA MUHAMMAD SAID KHAN
KHAN MUHAMMAD SAMIN JAN
NAWAB MUHAMMAD ZAFFAR KHAN, WALIWAL
LIEUTENANT M. MUHAMMAD ZAMAN KHAN
KHAN NASIRULLAH KHAN
RAI SAHIB PARMA NAND
M. PIR BAKHSH KHAN
KHAN BAHADUR SADULLAH KHAN
L. TEK CHAND DHINGRA
KHAN ZARIN KHAN

Proceedings of the Frontier Assembly

Budget Session—Peshawar—17th. March to 6th. April 1939

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1939—40

The Budget session of the North West Frontier Legislative Assembly commenced at Peshawar on the **17th. March 1939.** A proposal to introduce a Motor Spirits and Lubricants Retail Sales Taxation Bill on the lines of the Bills which were under consideration in other Provinces, was the only taxation contemplated by the Government, according to the Budget for 1939-49 introduced to-day by *Dewan Bhanju Ram Gandhi*, the Finance Minister, who summarized the position as follows :— Receipts inclusive of opening balance Rs. 1,93.20,000. Expenditure including new recurring and non-recurring charges Rs. 1.86,42,000. Balance Rs. 6,86,000. The Minister said that under education substantial amounts had been provided for creating more educational facilities. Under medical the Government proposed to augment the existing facilities in rural dispensaries, and improve medical institutions exclusively catering for females. In the department of agriculture, with a view to introducing scientific and up-to-date methods of production and marketing, a provision had been made for experiments to be carried out on economical methods of fruit preservation and marketing of products. The need of industrialization of the Province had also not been forgotten. Concluding the Minister referred to the increasing disturbances in the province, riots and raids from without. It was a pity, he said, that the Government had not so far been successful in persuading the Central Government to extend their helping hand in compensating the unfortunate victims, to whom he extended his heartfelt sympathy.

BLOCKADE AGAINST TRIBE

18th. MARCH :—An adjournment motion, moved by Sardar *Aurangzeb Khan*, leader of the Opposition, to discuss the blockade against the Ahmadzai Wazir tribe in Bannu District, was lost without a division to-day. Considerable heat was occasioned by a member of the House associating the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan with the present tribal policy of the Frontier Government, leading to another member characterising it as a "shameful" remark. On another member objecting to the word "shameful" as unparliamentary, Mr. *Arbab Abdul Gaffar Khan*, who was responsible for making it, was asked by the Speaker to confine himself to the motion but the former holding that he was not being allowed to reply to the allegations against Mr. Gandhi and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, declined to participate further in the debate. After a number of speakers had criticised the blockade, the *Premier* replied justifying it on the ground that every opportunity had been given to the tribe to mend their ways but to no purpose. The motion was ultimately lost. The House then adjourned till the 20th.

MINISTERS' ALLOWANCES BILL

20th. MARCH :—A ruling of considerable importance was given to-day by *Malik Khuda Bux*, the Speaker, when *Dewan Bhanjuram*, the Finance Minister, sought the leave of the House to introduce the Frontier Ministers' Salaries (Amendment) Bill which sought to authorise the Provincial Government to make rules for regulating the grant of travelling and daily allowances to Ministers. Mr. *Abdur Rab Nishtar* raised a point of order stating that the Bill was *ultra vires* of the Provincial Legislature. He argued that Section 51 of the Government of India Act provided that, once the salaries of Ministers were fixed by an Act of the Legislature, the same could not be changed during their tenure of office. If allowances were considered a part of the salaries, Mr. Nishtar contended, the same could not be changed according to Section 51, unless the Ministry resigned. If the allowances were not a part of the salaries, the Legislature was not capable of passing any Act providing for the same. The *Finance Minister*, on behalf of the Government, stated that similar Acts were passed in other legislatures in India, and the Bill was drafted with the concurrence of the Government of India. The Advocate-General, *Sardar Bahadur Raja Singh*, explaining the legal implications, said that an analogous Bill had already been passed by the House, and it was within their competence to legislate a measure of this character. Admitting the Bill and overruling Mr. Nishtar's point of order, the *Speaker* observed that the Government of India Act did not specifically authorise the Legislature to legislate for allowances of Ministers. As a matter of fact, the Speaker added, the omission became very potent when he saw that there was a special provision for the grant of allowances to members, but there was a conspicuous absence of any provision for fixing allowances to Ministers. The final authority to decide the point, the Speaker continued, was the Governor-General acting in his discretion, who had not been properly approached to decide the point and issue a public notification.

The House next referred to a select committee the N. W. F. Pr. Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Bill, to be reported by the **31st. March.**

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

21st. to 22nd. MARCH :—The general discussion of the Budget commenced on the **21st. March** and on the next day, the **22nd. March**, a suggestion that the Frontier Congress Ministry should create a deadlock if the central Government refused to grant further substantial subvention to the province was made by Mr. *Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar*. Referring to the statement of expenditure, Mr. Nishtar said that in the face of the Congress declaration that the Federal scheme was not acceptable to the country, the proposal in the Budget to meet expenses for officers who would conduct Federal elections were deplorable. Mr. *Tekchand Dhingra* drew the Government's attention to the increasing lawlessness in Dehra Ismail Khan District and appealed to the Premier to restore security of life in that district. Mr. *Faquir Khan* (Congress) disagreed with the present policy of the Ministry with regard to law and order and opined that a firmer hand was required to eradicate anarchy from the Province. Replying to the criticism levelled against him, the *Finance Minister* refuted the argument that financial position of the Province was not sound. He associated himself with the House over the question of further subvention from the Central Government and thanked Mr. Nishtar for the suggestion by which the Central Government would be compelled to agree to their demand.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

23rd. MARCH :—The House passed to-day *Lala Tekchand Dhingra's* N. W. F. P. Artificial Ghee Colourisation Bill. The House next referred to the Select Committee Dr, *C. C. Ghosh's* N. W. F. P. Hindu Religious Endowment Bill, the Committee to report by the next session of the Assembly.

OFFICIAL RILLS PASSED

24th. MARCH :—The Assembly had a two-hours' sitting to-day in the course of which it passed the Courts Regulation (amendment) Bill, sponsored by the Premier, thr N. W. F. P. Ministers' Salaries (Amendment) Bill, and the Speaker's and Deputy Speaker's Salaries (Amendment) Bill moved by the Finance Minister.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

25th. MARCH :—The House unanimously passed to-day *Khan Pir Baksh Khan's* resolution recommending to the Provincial Government to make adequate arrangements for giving military education to the people of the province. *Khan Abdur Rab Nishtar*

supported the resolution, stating that the province needed military training, not for furthering the British Government's designs but to safeguard the interests of the-province. *Qazi Attaullah*, Education Minister and *Amir Mohd Khan*, Parliamentary Secretary, spoke on behalf of the Government.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

27th. to 29th. MARCH :—The opposition rallied their full forces to measure their strength with the Government to-day when the Assembly took up voting on demands for grants. There were three cut motions under the head "Education". The Opposition challenged a division on one of these, and lost by 24 votes to 22. The entire demand of Rs. 23,97,000 in respect of Education moved by *Qazi Attaulla Khan*, Education Minister, was passed. The Government spent Rs. 32 lakhs on Education annually, or a sixth of their revenue, stated *Qazi Attaullah Khan*, in an appeal to the public and to the Opposition to co-operate with the Government to stamp out illiteracy. Next day, the **28th. March**, important observations on the Tribal problem were made by the Premier, Dr. *Khan Sahib*, when he replied to the debate on the demand for a grant of Rs. 30,55,000 in respect of "Police". The Premier said, "The disturbances in the Tribal territory are a misfortune to our Province. I have expressed the view, officially and non-officially, that the only solution is that the Tribal Area and the people who are owners of that land, should be left alone (shouts of "Hear, hear"). If this is done, I have every hope that this question, which is within the reach of the Provincial Government, will be settled very amicably". The Premier continued, "Force is a very dangerous thing. You cannot coerce people by force. Mutual goodwill, honesty, and the gaining of the people are the only solution." Referring to the criticism of the police, the Premier said : "Our police are the best in India and they are doing their utmost to serve the people honestly without communal considerations. There is no difference between a constable and me, for we both are public servants." The Government, the Premier added, had reduced expenses on the police by Rs. 86,000 since they came into power. Addressing the Opposition benches, Dr. Khan Sahib said that the Government were not reverting to the Frontier Crimes Regulation with any ulterior motive, but in order to bring "hired assassins to book". "This Government," the Premier added, "is never actuated by any motive but justice." He appealed to the House to curb the spirit of communalism in the province, whatever their political views might be. Dr. Khan Sahib concluded : "Let us fight on different political platforms, but let us collaborate to maintain the peace of the province, and achieve the goal of liberty, which is difficult to attain." The discussion on the Government grant in respect of Police was raised on a "cut' motion by Mr. *Abdur Rahman Khan* (Congress) who, after the Premier's speech, withdrew the motion. Dr. *C. C. Ghosh* also withdrew his motion, and the grant was passed. Mr. *Abdur Rehman* said that the increasing lawlessness on the Frontier had brought a bad name to this Congress province and, he was of the opinion, that non-co-operation with the Ministry on the part of high police officers was responsible for the growing unrest. *Sardar Ajit Singh* urged the Premier to completely overhaul the working of the police department. The police, he contended, were neglecting their duty with the result that there was appalling increase in crime. Next day, the **29th. March**, the Assembly concluded voting on the Buget demands. During discussion on a cut motion, Dr. *Khan Sahib*, Premier, declared that he was trying his best to exclude all military elements from the Judicial Department and he was in correspondence in this connection.

SEIZURE OF FIRE-ARMS

30th. MARCH :—To-day's proceedings mainly related to *Sirdar Aurangzeb Khan's* adjournment motion regarding the seizure of the fire-arms of Khan Bahadur Sadullah Khan, ex-Minister, by the Government for non-payment of land revenue (abiana). After two hours' discussion, the motion was rejected without a division. The mover characterised the Government's action as vindictive, and said that there were other courses open to the Government to realise the arrears. But the confiscation of all the fire-arms of the ex-Minister, added the mover, rendered Mr. Sadullah Khan's life unsafe in the dacoit-ridden country where he lived. The Premier, Dr. *Khan Sahib*, repudiated the Opposition allegation that, in issuing the order for the confiscation of the arms, the Government were actuated by vindictive motives. He added that there were hundreds in the Frontier whose arms were similarly attached. He said that democracy demanded just and equitable treatment to all people, and his Government were introducing a

system under which there would be no discrimination between the rich and the poor. Land revenue was public money, and the Ministry, as trustees, were responsible for its realisation.

Reform of Land Revenue System

1st. APRIL :—The Assembly conducted non-official business to-day. It unanimously adopted *Khan Faqir Khan's* (Congress) resolution recommending to the Government that, with a view to alleviating the condition of the poverty-stricken peasants, the land revenue system should be so amended as to bring it on a basis with income-tax. Explaining the Government point of view, *Qazi Attaullah Khan*, Education Minister, sympathised with the present condition of the agriculturists, but said, that the rates of income-tax could not be applied to agricultural incomes or land revenue assessment. The amount of income, however, of small landholders should be taken into consideration at the time of assessment. He added that the Government were awaiting the report of the enquiry committee appointed by the Punjab Government on the question of assessment. Mr' *Nishtar* appealed to the Government to introduce a sliding scale of assessment of land revenue. *Sardar Aurangzeb*, Leader of the Opposition, and *Khan Bahadur Sadullah Khan*, ex-Minister, supported the resolution.

Press Law Repeal Bill

3rd. APRIL :—*Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna's* motion to introduce his Indian Press (Emergency Powers) N. W. F. P. Repealing Bill was discussed to-day. Opposing, Dr. *Khan Saheb*, the Premier observed :—"Unfortunately, we are in a province where liberty of the Press is considered a kind of personal privilege to be used in such a way as not only to obstruct the Government and its beneficent work, but to provoke people communally, and create disturbances from personal motives." The Premier agreed with the mover that, for nation-building, civil liberty and liberty of the Press were of paramount importance, but condemned those who were introducing an element which would, if unchecked, destroy national freedom and liberty. The motion was lost.

Non-official Bills Discussed

Mr. *Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar's* Punjab Tenancy (N. W. F. P.) Amendment Bill and Dr. *C. C. Ghosh's* N. W. F. P. Public Health Bill, were referred to a Select Committee. *Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna's* N. W. F. P. Anti-Beggary Bill was circulated for eliciting public opinion.

Agricultural Produce Marketing Bill

5th. APRIL:—The Assembly to-day passed the Agricultural Produce Marketing Bill with important amendments. *Rai Bahadur Ishardas*, *Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna* and *Sardar Ajit Singh* pleaded the cause of the minorities who, they averred, would suffer greatly if the provisions of the Bill were not drastically amended. The Government accepted a number of amendments. While, however, half a dozen amendments were yet to be disposed of, the members of the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party, headed by *Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna*, walked out of the House as a protest against what they characterised as the unsympathetic attitude of the Government.

Patrol Tax Bill

6th. APRIL:—Twelve members of the Muslim League Party and two Independents, namely, Mr. *Abdur Nishtar* and *Pir Baksh Khan* staged a 'walk out' to-day following the rejection, by 23 votes to 17, of Mr. *Abdur Nishtar's* amendment to the effect, that the N. W. F. Province Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Bill, when enacted, shall not be enforced until the tax levied on vehicles plying for hire and used for conveyance of passengers under the N. W. F. P. motor Vehicles Taxation Act was abolished. Mr. *Aurangzeb Khan*, Leader of the Opposition, Rai Bahadur *Mehr Chand Khanna* and *Pir Baksh*, opposing the Bill, voiced the grievances of lorry and taxi owners and drivers, who would be the wost sufferers, if a legislation of this character were enacted. The hon. Mr. *Bhanjuram Gandhi*, Finance Minister, assured the House that, in order to minimise the incidence of taxation on lorry owners, the Government would bring forward at the next session a Bill which would drastically amend the provisions of the Motor Vehicles Taxation Act.

The House passed the Dadar Tuberculosis Sanatorium (Prohibition of Buildings) Bill introduced by the Premier and then adjourned *sine die*.

Proceedings of

The Indian National Congress

THE

All India Congress Committee

AND THE

Working Committtee

Hindu Sabha & Muslim League Conferences

AND

Provincial Political Conferences

JANUARY—JUNE 1939

The Indian National Congress

	Place	Year		President
1	Bombay	(1885)	...	W. C. Bonnerji
2	Calcutta	(1886)	...	Dadabhai Naoroji
3	Madras	(1887)	...	Badruddin Tyabji
4	Allahabad	(1888)	...	G. Yule
5	Bombay	(1889)	...	Sir W. Wedderburn
6	Calcutta	(1890)	...	Sir P. Mehta
7	Nagpur	(1891)	...	P. Ananda Charlu
8	Allahabad	(1892)	...	W. C. Bonnerji
9	Lahore	(1893)	...	Dadabhai Naoroji
10	Madras	(1894)	...	A. Webb
11	Poona	(1895)	...	S. N. Banerji
12	Calcutta	(1896)	...	R, M. Siyeni
13	Amraoti	(1897)	...	C. Sankaran Nair
14	Madras	(1898)	...	A. M, Bose
15	Lucknow	(1899)	...	R. C. Dutt
16	Lahore	(1900)	...	N. G. Chandravarkar
17	Calcutta	(1901)	...	D. Wacha
18	Ahmedabad	(1902)	...	S, N. Banerji
19	Madras	(1903)	...	Lal M. Ghose
20	Bombay	(1904)	...	Sir Henry Cotton
21	Benares	(1905)	...	G. K. Gokhale
22	Calcutta	(1906)	...	Dadabhai Naoroji
23	Surat & Madras (1907),	(1908)	...	Rash Behary Ghose
24	Lahore	(1909)	...	Pandit M. M. Malaviya
25	Allahabad	(1910)	...	Sir W. Wedderburn
26	Calcutta	(1911)	...	Bishen N. Dar
27	Patna	(1912)	...	R. N. Mudholkar
28	Karachi	(1913)	...	Nawab Saiyed Mahammed
29	Madras	(1914)	...	Bhupendra Nath Bose
30	Bombay	(1915)	...	S. P. Sinha
31	Lucknow	(1916)	...	A. C. Majumdar
32	Calcutta	(1917)	...	Dr. Annie Besant
33	Delhi	(1918)	...	Hasan Imam
	Bombay (Spl)	(1918)	...	Pt. M. M. Malaviya
34	Amritsar	(1919)	...	Pt. Motilal Nehru
35	Nagpur	(1920)	...	C. Vijiaraghavachariar
	Calcutta (Spl.)	(1920)	...	Lala Lajpat Rai
36	Ahmedabad	(1921)	...	Hakim Ajmal Khan
37	Gaya	(1922)	...	C. R. Das
38	Cocanada	(1923)	...	Mahomed Ali
	Delhi (Spl.)	(1923)	...	Abul Kalam Azad
39	Belgaum	(1924)	...	M. K. Gandhi
40	Cawnpur	(1925)	...	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
41	Gauhati	(1926)	...	Srinivasa Iyengar
42	Madras	(1927)	...	Dr. M. A. Ansari
43	Calcutta	(1928)	...	Pandit Motilal Nehru
44	Lahore	(1929)	...	Pandit Jawharlal Nehru
45	Karachi	(1931)	...	Vallabhbhai Patel
46	Delhi	(1932)	...	Seth Ranchhodlal
47	Calcutta	(1933)	...	Pt. M. M. Malaviya
48	Bombay	(1934)	...	Rajendra Prasad
49	Lucknow	(1936)	...	Pandit Jawharlal Nehru
50	Faizpur	(1937)	...	Pandit Jawharlal Nehru
51	Haripura (Guzrat)	(1938)	...	Subhas Chandra Bose
52	Tripuri (C.P.)	(1939)	...	Subhas Chandra Bose & Rajendra Prasad

The Indian National Congress

Names of the President and ex-Presidents of the Indian National Congress and Elected Members of the A. I. C. C. for 1939.

President

1 Shri Subhas Chandra Bose
2 Babu Rajendra Prasad

Ex-Presidents

1 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya
2 Shri C. Vijayaraghavachariar
3 „ M. K. Gandhi
4 „ S. Srinivasa Iyengar
5 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
6 Shri Sarojini Naidu
7 „ Jawaharlal Nehru
8 „ Vallabhbhai Patel
9 „ Rajendra Prasad

Members of the A. I. C. C.

Ajmer—7

1 Sjt. Gouri Shankar Bhargava
2 „ Bal Krishna Kaul
3 „ Ramnarain Chaudhury
4 Pt. Chandra Bhanji Sharma
5 Babu Narsingh Dass
6 Syt. N. M. Karandikar
7 Swami Kumaranandji

Andhra—31

1 Shri Madduri Annapurnaiah
2 „ M. Anantasayanam
3 „ A. Kaleswara Rao
4 „ J. Kutumba Subbarao Garu
5 „ Atmakuri Govindachari Garu
6 „ Bezwada Gopalareddi
7 Gouse Beg Saheb
8 Shri M. Tirumalarao
9 „ Dandu Narayanaraju
10 „ Mallipudi Pallamraju
11 „ B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
12 „ T. Prakasam Pantulu
13 „ Maganti Bapinidu
14 „ Gottipati Brahmayya
15 „ R. Mandeswara Sarma
16 „ Seth Yakub Hussain
17 „ M. Rangayya Naidu
18 „ G. Ranganayakulu
19 „ Saranu Ramaswami Choudari
20 „ Vennelakanti Raghavayya
21 „ P. L. N. Raju
22 „ Krovvidi Lingaraju
23 „ T. Viswanadham
24 „ P. Veerabhadra Swami
25 „ Kala Venkatrao
26 „ P. Sriramulu Garu
27 „ Kommareddi Satyanarayana Murti
28 „ Addepalli Satyanarayana Murti
29 Shri Kallur Subbarao
30 „ Chavali Suryanarayana
31 „ P. Sundarayya

Assam— 8

1 Sjt. Hemchandra Barooah
2 „ Kuladar Chaliha
3 Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed
4 Sjt. Gopinath Bardoloi
5 „ Siddhinath Sarmah
6 „ Bishnuram Medhi
7 „ Liladhar Borooah
8 „ Bishnuprosad Chaliha

Behar—40

1 Babu Bipinbihari Varma
2 Babu Mathura Prasad
3 M. Shah Ozair Munemi
4 Prof. Abdul Bari
5 B. Bindhyeshwari Prasad Verma
6 Hon'ble Babu Srikrishna Sinha
7 Hon. B. Anugrah Narayan Sinha
8 B. Satyanarayan Sinha
9 Ramcharitra Singh
10 B. Baidyanath Prasad Choudhry
11 Pt. Prajapati Misra
12 M. Syed Rafiuddin Ahmad Rizvi
13 M. Manzoor Ahsan Ajazi
14 B. Atulchandra Ghosh
15 B. Ram Narayan Sinha
16 Sjt. P. Bhattashali
17 B. Aniruth Singh
18 M. Islamuddin
19 B. Sheonandan Pd. Mandal
20 M. Syed Mahmud Hasan
21 B. Deep Narayan Singh
22 B. Sheodhari Pande
23 B. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha
24 B. Jayaprakash Narayan
25 B. Kishori Prasanna Singh
26 Swami Sahajanand Saraswati
27 B. Jagat Narayan Lal
28 B. Shyam Narayan Sinha
29 Vidyarathi Ramji Prasad Choudhry
30 B. Siaram Sinha
31 Babu Narsingh Das
32 B. Shrinarayana Dass
33 B. Debi Prasad Agrawal
34 B. Debendra Nath Samanta
35 Thakur Ramnandan Singh
36 Pandit Hargovind Misra
37 Babu Sureshchandra Misra
38 B. Brijnandan Sahi
39 B. Mathura Prasad Singh
40 B. Kirti Narayan Singh

Bengal—68

1 Shri Atul Chandra Kumar
2 Moulvi Ashrafuddin Ahmed Chowdhry
3 „ Abdus Sattar
4 Shree Kumar Chandra Jana
5 Shri Trailokya Nath Chakravarty
6 „ Purna Cnandra Das
7 „ Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
8 „ Basanta Lal Murarka
9 „ Bankim Chandra Mukherjee
10 Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy
11 Shri Bepin Behari Ganguly
12 „ Biresh Chandra Misra
13 „ Satindra Nath Sen
14 „ Suresh Chandra Misra
15 „ Kiron Sankar Roy
16 „ Monoranjan Gupta
17 „ Suresh Chandra Banerjee
18 „ Pratul Chandra Ganguly
19 „ Harikumar Chakravarty
20 „ Haran Chandra Ghosh Chaudhury
21 „ Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar
22 „ Surendra Mohan Ghosh
23 „ Ramesh Chandra Acharya
24 „ Somnath Lahiri
25 „ Kalipada Mookerjee
26 „ Krishna Binode Roy
27 „ Suresh Chandra Dev
28 „ Makhanlal Sen
29 „ Harendra Nath Ghose
30 „ Raj Kumar Chakravarty
31 „ Pramathanath Bhomick
32 „ Dhirendra Chandra Mukherjee
33 „ Satya Ranjan Bakshi
34 „ Shibnath Banerjee
35 „ Sitaram Saxeria
36 „ Sachindra Nath Maity
37 „ Kamini Kumar Dutt
38 „ Purushottam Roy
39 „ Pratul Chandra Bhattacharjee
30 „ Dhirendra Nath Sen
41 „ Anil Chandra Roy
42 „ Atindra Mohan Roy
43 „ Ashutosh Das
44 „ Kalinarayan Singha
46 „ Sarat Chandra Bose
46 „ Khagendra Nath Das
47 „ Jnanendra Nath Sen Gupta
48 „ Charu Chandra Bhandari
49 „ Deven Dey
50 „ Dharanath Bhattacharji
51 „ Dharani Ranjan Pal
52 „ Nirendra Chandra Dutt
53 „ Nripendra Nath Bose
54 „ Panchanan Bose
55 „ Panchugopal Bhaduri
56 „ Purnendu Kishore Sen
57 „ Prafulla Chandra Sen
58 Moulvi Mohiuddin Khan
59 Shri Mihirlal Chatterjee
60 „ Manindra Nath Bhattacharjee
61 „ Ramsundar Singh
62 Lala Saradindu Dey
63 Shri Sailajananda Sen
64 „ Haripada Chatterjee
65 „ Lakshmi Kanta Maitra
66 „ Sushil Chandra Palit
67 „ Hemanta Kumar Bose
68 Kaviraj Satyabrata Sen

Bombay.—5

1 Sjt. Bhulabhai J. Desai
2 „ S. K. Patil
3 „ Nagindas T. Master
4 „ K. F. Nariman
5 „ Yusuf Meherally

Burma.—3

1 Shree Soniram Poddar
2 „ Janardan Pd. Shukla
3 „ U Hla Min

Delhi.—4

1 Sjt. Jugal Kishore Khanna
2 Maulana Nooruddin Sahib
3 Lala Shankar lal
4 Sjt. Hukam Singh Ji

Gujrat.—14

1 Syt. Kanaiyalal Nanubhai Desai
2 Shrimati Bhaktilaxmi Desai
3 Shrimati Jyotasanabhen Sukal
4 Syt. Ishavarlal Chhotubal Desai
5 „ Arjunlal Lala
6 „ Chandubhai Kasanji Desai
7 „ Gulam Rasul Myasaheb Kureshi
8 „ Hariprasad Pitambardas Mehta
9 „ Kaliyanji Vithalbhai Mehta
10 „ Ramray Mohanray Munshi
11 „ Raojibhai Manibhai Patel
12 „ Tribhavandas Kishibhai Patel
13 „ Laxmidas Mangaldas Shrikant
14 „ Chhotalal Balkrishna Purani

Karnatak.—20

1 Shri T. S. Rajagopalaiangar
2 „ A. V. Lathe
3 „ Tallur Raianagouda
4 „ S. R. Kanthi
5 „ Gangadharrao Deshpande
6 „ U. Srinivas Mallya
7 „ Shankar Kurtkoti
8 „ Kamaladevi
9 Dr. N. B. Kabbur
10 Shri V. M. Giri
11 „ V. V. Patil
12 „ Gudleppa Hallikeri
13 „ Vasappa Gogo
14 „ K. Changalrai Reddy
15 „ Jeevanrao Yalgi
16 „ Narayanrao Joshi
17 „ R. G. Dube
18 „ N. C. Timmareddy
19 „ Nanjappa Kotri
2o „ N. D. Shankar

Kerala—13

1 Mr. Mohammad Abdul Rehman
2. Shri A. K. Gopalan
3 „ P. Krishna Pillai
4 „ Narayanan Nair
5 „ H. Manjunatha Rao
6 „ K. Kelappan
7 „ E. Kannan
8 „ M. Narayan Menon
9 „ R. Raghava Menon
10 Shri K. Madhava Menon
11 „ S. Subramaniam
12 „ P. C. Koran
23 „ E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad.

Mahakoshal—18

1 Seth Govindas
2 Shri Dwarka Prasad Misra
3 Thakur Chhedilal
4 Shri Ravishankar Shukla
5 „ D. K. Mehta
6 „ Bhagvantrao Mandloi
7 „ M. R. Majumdar
8 „ Laxamanrao Udgirkar
9 „ Kunjbiharilal Agnihotri
10 „ Niranjansingh
11 Capt. Lal Avdheshpratap Singh
12 Shri V. Y. Tamaskar
13 „ Gulbchand Gupta
14 „ Shambhudayal Mishra
15 „ Hariprasad Chaturvedi
16 „ Badrinath Dube
17 „ V. V. Subhedar
18 Sardar Amarsing Saigal

Maharashtra—22

1 Shri G. H. Deshpande
2 Mr. Deokinandan Narayan
3 Shri Shrinivasrao Sardesai
4 „ S. D. Deo
5 „ N. L. Shende
6 „ Atmaram Nana Patil
7 „ Ramkrishna Jaju
8 „ N. V. Gadgil
9 „ Shakarshet Kabare
10 Mr. S. M. Joshi
11 Shri Naval Ananda Patil
12 „ B. G. Kher
13 „ G. P. Khare
14 „ Achutrao Patwardhan
15 „ D. K. Kunte
16 „ Yankatrao Pawar
17 „ V. K. Sathe
18 „ G. D. Vartak
19 „ Gakulbhai Bhat
20 „ V. V. Dandekar
21 „ S. S. Mahajan
22 „ V. D. Chitale

Nagpur—5

1 Sjt. Jamnalal Bajai
2 Shri Chaturbhujbhai Jasani
3 „ M. S. Kannamwar
4 „ Pannalal Deodia
5 „ Punamchand Ranka

N. W. F. P.—7

Note—The election was held invalid and there will be re-election.

Punjab—36

1 Dr. Satyapal
2 S. Pratap Singh
3 S. Sampuran Singh
4 Ch. Krishen Gopal Dutt
5 L. Achint Ram
6 Nawabzada Mahmud Ali
7 L. Sham Lal
8 Pt. Neki Ram Sharma
9 Mahashe Karam Chand
10 L. Sunam Rai
11 S. Sohan Singh Josh
12 M. Abdul Ghani
13 S. Dasondha Singh
14 Master Kabul Singh
15 Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew
16 S. Gopal Singh Qaumi
17 M. Iftakhar-ud-din
18 S Shiv Saran Singh
19 Ch. Baldev Singh
20 S. Mangal Singh
21 Dr. Bhag Singh
22 S. Sajjan Singh Margindpuri
23 Comrade Ram Krishen
24 Mr. Virendra
25 Ch. Atta Ullah
26 M. Yohd. Yamin Dar
27 Baba Rur Singh
28 L. Duni Chand Ambalavi
29 L. Chint Ram Thapar
30 Dr. Lehna Singh
31 Babu Mohd. Din
32 Master Nand Lal Jaranwala
33 L. Kidar Nath Sehgal
34 S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar
32 Mr. Baldev Mitter Bijli
36 Mr. Bhagat Ram Chanana

Sindh.—5

1 Shri Jairamdas Doulatram
2 Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani
3 Sjt. R. K. Sidhwa
4 Swami Govindanand
5 Dr. Alimchand Udharani

Tamil Nad.—19

1 Janab M. S. Abdul Sattar Sahib
2 Sri C. A. Aiyamuthu
3 „ C Rajagopalachariar
4 „ P. S. Kumaraswami Raja
5 „ T. L. Sasivarna Thevar
6 „ S. Satyamurti
7 Sri B. Srinivasa Rao
8 „ N. M. R. Subbaraman
9 „ P. Subbarayan
10 „ C. P. Subbiah
11 „ A. Subramaniam
12 „ C. Subramaniam
13 Dr. S. Subramaniam
14 Sri N. Somsyajulu
15 „ V. Nadimuthu Pillai

16 Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam
17 „ C. Perumalswami Reddiar
18 „ U. Muthuramlinga Thevar
19 „ K. S. Muthuswami
20 „ V. I. Munuswami Pillai
21 „ Ramanathan
22 Sri Ramaswami Naidu
23 „ P. Ramaswami Reddiar
24 „ T. S. S. Rajan
25 „ V. S. Rm. Valliappa Chettiar
26 „ M. C. Veerabahu
27 „ P. Jeevanandham
28 „ Janab S. A. Shaffee Mohd.
29 „ K. M. Sheriff

U. P.—62

1 Shri Bal Krishna Sharma
2 Dr. K. M. Ashraf
3 Acharya Narendra Dev
4 Rafi Ahmad Kidwai Saheb
5 Acharya J. B. Kripalani
6 Shri M. N. Roy
7 „ Radhey Shyam Misra
8 „ Shibban Lal Saxena
9 „ Sajjad Zaheer
10 „ Ganga Sahai Chaubey
11 „ Z. A. Ahmad
12 „ Chandra Bhan Gupta
13 „ Rammanohar Lohia
14 Shrimati Parvati Devi
15 Shri Beni Singh
16 „ Algu Rai Shastri
17 „ Acharya Jugal Kishore
18 „ Govind Sahai
19 „ Govind Ballabh Pant
20 „ Gauri Shanker Misra
21 Kamala Pati Tripathi
22 Shri Mohanlal Saxena
23 „ Purshottam Das
24 „ Ramji Sahai
25 „ Shri Prakasa
26 „ Vishnu Saran Dublish
27 „ Yusuf Imam Saheb
28 „ Shrikrishna Dutt Paliwal
29 „ Mohanlal Gautam
30 „ Ram Narain Azad
31 „ Malkhan Singh
32 „ Raghupati Singh
33 „ Abdul Jalil Khan
34 „ Bhupendra Nath Sanyal
35 „ Baba Raghav Das
26 „ Bishambhar Nath Pandey
37 „ hagawan Din Misra
38 Shri Bishambar Dayal Tripathy
39 „ Bimal Prasad Jain
40 „ Bhagawati Narain
41 „ Keshav Dev Malaviya
42 „ Damodar Swarup Seth
43 ” Deep Narain Verma
44 ” Gajadhar Singh
45 ” Gopal Narain Saxena
46 ” Hira Ballabh Tripathi
47 ” Harish Chandra Bajpai
48 Maulana Hussain Ahmad Saheb
49 Hakim Mahmudul Hasan Saheb
50 Hakim Brij Lal Verma
51 Shri Jugal Kishore Divedi
52 Lala Prayag Dutt
53 Shri Manzar Ali Sokhta
54 Mohammad Kasim Saheb
55 Shri R. D. Bharadwaj
56 „ Rameshwar Snatak
57 Shrimati Rani Laxmi Devi
58 Shri Raghubar Dayal Misra
59 Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh
60 Shri Sudarshan Dayal
61 „ Sarju Prasad
62 „ Vidyadhar Bajpai

Utkal.—19

1 Sjt. Jagannath Das
2 „ Harekishna Mehatab
3 „ Prankrishna Parbiari
4 Pandit Nilkantha Das
5 Sjt. R. K. Biswasray
6 „ Mohan Das
7 „ Sadasiv Tripathy
8 „ Dibakar Pattnaik
9 „ Sashibhusan Rath
10 „ Jadumani Mangaraj
11 „ Madanmohan Pattnaik
12 „ Godavaris Misra
13 „ Nandakishore Das
14 „ Sarangdhar Das
15 „ Biswanath Das
16 „ Bodhram Dube
17 „ Nabakrishna Chaudhury
18 „ Bhagirathi Mahapatra
19 „ Chinatamani Misra

Vidarbha—5

1 Hon'ble Shri Brijlal Biyani
2 Shri Loknayak M. S. Aney
3 Shri Dr. M. N. Parasnis
4 Dr. S. L. Kashikar
5 Dr. N. Z. Nandurkar

The Indian National Congress

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Bardoloi (Gujrat)—11th. January to 14th. January 1939

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Bardoloi from 11 to 14 January, 1939. *Shri Subhas Chandra Bose* presided. The Members present were *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Doulatram, Bhulabhai Desai, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankerrao Deo, Sarat Chandra Bose, Hare Krishna Mahatab, J. B. Kripalani. Shri Jamnalal Bajaj* was also present for some time.

2. Hindu-Muslim Question

The question was discussed at length and the General Secretary was authorised to issue the following statement to the press :—

"The Working Committee have always been anxious to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the communal question in consultation with and with the co-operation of all the parties concerned. It was with this object in view that the Congress President conferred with the President of the Muslim League, but the last communication received from the Muslim League on this subject left little hope of a mutual understanding being established at present.

"The Congress has on many previous occasions declared its policy on the communal question, and in relation to the minorities. That policy holds and it covers the principal aspects of the problem, but the course of events and the development of the political situation raise new doubts which require elucidation. The Committee were therefore of opinion that the Congress should, in order to pave the way to a fuller understanding, endeavour to remove doubts by further elucidating its policy on the communal questions that have arisen with a view to making a further declaration. The Working Committee have given earnest consideration to the matter.

"They have, however, come to the conclusion that for the present no useful purpose will be served by making such a declaration and this might even at this stage, result in delaying the very consummation, which they earnestly desire, namely a satisfactory settlement that is acceptable to all concerned. The Committee, therefore, do not make any further statement on this subject at present, but they will continue their efforts in accordance with the basic policy of the Congress and its many declarations to ensure justice to all communities, as well as to remove such doubts as may arise from time to time. In this task they seek and would welcome the co-operation of all concerned."

3. Bengali-Bihari Controversy—Resolution

The Committee adopted the Report of Shri Rajendra Prasad and passed the following Resolution for the guidance of the Bihar and other Congress Governments :—

The Working Committee have considered the report of Babu Rajendra Prasad in regard to the Bengali-Bihari controversy and also various memoranda, including one from Mr. P. R. Das. The Committee wish to express their appreciation of the careful and exhaustive report prepared by Babu Rajendra Prasad and their general agreement with the conclusions arrived at by him. In view of the fact that several of these conclusions are capable of general application, the Committee formulate them hereunder:

1. While the Committee are of opinion that the rich variety of Indian culture and diversity of life in the various parts of the country should be preserved and cherished, the idea of a common nationality and a commou background of our cultural and historical inheritance must always be encouraged, so that India should become a free and strong nation built upon a unity of purpose and aim. Therefore, the Committee wish to discourage all separatist tendencies and a narrow provincialism. Nevertheless the Committee are of opinion that in regard to services and like matters the people of a province have a certain claim which cannot be overlooked.

2. In regard to services the Committee are of opinion that there should be no bar preventing the employment of any Indian, living in any part of the country, from seeking employment in any other part. But certain considerations must govern such employment, apart from the essential condition of merit and efficiency, which is of particular importance in the higher services and in the selection of specialists and experts. These considerations are :

(1) A fair representation of various communities in the province.

(ii) The encouragement, as far as possible, of backward classes and groups so that they might develop and play their full part in the national life.

(iii) A preferential treatment of the people of the province. It is desirable that this preferential treatment should be governed by certain rules and regulations framed by provincial governments in order to prevent individual officers from applying different standards. Further it is desirable that similar rules should be applicable in all provinces.

3. In regard to Bihar no distinction should be made between Biharis properly so called and the Bengali-speaking residents of the province born or domiciled there. The term Bihari should in fact include both these classes and in the matter of services, as well as other matters, an identical treatment should be given to both. It is permissible to give a certain preference in services to these residents of the province over people from other provinces.

4. The practice of issuing certificates to domiciles should be abolished. Applicants for services should state that they are residents of or domiciled in the province. In all appropriate cases the Government will have the right to satisfy itself about the correctness of the statement before making an appointment.

5. Domicile should be proved by evidence that implies that the applicant has made the province his home. In deciding that he has done so, length of residence, possession of house or other property, and other relevant matters should be taken into consideration and the conclusions arrived at on the totality of the evidence available. However, birth in the province or ten years' continuous residence should be regarded as sufficient proof of domicile.

6. All persons holding appointments under Government should be treated alike, and promotions must be based on seniority coupled with efficiency.

7. There should be no prohibition against any one carrying on trade or business in the province. It is desirable that firms and factories, carrying on business in a province, should develop local contacts by giving appointments, wherever possible, to residents of the province. But suggestions made by provincial Government to firms and factories in the matter of appointments may be misunderstood and therefore should be avoided.

8. When accommodation is limited in educational institutions, places may be reserved for different communities in the province, but the reservation should be in a fair proportion. Perference in such educational institutions may be given to people of the Province.

9. In Bihar in the areas where Bengali is the spoken language the medium of instruction in primary schools should be Bengali, but in such areas provision should also be made for instruction in Hindustani in the primary schools for those whose mother-tongue is Hindustani, if there is a reasonable number of students speaking Hindustani. Similarly, in Hindustani-speaking areas, education in primary schools should be given in Hindustani, but, if there is a reasonable number of Bengali-speaking students, they should be taught in Bengali. In secondary schools education should be given through the medium of the province, but the State should provide for education through the medium of any other language where there is a demand for it on the part of the residents of any district where this other language is spoken.

The Working Committee earnestly trust that the above conclusions will be accepted and acted upon by all the parties concerned in Bihar and the regrettable controversy in the province will cease.

These conclusions should also guide the general policy of other provincial administrations in these matters herein dealt with.

4. Ranpur State Tragedy Resolution

Shri Harekrishna Mehtab who had been on the scene four hours after the tragedy related what he had seen and heard. The Committee passed the following resolution :

"The Working Committee record their deep regret at the killing of Major Bazalgette by a crowd at Ranpur in Orissa and are of opinion that such acts of violence do great injury to the cause of freedom in the States. The Committee have welcomed the awakening among the people of the States and look forward to their deliverance, but they are convinced that resort to mob violence will delay that deliverance. The Committee therefore earnestly trust that the people of the States as well as those in other parts of India will strictly adhere to peaceful methods in the struggle for freedom."

5 Jaipur Ban on Shri Jamnalal Bajaj

Shri Jamnalalji placed before the Committee all the facts leading to the ban placed on his entry into Jaipur State and the declaration by the State authorities of the Prajamandal as an unlawful organisation. Jamnalalji informed the Committee that he intended to break the order passed against him and to offer Satyagraha. The Committee passed the following resolution :

"The Working Committee deplores the ban placed on the entry into the Jaipur State of Seth Jamnalalji by the Jaipur authorities whilst he was on his way to Jaipur, his native place for famine relief work and to attend the meeting of the Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal of which he is the President. The Working Committee hope that wiser counsels will prevail and the authorities will withdraw the ban and prevent an agitation both in the Jaipur State and outside."

6. Uncertified Khadi—Resolution

Complaints were received from several provinces by the A. I. C. C. office and the A. I. S. A. about Congressmen encouraging the production and sale of uncertified khadi by themselves purchasing such khadi, by opening production and sale centres for the same, by performing opening ceremonies of production and sale centres and generally by offering their co-operation and patronage. Some Congress Committees had gone so far as to issue certificates to private producers and dealers of uncertified khadi. The Committee were strongly of the view that such conduct on the part of Congressmen and Congress organisations was highly objectionable as it defeated the object of the A. I. S. A.'s new policy of giving a minimum living wage to the spinner. The Committee therefore passed the following resolution for the guidance of the Congressmen, Congress organisations and Congress governments :

The Working Committee is of opinion that the policy adopted by the All India Spinners' Association and the efforts made by it to secure adequate wages to the spinners and other artisans engaged in Khadi work are of great importance as being conducive to the welfare of the rural population and likely to pave the way for a proper wage standard for them. The Committee, therefore, considers it to be the duty of all Congress organisations and Congressmen to offer wholehearted co-operation and support to the Association and its affiliated organisations in order to make this policy a success.

The Committee expresses its strong disapproval of the harmful activities of uncertified producers and dealers who have been exploiting the growing demand for Khadi by offering cheaper stuff produced with the help of low and inadequate wages and who have been misleading those Congress organisations and Congressmen as have not yet become aware of the difference between genuine Khadi produced by the A. I. S. A. and its affiliated organisations and the cheaper stuff offered by uncertified producers and dealers. The Committee, therefore, considers it necessary to lay down the following instructions for the guidance of Congress organisations, Congressmen and all those who are interested in the development of genuine Khadi :

(1) In the opinion of the Congress "Khadi', means only such khadi as is produced by its own organisation viz., the A. I. S. A. and the institutions certified by it and all Congress organisations and Congressmen should use and advise others to use only such Khadi.

(2) Congressmen should refrain from performing opening ceremonies of, or participating in the functions of or doing anything that would directly or indirectly give encouragement to such institutions, exhibitions or shops as sell or spread the use of uncertified Khadi.

(3) No Congress organisation or Congressmen should have any dealings under the name of Khadi in any cloth other than Khadi that is produced by the A. I. S. A. or the organisations certified by it.

Communists and Membership to Congress Elective Bodies

Shri Sundarayya from Andhra filing his candidature for election as delegate had declared that he held communistic views. Not only this, but he declared that as a follower of Marx and Lenin he believed that in the last resort violence will have to be used for the attainment of independence. He was therefore debarred from contesting election as a delegate. The Committee in this connection gave the following ruling :

"If a person who accepts Article 1 of the Congress Constitution and in token thereof signs the Membership form and otherwise fulfills such other conditions of membership, as may exist at the time, he is entitled to become a Congress member and has a right to stand as a candidate for an elective office provided further he fulfills such other requirements as are laid down for the purpose. It should be clearly understood however that every activity leading to promotion of violence is a violation of article (1) of the Constitution and therefore renders a person indulging in such activity liable to disqualification."

In the light of this opinion of the Committee Shri Sundarayya's case was to be decided by the Andhra P. C. C.

NOTES

Presidential Election

Delegates from various provinces proposed the names of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya for the presidentship of the 52nd. Session of the Congress to be held at Tripuri, Mahakoshal in March next. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad however informed the General Secretary withdrawing his candidature. With the retirement of Maulana Azad from the contest the choice of the delegates lay between Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Pattabhi. The delegates assembled on the 29th January at places fixed by the P. C. Cs to record their votes. The A. I. C. C. office received wires from all provinces communicating the results of the voting. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose polled 1575 votes and Dr. Pattabhi 1376. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose was therefore declared elected the President of the 52nd Session of the Congress (*see poster*).

Indian States

Rajkot :—

We have already in a previous issue of the Bulletin recorded the agreement arrived at between Thakore Sahib and Shri Vallabhbhai Patel. This happy ending of a three months' heroic struggle was the cause of widespread rejoicing. The ruler, no less than the people of Rajkot were the recipients of warm congratulations from all over the country. But this combined victory of the ruler and the people was perhaps not relished by higher authority, One of the terms of the settlement was that a council of 10 members should be appointed to submit within a month a scheme of Constitutional reform. It was agreed that the seven non-official members of the Committee were to be chosen by Shri Vallabhbhai Patel. Shri Vallabhbhai sent a list of seven names to the Thakore Sahib. The Thakore Sahib, guided from above, accepted four names and rejected the rest on the ground that seats had to be found for the representatives of Muslims and other minorities. The meaning of this belated plea for minorities was obvious. It was a cover for going back on a solemn agreement in order to retrieve the loss of prestige that the British bureaucracy had suffered at the hands of the people. This was a call for a further and more intensive course of suffering for the innocent but brave men and women of Rajkot. Shri Vallabhbhai Patel however pleaded with the Thakore Sahib to honour his plighted word and avert a repetition of the struggle.

But his pleadings were in vain. "It now remains for me" declared Shri Vallabhbhai Patel in the course of a press statement, "to invite the people of Rajkot to resume the self-chosen course of suffering for vindicating the liberty and saving Rajkot and the Thakore Sahib from utter ruin. It is best to anticipate and provide for the worst. "Honour demanded", wrote Gandhiji in a recent issue of the "Harijan", "that the people should fight unto death for the restoration of the covenant between the Thakore Sahib and his people. The struggle now is not between the ruler and his people but in reality it is between the Congress and the British Government represented by the Resident who is reported to be resorting to

organised goondaism." At another place he says ".....The movement for liberty cannot possibly be withdrawn or arrested because there are at the moment so-called communal splits. I see that history is repeating itself and the power that is losing ground is becoming desperate and fomenting trouble and dissension within, hoping to drag on its existence by means of these dissensions. If the people know how to work the non-violent technique, the powers that are acting in this manner will be confounded and the people will rise victorious."

"The Muslims in Rajkot, for instance, have everything to gain by the people of Rajkot securing liberty. They are today depending upon the sweet will, not of the Rulers, but of the advisers of the Rulers; tomorrow they will share power with the people because they are of the people. But I really do not believe that there is real Muslim opposition in Rajkot. They have enjoyed the best relations with the Hindus. I know this from personal experience myself. During the three months' brief but brilliant struggle there was no dissension between the Hindus and the Muslims in Rajkot. Though many Muslims did not court imprisonment, the Muslims as a community remained at the back of the agitation."

The struggle has commenced and with it the usual repression. Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi and Miss Mridulaben proceeded to Rajkot for participation in the struggle. They were arrested on their arrival in Rajkot.

Writing on Rajkot in a recent issue of the "Harijian", Gandhiji asks what the duty of the Congress is when the people of Rajkot have to face not the ruler and his tiny police but the disciplined hordes of the British Empire.

"The first and natural step", says he, "is for the Congress ministry to make themselves responsible for the safety and honour of the people of Rajkot. It is true that the Government of India Act gives the ministers no power over the States. But they are governors of a mighty province in which Rajkot is but a speck. As such they have rights and duties outside the Government of India Act. And these are much the most important. Supposing that the Rajkot became the place of refuge for all the gundas that India could produce, supposing further that from there they carried on operations throughout India, the ministers would clearly have the right and it would be their duty to ask the Paramount Power through the British Representative in Bombay to set things right in Rajkot. And it will be the duty of the Paramount Power to do so or to lose the ministers. Every minister in his province is affected by everything that happens in territories within his geographical limit though outside his legal jurisdiction, especially if that thing hurts his sense of decency. Responsible government in those parts may not be the ministers' concern, but if there is plague in those parts or butchery going on, it is very much their concern; or else their rule is a sham and a delusion. Thus the ministers in Orissa may not sit comfortably in their chairs, if they do not succeed in sending 26,000 refugees of Talcher to their home with an absolute assurance of safety and freedom of speech and social and political intercourse. It is insufferable that the Congress, which is today in alliance with the British Government, should be treated as an enemy and an outsider in the States which are vassals of the British.

"This wanton breach, instigated by the British Resident in Rajkot, of the charter of the liberty of its people is a wrong which must be set right at the earliest possible moment. It is like a poison corroding the whole body. Will H E. the Viceroy realize the significance of Rajkot and remove the poison ?"

Jaipur :—

The Jaipur Administration issued an order on Dec. 16 prohibiting the entry into the State of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, a member of the Congress Working Committee and a native born subject of the State. Shri Bajaj was proceeding to Jaipur to tour the famine stricken areas of the State and administer relief and also to attend a meeting of the States People Committee. The State authorities however scented grave danger to the peace and tranquillity of the State in these innocent activities of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj and therefore ordered him not to enter the State. To avoid precipitating a crisis Shri Jamnalal did not defty the order and returned. He, however, sent a letter to the Council of the State asking for an explanation of this uncalled for move against him. He also intimated that unless the ban was lifted he would be compelled to defy the order and launch a civil resistance campaign in the State. The Jaipur administration at whose head is a Britisher answered Jamnalalji by banning the Jaipur Praja Mandal itself. Shri Bajaj was declared an outsider in the order by the foreign Prime Minister. It was

conveniently forgotten that not long ago the good offices of Shri Jamnalal were used for bringing about reconciliation between Jaipur and its feudatory, Sikar.

Gandhiji, in the course of his writings in the "Harijan", draws attention to the meaning and significance of the crisis developing in Jaipur as also in Rajkot. "If the action of Jaipur authorities precipitates a first class crisis, it is impossible for the Indian National Congress, and therefore all India, to stand by and look on with indifference whilst Jamnalalji, for no offence whatsoever, is imprisoned and members of the Praja Mandal are dealt with likewise. The Congress will be neglecting its duty if, having power, it shrank from using it and allow the spirit of the people of Jaipur to be crushed for want of support from the Congress. This is the sense in which I have said that the example of Jaipur, or say Rajkot, might easily lead to an all-India crisis.

"The policy of non-intervention by the Congress was, in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship when the people of the States were not awakened. That policy would be cowardice when there is all-round awakening among the people of the States and a determination to go through a long course of suffering for the vindication of their just rights. If once this is recognised, the struggle for liberty, whenever it takes place, is the struggle for all India. Whenever the Congress thinks it can usefully intervene, it must intervene."

On February 1, Jamnalalji defied the prohibitory order. There was a large crowd at the Railway Station to accord him a public reception. On stepping out of the station Shri Jamnalal was driven in a car to Sawai Madhopur and informed that he would be released if he left the Jaipur territory. On his declining to do so he was taken to Muttra and released there.

A few days later he attempted re-entry into the Jaipur State. What followed is described in the following press statement issued by Gandhiji:

"The following telephone report has been received about Seth Jamnalalji, who, when he was arrested for the second time, was accompanied by his son, secretary and servant. Seth Jamnalalji was detained at Ajmer road station, 50 miles from Jaipur and was kept in the dak bungalow there. Mr. Young went to Sethji in person and asked him to enter his car. Sethji declined, saying, "You wish to put me outside the border of Jaipur State. I wish to enter Jaipur. I will not accompany you." Mr. Young thereupon said, "We are taking you to Jaipur." "Come with us." Sethji replied, "I cannot rely you on your word." Mr. Young then said, "I have orders. You will have to come with us."

"Sethji asked to be shown the order but it appears that there was no order in Mr. Young's possession. At length Mr. Young again told Sethji that he would be taken to Jaipur. "If we do not take you there you can have it printed in the newspaper that after promising to take you to Jaipur we took you elsewhere." Sethji was not inclined to believe anything that was said to him. He said, "I will not accompany you willingly. You can take me by force if you so desire." This conversation took nearly an hour.

"In the end five men forcibly put Sethji in a car and took him away. In this process of using force Sethji was injured on his left cheek below the eye. He was taken to Alwar State. Sethji here said, "You cannot act like this. You are not at liberty to deposit me in another State. If you do so I will run a case against you." On this Mr. Young brought Sethji back again to Jaipur State. But we do not know his present whereabouts.

"The only remark I have to offer is that this is barbarous behaviour. Sacredness of person, legal procedure and liberty are thrown to the winds. That a British Inspector General of Police should resort to deception and then to personal injury to one who was his prisoner is what I call organised goondaism. But I know that nothing will break Jamnalal's spirit. He will enter Jaipur either as a freeman or a prisoner."

Emancipation of 'Halis'

Bardoloi celebrated the Independence Day in a novel and striking manner. India has not achieved emancipation yet but Bardoloi had a foretaste of it on Janury 26th. About twenty thousand people called Dublas or Halis who led lives of semi-serfdom were, with the free and joyous consent of their erstwile masters, freed from a galling yoke and restored to man's estate. The emancipation, however, was no sudden occurrence, a spontaneous and unpremeditated act of generosity on the part of the masters. It was the outcome of a slow, silent agitation going on for well over a decade. The literal meaning of Dublas is 'weak.,

He borrows money and being unable to pay back, he works as his master's permanent agricultural labourer for his whole life. He is free to work elsewhere when there is no work. He is treated with some consideration by his master and his bare minimum needs provided for. The yoke however is still there. Recently there have been attempts by individual Dublas to escape from the thraldom by running away. There is economic reason behind this attempt to escape. The price of labour has risen considerably and the Hali cannot benefit by it by remaining a Hali, The master too on the other hand was finding Hali labour uneconomic. But the social prestige that the possession of a couple of Halis gave to the master more than counter-balanced the economic loss. There was in this state of affairs material enough for clashes, strife and ill-will. But the educative propaganda carried on by 'Gandhiwalas' for over a decade through night schools, spinning wheel and other such activities prepared both the oppressor and the oppressed for a new, saner and juster order. In August 1938 Shri Vallabhbhai addressed a Conference of the landed classes and appealed to them to end the serfdom of the Dublas. A representative Committee with 18 agriculturists and four workers was appointed, Nearly 140 villages were represented and the Committee submitted an unanimous report making the following among other recommendations:

(1) Every Hali to be emancipated in the sense that from 26th January 1939 he earns a wage of 0-4-6 (for males) and 0-3-0 (for females); (2) every Hali who has worked on his master's farm for twelve years or more is automatically free from all his debts to him; (3) such Hali as may have worked for less than twelve years to have credited to their account a twelfth of the debt for every year that they have worked; (4) an anna per day to be deducted from his wage until the debt is repaid, nothing to be deducted from a woman's wage; (5) everyone to be declared free from debt on expiry of 12 years, whether the debt be paid or not; (6) every debt to expire with the debtor's life; (7) a Dubla may engage himself on an annual wage of Rs. 80, and Rs. 15 may be deducted from his wage for repayment of a debt due if any; (8) village panchs to be appointed to settle all questions regarding debts.

A joint meeting of Dublas and the landed classes was held in Bardoli on the 26th of January for the acceptance of these resolutions. The resolutions were carried unanimously. The meeting was addressd by Gandhiji and Shri Vallabhbhai Patel who explained the implications of the resolutions solemnly taken. "The meaning of emancipation", said Gandhiji, "is that the *Halpati* is free to choose his own field of labour. You have entered into a sacred pact which should make your relations with the landowner sweeter than before. You need not have the form on which you worked and the former for whom you worked. Only you will work voluntarily and cheerfully and he will work alongside of you. That you will be called *Halpatis* does not mean that the owner of the land will give up the *Hal* (plough). The rates you have fixed do not mean that the farmer will only pay 0-4-6 when there are a bumper crop and soaring prices. The spirit of the resolution means that you will give them a much higher wage.

"What you have done today you ought to have done in 1921. But better late than never, and I am happy that you have at last done what ought to have been done. But this wage will not emancipate you really. Agriculture by itself cannot support you all. That is why I have placed the spinning wheel before the country and am never tired of singing its praises. My faith in it grows with the years, and I may tell you that if you will take up the spinning wheel in right earnest you will never repent."

Thus was ended the age-long slavery of the Dublas without any violent fight, without generating any hatred or ill-will. This is how constructive work and living sympathy work.

The Presidential Election Controversy

In this connection it would be interesting to give a detailed account of the controversy held over the presidential election :—

On the 17th. of January Dr. *Pattabhi Sitaramayya* wrote to the press from Bombay : "It is news to me that I have been nominated as a candidate for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress.....I beg leave to withdraw from the contest." The press message containing the above statement was however subsequently cancelled. On the 20th. of January *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* issued a statement from Bombay in the course of which he said that he was

informing the Congress Secretary that he was withdrawing his name. "I am unable," said Maulana Azad, "to endure the additional strain of the work and responsibility of the Congress Presidentship. And he concluded his statement with a recommendation for Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya. Dr. Sitaramaya "was about to withdraw his candidature under the impression that I would not withdraw my name: but I am glad to say that I have prevailed upon him not to do so." So the position was that the doctor to whom it was news that he had been nominated as a candidate for the Presidentship and who begged leave to withdraw from the contest was prevailed upon not to withdraw.

The issue in the Presidential contest was the attitude towards the Federal scheme. Srijut Bose believed in the complete independence for India. For the last few months he had been diligently urging upon his countrymen to declare that a compromise over the Federal scheme would be suicidal folly. It would mean the end of the idea of independence. The following is the text of the statement issued by Sj. *Subhas Bose* on the 21st January :—

Sj. Subhas Bose's Statement

"In view of the situation created by the withdrawal of Maulana *Abul Kalam Azad* and after reading the statement that he has issued, it is imperative for me to say something on the subject of the impending Presidential election. In discussing this question all sense of false modesty will have to be put aside, for the issue is not a personal one. The progressive sharpening of the anti-Imperialist struggle in India has given birth to new ideas, ideologies, problems and programmes. People are consequently veering round to the opinion that, as in other free countries, the Presidential election in India should be fought on the basis of definite problems and programmes so that the contest may help the clarification of issues and give a clear indication of the working of the public mind.....An election contest in these circumstances may not be an undesirable thing. Up till now I have not received any suggestion or advice from a single delegate asking me to withdraw from the contest. On the contrary, I have been nominated as a candidate from several provinces without my knowledge or consent and I have been receiving pressing requests from socialists as well as non-socialists in different parts of the country urging me not to retire. Over and above this there seems to be a general feeling that I should be allowed to serve in office for another term. It is possible that this impression of mine is not correct and that my re-election is not desired by the majority of the delegates. But this could be verified only when voting takes place on the 29th. January and not earlier.

"As a worker my position is perfectly clear. It is not for me to say in what capacity I should serve. That is a matter to be decided by my countrymen and in this particular case by my fellow delegates. But I have no right to decline to serve if and when I am ordered to a particular place. As matter of fact, I shall be falling in my duty if I shirk any responsibility which may be cast on me. In view of the increasing international tension and the prospective fight over Federation, the new year will be a momentous one in our national history. Owing to this and other reasons, if my services in office are demanded by the majority of the delegates with what justification can I withdraw from the contest when the issue involved is not a personal one at all. If, however, as a result of the appeal made by eminent leaders like Maulana Azad, the majority of the delegates vote against my re-election I shall loyally abide by their verdict and shall continue to serve the Congress and the country as an ordinary soldier. In view of all these considerations I am constrained to feel that I have no right to retire from the contest. I am therefore placing myself unreservedly in the hands of my fellow delegates and I shall abide by their decisions."

W. C. Members' Statement

In reply to this the following statement was issued by *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel*, Babu *Rajendra Prasad*, Mr. *Jayaramdas Doulatram*, Mr. *J. B. Kripalani*, Mr. *Sankar Rao Deo* and Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, members of the Congress Working Committee on the 24th. January.

"We have read *Subhas Babu's* statement with the care it deserves. So far as we know, hitherto Presidential elections have been unanimous. Subhas Babu has set up a new precedent, which he had a perfect right to do. The wisdom of the course adopted by him can be known only by experience. We have grave doubts about it. We would have waited for a greater consolidation of the Congress ranks, greater toleration and greater respect for one another's opinions before

making the Congress Presidential election a matter of contest. We would have gladly refrained from saying anything upon the statement, But we feel that we would be neglecting our clear duty when we hold strong views about the forthcoming election. It was a matter of deep sorrow to us that the *Maulana Sahib* felt called upon to withdraw from the contest. But when he had finally decided to withdraw, he had advocated Dr. Pattabhi's election in consultation with some of us. This decision was taken with much deliberation. We feel that it is a sound policy to adhere to the rule of not re-electing the same President except under very exceptional circumstances.

"In his statement *Subhas Babu* has mentioned his opposition to Federation. This is shared by all members of the Working Committee. It is the Congress policy. He has also mentioned ideologies, policies and programmes. All this, we feel, is not relevant to the consideration of the choice of Congress President. The Congress policy and programmes are not determined by its successive Presidents. If it were so, the Constitution would not limit the office to one year. The policy and programmes of the Congress, when they are not determined by the Congress itself, are determined by the Working Committee. The position of the President is that of a chairman. More than this, the President represents and symbolises, as under a constitutional monarchy, the unity and solidarity of the Nation. This position, therefore, has rightly been considered as one of very great honour and as such the Nation has sought to confer it on as many of its illustrious sons as would be possible by annual elections.

"The election, as befits the dignity of this high office, has always been unanimous. Any controversy over the election, even on the score of policies and programmes, is therefore, to be deprecated. We believe that Dr. *Pattabhi* is quite fitted for the post of the President of the Congress. He is one of the oldest members of the Working Committee and he has a long and unbroken record of public service to his credit. We, therefore, commend his name to the Congress delegates for election. We would also ask his colleagues to urge on Subhas Babu to reconsider his decision and allow Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's election to be unanimous".

Mr. Bose's Counter-statement

In reply, Mr. *Bose* issued the following statement on the same day :—

"It is an extremely painful task for me to engage in a public controversy with some of my distinguished colleagues on the Working Committee but, as matters stand, I have no option in the matter. The first statement which is issued on the 21st instant was my enforced reaction to the statement of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Sahib and what I am saying now is my enforced reply to the challenging statement of Sardar Patel and other leaders. The responsibility for starting this public controversy does not rest with me, but with my distinguished colleagues. In an election contest between two members of the Working Committee, one would not expect the other members to take sides in an organised manner, because that would obviously not be fair. Sardar Patel and other leaders have issued the statement as members of the All-India Congress Working Committee and not as individual Congressmen. I ask if this is fair either, when the Working Committee never discussed this question.

"In the statement we are told for the first time that the decision to advocate Dr. Pattabhi's election was taken with much deliberation. Neither I, nor some of my colleagues on the Working Committee, had any knowledge or idea of either the deliberation or the decision. I wish the signatories had issued the statement not as members of the Working Committee, but as individual Congressmen.

"If the Presidential election is to be an election worth the name, there should be freedom of voting without any moral coercion. But does not a statement of this sort tantamount to moral coercion? If the President is to be elected by the delegates and not be nominated by influential members of the Working Committee, will Sardar Patel and other leaders withdraw their whip and leave it to the delegates to vote as they like? If the delegates are given the freedom to vote as they like, there would not be the slightest doubt as to the issue of the election contest. Otherwise, why not end the elective system and have the President nominated by the Working Committee?

"It is news to me that there is a rule that the same person should not be re-elected President except under exceptional circumstances. If one traces the history of the Congress one will find that in several cases the same person has

een elected more than once. I am also surprised at the remark that Presidential lections have hitherto been unanimous. I remember to have voted for one candidate n preference to another on several occasions. It is only in recent years that the lection has been unanimous.

"Since the adoption of the new constitution of the Congress in 1934, the Vorking Committee is being nominated, theoretically at least, by the President. ince that year the position of the Congress President has been raised to a higher evel. It is, therefore, natural that new conventions should now grow up around ie Congress President and his election. The position of the President to-day is no onger analogous to that of the chairman of a meeting. The President is like the rime Minister or the President of the United States of America who nominates is own Cabinet. It is altogether wrong to liken the Congress President to a onstitutional monarch.

"I may add that questions of policy and programme are not irrelevant and hey would have been raised long ago in connection with the election of the Congress President had it not been for the fact that after the Congress of 1934, a eftist has been elected President every time with the support of both the Right nd Left wings. The departure from this practice this year and the attempt to et up a Rightist candidate for the office of President is not without significance. t is widely believed that there is a prospect of a compromise on the Federal cheme between the Right wing of the Congress and the British Government uring the coming year. Consequently the Right wing do not want a Leftist resident who may be a thorn in the way of a compromise and may put obstacles n the path of negotiations. One has only to move about among the public and nter into a discussion with them in order to realise how widespread this belief is. t is imperative, in the circumstances, to have a President who will be an anti- ederationist to the core of his heart.

"It is really a regret that my name has been proposed as a candidate for residentship. I had suggested to numerous friends that a new candidate from the eft should be put up this year, but unfortunately that could not be done and my ame was proposed from several provinces. Even at this late hour I am prepared o withdraw from the contest if a genuine anti-Federationtst, like Acharya Narendra eo for instance, be accepted as the President for the coming year.

"I feel strongly that we should have, during this momentous year, a genuine nti-Federationist in the presidential chair. If the Right Wing really want national nity and solidarity, they would be well-advised to accept a Leftist as President. hey have created considerable misapprehension by their insistence on a Rightist andidate at any cost and by the unseemly manner in which they have set up uch a candidate who was retiring and who had been surprised that his name ad been suggested for the Presidentship.

"In the exceptional circumstances which prevail just at this moment in ur country, the Presidential election is part of our fight against the Federal cheme and as such we cannot afford to be indifferent to it. The real issue efore the country is the Federal Scheme. All those who believe in fighting ederation and in maintaining our national solidarity in this crisis should ot endeavour to split the Congress by insisting on a candidate who was oluntarlily retiring. The Presidential election is wholly an affair of the delegates nd should be left to them. Let the Right Wing, who are in a decided majority in ie Congress, make a gesture to the Left Wing by accepting a Leftist candidate even t this late hour. I hope that my appeal will not be in vain."

With reference to the statement issued by Sardar Patel and others, to which Ir. Bose refers above, the Associated Press stated that *Seth Jamnalal Bajaj* was also ne of the signatories to it. The A. P. I. further stated that the last sentence in the eaders' statement should read as follows (and not as wired out earlier) : "We would lso, as his colleagues, urge on Subhas Babu to reconsider his decision and allow Ir. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's election to be unanimous".

The controversy over the election of the Congress President, which developed s a result of the statements from Mr. *Subhas Bose* and seven members of the ongress Working Committee and the former's rejoinder to the latter, was regretted n Rightist Congress circles. Mr. Bose's allegation that the Right Wing was going to ompromise on the question of Federation was resented by orthodox Con- ressmen. They stated that the charge was unfounded and several of them wired to the ongress President challenging his statement and inviting him to produce evidence o substantiate the charges. One or two members of the Working Committee totally enied Mr. Bose's accusation.

Sardar Patel's Statement

Sardar *Vallabhbhai Patel* made the following statement on the 25th. January in reply to the statement from Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose:

"Subhas Babu's is an amazing statement. Here are the facts: In almost every case since 1920 some members of the Working Committee have held informal consultation. When Gandhiji was in the Working Committee, he used to give a lead by recommending for election the name for the Presidential chair, but after his withdrawal from the Congress he has ceased to issue such statements. Nevertheless, members individually and collectively have consulted him about the choice. This year, too, I have had consultations with several members. Everyone of us had felt that the Maulana Saheb was the only possible choice. But he could not be persuaded. In Bardoli, during the week when the Working Committee was in session, Gandhiji appealed to the Maulana to allow himself to be nominated. But he was adamant. On Sunday, January 15, however, he came to Gandhiji early in the morning and told him that it went against his grain to resist him and to our great relief, he decided to stand for election. We knew at that time that Dr. Pattabhi had been nominated by some Andhra friends, and we knew too that Subhas Babu was nominated. We felt sure that both would withdraw from the contest and that the Maulana Saheb would be unanimously elected.

"At an informal consultation at Bardoli at one stage or the other of which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sjt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai, Acharya Kripalani, Mahatma Gandhi and myself were present not by design but by accident, it was agreed that if per chance the Maulana remained adamant in his resistence, according to the Constitution, Dr. Pattabhi was the only choice left, since we were clearly of the opinion that it was unnecessary to re-elect Subhas Babu. In our minds there was never any question of Leftist or Rightist.

"Let it be noted that Subhas Babu knows that the procedure adopted for his own election last year was precisely the same as that which is being adopted now. Only at that time we had no difficulty in persuading other candidates to withdraw.

"To resume the thread, though Maulana Saheb had consented, on reaching Bombay his mind again became disturbed and as he thought he could not shoulder the burden of the high office, he rushed back to Gandhiji to ask him to relieve him. Gandhiji did not feel like pressing the Maulana any further. What happened after, the country knows. It pains me to find that Subhas Babu imputes motives to the signatories and the majority of the Working Committee. I can only say that I know of no member who wants the Federation of the Government of India Act. And after all, no single member, not even the President for the time being of the Congress, can de- cide on such big issues. It is the Congress alone that can decide and, therefore, the Working Committee collectively, when the Congress is not in session. And even the Working Committee has no power to depart from the letter or spirit of the declared policy of the Congress. I wholly dissent from the view that the President of the Congress has any powers of initiating policies save by consent of the Working Committee. More than once the Working Committee has asserted itself in the teeth of opposition of Presidents, who, be it said to their credit, have always bowed to the will of the Working Committee. All colleagues not being in Bardoli and the time being short, I have taken the liberty of answering Subhas Babu's statement without reference to my colleagues, who are free to give their own opinion.

"For me, as for those with whom I have been able to discuss the question, the matter is not one of persons and principles, nor of Leftists and Rightists. The sole consideration is what is in the best interest of the country. Those who have spoken had, in my opinion, a perfect right to guide the delegates. I receive almost daily wires or letters from delegates for guidance and I expect other colleagues too must be receiving them. In the circumstances, the right becomes also a duty. But the guidance having been given, it is solely for the delegates to exercise their votes in the manner they think best."

Mr. Sarat Bose's Statement

In a statement issued on the 25th. January on the subject of the Presidential election, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, member, Congress Working Committee, said:

"The statement which seven of my colleagues on the Working Committee have issued on the subject of the election of the President of the Indian National Congress compels me to break my reticence. As that statement has been given the

widest publicity, I feel it is my duty as a member of the Working Committee to give clear expression to the view I hold and not to allow any sense of delicacy to stand in my way. I had no intimation until yesterday (January 24) morning that any of my colleagues propose to issue such a statement. My first reaction to such an intimation was that no member of the Working Committee should take sides in a contest between colleagues. I felt also that statements by members of the Working Committee on that subject would accentuate differences between the two Wings of the Congress. I entirely agree with Sardar Patel and the other signatories to that statement that greater consolidation of the Congress ranks, greater toleration and greater respect for one another's opinions are necessary. And it is because I feel that that statement offends against what they themselves have said about the necessity for greater consolidation of Congress ranks, greater toleration and greater respect for one another's opinions that I consider it extremely unfortunate.

"Election to the Presidential chair of the Congress is a matter to be decided by delegates drawn from all over India and I feel more than ever convinced that nothing should be said or done by members of the Working Committee which might interfere in the slightest degree with the exercise by the delegates of their choice in a free and unfettered manner. If some members of the Working Committee deliberate in secret and then publish the result of their deliberations with a specific recommendation in favour of a particular candidate, the system of election would be reduced to a mere formality. It is obvious that such a recommendation really amounts to a mandate which is meant to be obeyed. To my mind members of the Working Committee owe to themselves and to the public not to be parties to anything which might smack even remotely of an authoritarian edict. I would conclude this statement by releasing to the press copies of the telegrams which have passed between Sardar Patel and myself on the subject."

Sardar-Sarat Bose Correspondence.

The following telegrams were exchanged between Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* and *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel*:

Telegram from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose (dated Jan. 23): "Feel Subhas Babu's statement on Presidential election needs counter-statement from members of Working Committee, who feel re-election this year unnecessary. Brief statement ready. It says re-election shall be only on exceptional circumstances. No such at present for re-election of Subhas Babu. It rebuts Subhas Babu's contention about Federation, etc. and says programmes and policies are fixed not by President but by Congress or Working Committee. Counter-statement commends Dr. Pattabhi for election and appeals to Subhas Babu not to divide Congressmen on Presidential election. Vallabhbhai".

In reply to the above, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose wired to Sardar Patel on Jan. 24: "Received telegram this morning. Read Maulana's and Subhas's statements during journey to Sylhet. In my view setting up of Dr. Pattabhi after Maulana's withdrawal undesirable. Coming year more critical and exceptional from every viewpoint than 1937. Strongly feel no member of the Working Committee should take sides in contest between colleagues. Your proposed statement would accentuate dissensions between Right and Left Wings, which should be avoided. Dr. Pattabhi will not inspire country's confidence in coming fight. Please do not divide Congress. Sarat Bose".

The same day, the Sardar wired back to Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose as follows: "Appreciate your telegram. Nothing but sense of duty compels issue of statement. Difference is not between persons but principles. If contest is inevitable, it will take place without bitterness and imputation of motives. Re-election is held to be harmful to country's cause. Vallabhbhai".

On January 25, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose wired to Sardar Patel: "Received telegram last night. Morning papers published statement by you and six members of Working Committee. Propose releasing to Press this evening copies of telegrams between us. Trust no objection. Sarat Bose".

Sardar *Patel* replied: "Certainly no objection to publication. Vallabhbhai."

Mr. Subhas Bose's Statement

On the 26th. January, the Congress President, Mr. *Subhas Chandra Bose*, issued another statement in reply to the statements made by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Mr. Bose said:

"Once again I am forced into a public controversy by the statements of Dr. Pattabhi and Sardar Patel. The former says that there has been a unanimous desire among the people of South India in general and of Andhra in particular that the next President should be an Andhraite. It is difficult to believe that Congressmen in any part of India think in terms of provincialism. Moreover I have before me at the present moment telegrams from Andhra Desa, voluntarily assuring me of support. And so far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, friends there are among those who are most insistent that I should not withdraw from the contest.

"*Sardar Patel's* statement contains a rather damaging confession. He says that some members of the Working Committee held an important consultation among themselves and came to a certain decision. Is it not surprising that neither the President nor the other members of the Working Committee knew anything of this ? It is clear that he wants a President, who will be a mere figurehead and a tool in the hands of other members of the Working Committee. The above confession also confirms the general impression that the Working Committee is really controlled by a group within it and that the other members are there on sufferance.

"Though the Congress resolution on Federation is one of uncompromising hostility, the fact remains that some influential Congress leaders have been advocating the conditional acceptance of the Federation Scheme in private and in public. Up till now, there has not been the slightest desire on the part of the Rightist leaders to condemn such activities. It is no use shutting one's eyes to the reality of the situation. Can anybody challenge the fact that the belief is widely held that during the coming year, a compromise will be effected between the British Government and the Right wing of the Congress ? This impression may be entirely erroneous, but it is there all the same and nobody can deny its existence.

"Not only that. It is also generally believed that the prospective list of Ministers for the Federation Cabinet has been already drawn up. In the circumstances, it is but natural that the Left or Radical bloc in the Congress should feel so strongly on the question of the Federation Scheme and should desire to have a genuine anti-Federationist in the Presidential chair. The determination of the Congress High Command to have a Rightist in the Chair at any cost has only served to make the Radical elements feel more suspicious.

"The whole trouble has arisen because of the attitude of the Right wing towards the Presidential election. Even at this long hour, if they accept an anti-Federationist President, they can end this controversy at once and thereby avert dissensions within the Congress.

"Speaking for myself I have, already announced in public that the real issue is that of Federation. If a genuine anti-Federationist is accepted as the President, I shall gladly retire in his favour. This offer, publicly announced, will stand till the eve of the election."

Mr. Bose Re-elected President

On the 29th. January Mr. *Subhas Chandra Bose* was re-elected President of the Indian National Congress by a majority of 203 votes. The final figures were : Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, 1,580. Dr. Pattabbi Sitaramayya, 1,377.

The following gives the voting figures Province by Province :—

	Dr. Pattabhi	Mr. Subhas Bose
Tamil Nadu	102	110
Orissa (Utkal)	99	44
Burma	6	8
Gujarat	100	5
Punjab	86	182
Berar (Vidarbha)	21	11
Kerala	18	80
Bengal	79	404
Andhra	181	28
United Provinces	185	269
Delhi	5	10
Bihar	197	70
Maharastra	86	77
Assam	22	34
Ajmer Merwara	6	20
Mahakoshal	68	67
Karnatak	41	106

Sind	21	13
Nagpur	17	12
Bombay City	14	12

The Mahatma on Bose's Re-election

On the 31st. January *Mahatma Gandhi* issued the following statement on the election of Mr. Subhas Bose to the Presidentship of the Congress :—

Mr. *Subhas Bose* has achieved a decisive victory over his opponent, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. I must confess that, from the very beginning, I was decidedly against his re-election for reasons into which I need not go. I do not subscribe to his facts or the arguments in his manifestoes. I think that his references to his colleagues were unjustified and unworthy. Nevertheless, I am glad of his victory. And since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name as a candidate when the Maulana Saheb withdrew, the defeat is more mine than his. And I am nothing if I do not represent definite principles and policy. Therefore, it is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand. I rejoice in this defeat.

"It gives me an opportunity of putting into practice, what I preached in my article on the walk-out of a minority at the last A. I. C. C. meeting in Delhi. Subhas Babu, instead of being President on the sufferance of those whom he calls Rightists, is now President elected in a contested election. This enables him to choose a homogeneous Cabinet and enforce his programme without let or hindrance.

"There is one thing common between the majority and the minority, namely, insistence on the internal purity of the Congress organisation. My writing in the *Harijan* have shown that the Congress is fast becoming a corrupt organisation, in the sense that its registers contain a very large number of bogus members. I have been suggesting for the past many months the overhauling of these registers. I have no doubt that many of the delegates who have been elected on the strength of these bogus voters would be unseated on scrutiny. But I suggest no such drastic step. It will be enough if the registers are purged of all bogus voters and are made fool-proof for the future.

"The minority has no cause for being disheartened. If they believe in the current programme of the Congress, they will find that it can be worked, whether they are in a minority or a majority, and even whether they are in the Congress or outside it. The only thing that may possibly be affected by the changes is the parliamentary programme.

"The Ministers have been chosen and the programme shaped by the erstwhile majority. But parliamentary work is but a minor item of the Congress programme. Congress Ministers have after all .to live from day to day. It matters little to them whether they are recalled on an issue in which they are in agreement with the Congress policy, or whether they resign because they are in disagreement with the Congress.

"After all, *Subhas Babu* is not an enemy of his country. He has suffered for it. In his opinion, his is the most forward and boldest policy and programme. The minority can only wish it all success. If they cannot keep pace with it, they must come out of the Congress. If they can, they will add strength to the majority. The minority may not obstruct on any account. They must abstain, when they cannot co-operate. I must remind all Congressmen that those who being Congress-minded, remain outside it by design, represent it most. Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress, may come out, not in a spirit of ill-will, but with the deliberate purpose of rendering more effective service."

What followed next is given in the words of Sj. *Subhas Bose* in the course of his Presidential Address :—

".....The election was followed by sensational developments, culminating in the resignation of twelve out of fifteen members of the Working Committee headed by Sardar Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mr. Rajendra Prasad. Another distinguished and eminent member of the Working Committee, Pandit Nehru, though he did not formally resign, issued a statement which led everybody to believe that he had also resigned. On the eve of the Tripuri Congress, the events at Rajkot forced Mahatma Gandhi to undertake a vow of fast unto death. And then the President arrived at Tripuri a sick man.....".

The Indian National Congress

52nd. Session—Tripuri—10th. March to 12th. March 1939

Two hundred thousand persons attended the fifty-second session of the Indian National Congress which opened at 6-30 p.m. on the **10th. March 1939** in the vast amphitheatre in Vishnudatt Nagar, Tripuri in the Central Provinces.

The wooded hill-side, rising behind the leaders' dais, was mottled with thousands of men and women who had gathered there to watch the Congress session. The gentle slope from the hill towards the river Nerbudda made it an ideal site for a political congregation. A colossal statue of "The Awakened Peasant," carrying on his shoulders a plough, was erected on one side of the rostrum facing the audience. On the right was the leaders' dais, standing twenty feet above the ground level. On the dais were seated the leaders who had resigned from the Working Committee and other prominent Congressmen.

The gathering cheered warmly as Pandit Nehru escorted the members of the Egyptian Delegation to the dais, and seated them by the side of *Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan* and *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.*

The vast area of the amphitheatre was divided into different enclosures, with men and women volunteers standing guard. The two gates opening into the Amphitheatre were tastefully decorated and stood out prominently against the background of the green hills beyond.

When *Seth Govindas* announced that the "Bande Mataram" would be sung, the audience, numbering over two lakhs, stood up in pin-drop silence. Even the people perched on the jutting rocks did so, as the strains of the "Bande Mataram", sung in chorus by six young girls, rose up.

After Seth Govindas had read his welcome address, he announced that, owing to illness, the President was not able to attend the opening session. He also announced that, in the absence of the President, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, the seniormost ex-President of the Congress, would take chair.

Maulana Azad said that Mr. Bose's condition before he left Calcutta was not such as could have enabled him to undertake the journey, but he came to Tripuri against the doctors' advice. They had all hoped that his condition would improve sufficiently to enable him to attend the open session, but it was not the case. Mr. Bose's doctors had advised him against attending the sesion to-day. To their regret, therefore, they had to conduct the proceedings without the President. Maulana Azad then called upon Acharya *Narendra Deo* to read the Hindustani version of the Presidential Address. The English address was read out by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Egyptian Delegation Welcomed

Pandit *Jawaharlal* was greeted with prolonged cheers when he rose up to thank the Egyptian delegation. The Pandit said that the delegation was there to-day to fulfil a long-standing promise. They had brought a message of hope to the people of India, "I hope," Pandit Nehru said, "we will be able to send through the delegates a similar message to Egypt. The Egyptian struggle is part of our own struggle, as they are fighting the same enemy as ourselves, namely, British Imperialism. It is true that conditions in India are different, but yet we can benefit from each other's experiences. Therefore, it is a peculiar pleasure for us to meet them here to-night. But our great regret is that their great leader, Nahas Pasha, was unable to accompany the delegation. When I was in Egypt he had expressed his eagerness to visit India, and I have no doubt that, when he is in a position to do so, he will visit India".

Delegation Leader's Reply

Mahmood Bey, Leader of the Delegation, emphasised in the course of reply, the need for unity, and said that Egypt became victorious because of unity and, therefore, suggested that India should also adopt measures for such unity.

"It was the ardent desire of our Leader and President of the Wafdist Party, Mohammad Nahas Pasha to attend this session of your National Congress, but important political circumstances and constitutional issues unfortunately prevented our leader from attending the Congress in person. With immense pleasure, I and my colleagues are in your midst. The noble mission of attending your Congress will only

be equalled by the great honour of bringing to the people of India, on behalf of the people of Egypt, most cordial and fraternal greetings and best wishes for this glorious country. (Loud cheers and applause).

"Ladies and gentlemen, the visit we pay you, in response to your kind invitation, evokes in our hearts the deepest feelings, and brings back to our minds numerous characteristics common to our two countries, and the different aspects that link us together. Is it not a fact that religions and philosophies sprang from the East and combine us together ? The East has been the birth-place of religions which preach co-operation and peace, religions that set the ideals for a powerful life among all people and seek the welfare and happiness of all.

It was therefore no wonder, he continued, that the feelings of the people in both countries were similar, and it was no wonder that there was resemblance in leadership and movements and in the methods of struggle between the two countries. "It was in the year 1918", he continued, "that our leader Zaghlul Pasha shook imperialism in Egypt and at about the same time, the far-sighted leadership of Mahatma Gandhi began to break the chains of imperialism in India. These leaders and their colleagues, with great patience and persistance, have fought for the past so many years. Zaghlul Pasha fell in the battle-field, an old and sick man who had withstood hardships. Indeed he was a brave commander. Nahas Pasha, our present leader, carried aloft the banner of Zaghlul. Detention, exile, persecution and threats have never deterred him from his objective, and he finally succeeded. His farsighted leadership has led Egypt from victory to victory, winning for her the Treaty of Independence and Alliance signed in August 1936, and the Treaty Abolishing Capitulations signed in Montreal in May 1930.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, the decisive element in the success of Egypt was unity. No people fighting for their liberty can afford to be disunited. We were a nation of Muslims and Christians, but Zaghlul forged us into a nation of Egyptians. (Loud cheers and applause.) It is our unity and leadership that secured for us independence and liberty.

"Ladies and gentlemen, the present visit, I hope, will inaugurate a new era in the relations of Egypt and India, and as Mahatma Gandhi has said in his telegram, the visit will afford an insoluble bond between India and Egypt. Nothing will be more welcome to the Egyptian nation and to our Leader, Nahas Pasha, than to receive a Delegation of the Congress to the Wafd Congress which will meet in April next. I hope that this exchange of visits will inaugurate a new era in the relations between the nations of the East.

"Before concluding, I would like to express our great admiration at the sight of such huge multitudes of people coming from all parts of your immense country and representing hundreds of millions of different religions and cultures working hand in hand for the great cause of India and our hope that just like in Egypt, where Arabs and Christians merged together and fought against Imperialism, in India also the people will merge together and fight for independence."

The Welcome Address

The following are extracts from the Welcome Address delivered by Sj. *Seth Govindas*, the Chairman of the Reception Committee :—

It was during the Nagpur Congress in 1920 that the Congress Provinces were constituted on a linguistic basis. A separate province was formed out of the Hindustani-speaking districts and named Hindustani C. P. Its ancient name 'Mahakoshal' was revived during the Satyagraha movement of 1930, and subsequently it was approved by the Congress. In its loyalty to the Congress, Mahakoshal claims a foremost place. Its political history of the last 18 years can well justify this claim. The people of this province gave a ready response to the Non-Co-operation and the Civil Disobedience movements. The Flag Satyagraha which ultimately succeeded in Nagpur was started at Jubbulpore. The Forest Satyagraha was started at the instance of our province.

Even in the parliamentary sphere it has no mean achievement to its credit. During the 1923 election, the Swaraj party secured majorities only in Bengal and the Central Provinces. The Bengal majority broke down after some time, but in our province, no Ministry could be formed for full three years. In the election of 1926, while the other districts of C. P. and Berar were carried away by the wave of Responsivism, Mahakoshal still kept the Congress Flag flying high. The lavish

praises bestowed upon Mahakoshal by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru after the elections will, for ever, remain a matter of pride to us. If one analyses the election results of 1937 and takes the figures of Mahakoshal separately from those of other parts of C. P. and Berar, one will find that Mohakoshal leads all other provinces.

There is only one reason for our success. The people of this province have never given even a moment's thought to any organisation other than the Congress. Whenever an election fight ensued. it was always directly between the Congressmen on one side and the apologists of the British rule on the other. The Hindu Sabha, the Responsivist Party, the Ambedkar Party, etc., never found a congenial soil in Mahakoshal. The Muslim League came into existence in our province only last year. We always rejoice to remember that on the eve of the Simon Commission's visit to India the landholders of Mahakoshal convened a meeting and passed a unanimous resolution to boycott the unwanted Commission. All provinces of India have vied with one another in offering sacrifices for the freedom of the country. All that we claim is that whatever our shortcomings in other directions, the province of Mahakoshal, to which you have allowed the privilege of welcoming you to-day, has not been found wanting in its devotion to the Congress.

After the example of the Chairman of the Haripura Congress Reception Committee. I had decided to wind up my speech here. The situation which has developed in the country during the past few weeks as also the international situation however, compel me to add a few words. The world is passing through a crisis. Small or big wars have been going on in Europe and Asia, and any day a world war might break out. Even if India so desires, she cannot keep wholly aloof. In order to decide our attitude towards any such war, we shall have to gauge the position of England and France on one side, of Germany and Italy on the other and of America and Japan on the third. After the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy, it is only the Arabian Sea that separates us from the new Italian Empire. Again, both Italy and Germany having obtained footholds in Spain, the Mediterranean route is no longer as open to England as it had been in the past. Whenever a war breaks out, our armies are speedily sent out to Europe. In case of an invasion from outside, India will have no means of defence left to her.

We are now threatened with foreign invasions not only from the West but also from the East. The rising power of Japan is as much a menace to us now as some Western nations had been in the past. Japan kept aloof during the last war, but this time her attitude seems to have changed. A section of the American press has gone even to the extent of asserting that Czechoslovakia was sacrificed at Munich solely on account of the fear of Japan. It is rumoured that secret reports from British spies stationed in the Far East stated that as soon as England would declare war against Germany over the Czechoslovakian issue, Japan would invade Australia and that it was on receipt of these reports that Mr. Chamberlain hurriedly made up his mind to see Hitler and sacrifice Czechoslovakia. The Mediterranean Sea has almost become an "Italian Lake." The only hope of protecting British possessions in the Far East lies in America's siding in any future war with England. At present all the efforts of England are directed towards inducing America to join the war. England desires that America should commit herself to loves's labour of protecting the British Empire in the East. History records so far no such example of altruistic alliance in the world of politics. Small wonder that at the present moment public opinion in America is against any sacrifice on the part of America in men and money for the protection of British possessions in the East.

Under the circumstances, it is doubtful how far Britain will be able to defend India. She will have to defend herself, and she cannot do so until she has complete control over her army and her foreign policy. Thus, it is obvious that the problem of India's self-defence can not be separated from the bigger question of her independence. It is said that Germany, Japan and Itally are determined upon a war because they need land for their surplus populations. Considered from this point of view, India's needs are even greater. Her population is growing rapidly, but the door of other countries are being banged against her people. A large number of Indians have settled in foreign lands for about a century and with the sweat of their brow have made these countries fit for human habitation. Even in these lands, our countrymen are not allowed to live in peace and on terms of equality. The question of the clove trade in Zanzibar was solved only yesterday. In Kenya the Highlands can be acquired by the whites of any nationality but not the coloured. The fact that they may not be British subjects is immaterial. However, our countrymen, who have

lived there for many years and who are also suppored to be British subjects have no rights to purchase those lands. England can even tolerate the talk of returning Tanganyika to Germany, but declares herself powerless to protect the interests of her own subjects in South and East Africa. Only last year the British Government entered into a trade agreement on behalf of India with South Africa against the commercial interests of the country and without the consent of the Central Legislature. The Minister for Interior in the Union of South Africa hinted only the other day at legislation for segregating Indians residing in Natal and Transvaal. Even Ceylon, Fiji and Malaya and British Guiana continuously give pin pricks to our people settled there.

Last year I saw with my own eyes the pitiable condition of our people in Africa. It is there that we fully realise the fact of our political bondage. Had we been independent, we would not have tolerated this condition even for a single day. I could understand only after visiting Africa why, after fighting for the rights of Indians overseas for so many years, Mahatma Gandhi arrived at the conclusion that the question of Indian settlers is dependent for its solution upon the question of Indian independence.

Thus, turn wherever we may, we find ourselves faced with difficulties. At this juncture what we need most is solid patriotism, political sagacity and sound leadership. What a pity that at this very critical hour in our history signs of internal strife should manifest themselves. We have begun to think of changing horses in midstream.

The Indian National Congress was founded for carrying on the struggle for freedom, and from time to time we have not hesitated to be guided by dictators. Even during the periods intervening between various movements, we could not fully follow democratic principles. Even England, known as the birth-place of democracy, substitutes a coalition ministry, on the basis of dictatorship, in times of war. Our Congress organization can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia, although they have embraced violence and we are wedded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi, neither are all Russians Communists ; yet almost all Italians, Germans and Russians have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a four anna member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists.

The Congress as at present constituded, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi. Its aims and objects and the means of attaining them, namely, truth and non-violence, have been laid down by him. The various struggles for independence initiated during the past twenty years were started, carried on and terminated in accordance with his dictates. True, the Mahatma has no specific place assigned to him in the written constitution of the Congress, but he will deny that a practice has grown up to elect as the Congress President the person upon whom Mahatma Gandhi's choice falls and for the President to nominate on his Working Committee mostly those approved by Gandhiji. In brief, he has been all in all in the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared the other day in Europe that Gandhiji is even greater than the Congress. The President of this year was right when he said recently that it would be a tragedy if he got the confidence of others but failed to win the confidence of the greatest man of India.

To-day we have assembled here under peculiar circumstances. Mahatmaji has declared the election of this year's President as his own defeat. It is also stated that the new programme is to resort to direct action once again, if necessary, after giving six months' ultimatum to the British Government. I plead ignorance of secrets, but as far as I am aware, Mahatma Gandhi or any of his colleagues has never expressed himself in favour of accepting the Federal part of the Government of India Act. If this position is conceded—and I have no reason to suspect otherwise—I make bold to say that the issue before us is quite simple. A struggle against Federation is a foregone conclusion. What remains for decision is the time and the manner of initiating the campaign. I hope that the fight will be a non-violent one.

Mahatma Gandhi is the Acharya of non-violence and knows best the technique of the non-violent struggle. It is, therefore, naturally expected that it should be left to the good old teacher to decide when and how the next fight should be started. As a matter of fact, the struggle is already in progress. The Federation is designed to comprise Indian States and the British provinces. The majority of the British

provinces are under the control of the Congress to-day. If I have correctly followed the views of the President, I think his desire is to extend the Congress regime also over the remaining provinces. Gandhiji has already started the struggle in Indian States. The country will be the gainer if, as I have stated above, the Congress secures control over the remaining provinces and throws its full weight in the struggle to win the fight in Indian States. I have not the least doubt that Mahatmaji will himself give a new turn to the struggle at the opportune moment, and what the President wants to-day will surely happen to-morrow.

I admire the enthusiasm of those who are impatient to give a fight. In politics enthusiasm alone, however, does not bring success ; confidence in the accredited leader and discipline are essential. The strength gained by the country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi during the past twenty years is unprecedented in our political history. Like a tried General several times he asked us to march forward, and when necessary he slowed down our pace, and at times cried halt. Under his guidance we have not stumbled yet, and there is no reason why we should deviate from the path so far followed by us.

The Presidential Address

The following is the text of the Presidential Address of Sj. *Subhas Chandra Bose* :—

"Comrade Chairman, sister and brother delegates,—

"I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great honour you have done me by re-electing me to the Presidential Chair of the Indian National Congress and also for the warm and cordial welcome you have given me here at Tripuri. It is true that, at my request, you have had to dispense with some of the pomp that is usual on such occasions—But I feel that that enforced step has not taken away one iota of the warmth and cordiality of your reception and I hope that nobody will regret the curtailment of it on this occasion.

"Friends, before I proceed any further, I shall voice your feelings by expressing our joy at the success of Mahatma Gandhi's mission to Rajkot and the termination of his fast in consequence thereof. The whole country now feels happy and tremendously relieved.

"Friends, this year promises to be an abnormal or extraordinary one in many ways. The Presidential election this time was not of a humdrum type. The election was followed by sensational developments, culminating in the resignation of twelve out of the fifteen members of the Working Committee, headed by Sardar Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mr. Rajendra Prasad. Another distinguished and eminent member of the Working Committee, Pandit Nehru, though he did not formally resign, issued a statement which led everybody to believe that he had also resigned. On the eve of the Tripuri Congress, the events at Rajkot forced Mahatma Gandhi to undertake a vow of a fast unto death. And then the President arrived at Tripuri a sick man. It will, therefore, be in the fitness of things if the Presidential Address this year can claim to be a departure from precedent in the matter of its length.

"Friends, you are aware that the Wafdist delegation from Egypt have arrived in our midst as the guests of the Indian National Congress. You will join me in according the most hearty welcome to all of them. We are extremely happy that they found it possible to accept our invitation and make the voyage to India. We are only sorry that political exigencies in Egypt did not permit the President of the Wafd, Mustapha Nahas Pasha, to personally lead this delegation. Having had the privilege of knowing personally the President and the leading members of the Wafdist Party, my joy to-day is all the greater. Once again I offer them, on behalf of our countrymen, a most hearty and cordial welcome.

"Since we met at Haripura in February 1938, several significant events have taken place in the international sphere. The most important of these is the Munich Pact of September 1938, which implied an abject surrender to Nazi Germany on the part of the Western Powers, France and Great Britain. As the result of this, France ceased to be a dominant power in Europe and the hegemoney passed into the hands of Germany without a shot being fired. In more recent times, the gradual collapse of the Republican Government in Spain seems to have added to the strength and prestige of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, The so-called Democratic Powers, France and Great Britain, have joined Italy

and Germany in conspiring to eliminate Soviet Russia from European politics for the time being. But how long will that be possible? And what have France and Great Britain gained by trying to humiliate Russia.

"There is no doubt that as the result of the recent international developments in Europe as well as in Asia, British and French imperialism have received a considerable setback in the matter of strength and prestige.

"Coming to home politics, in view of my ill-health, I shall content myself with referring only to a few important problems. In the first place, I must give a clear and unequivocal expression to what I have been feeling for sometimes past, namely, that the time has come for us to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit our National Demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum. The time is long past when we could have adopted a passive attitude and waited for the Federal Scheme to be imposed on us. The problem no longer is as to when the Federal Scheme will be forced down our throats.

"The problem is as to what we should do if the Federal Scheme is conveniently shelved for a few years till peace is stabilised in Europe. There is no doubt that once there is stable peace in Europe, whether through a Four-Power Pact or through some other means—Great Britain with adopt a strong Empire policy. The fact that she is now showing some signs of trying to conciliate the Arabs as against the Jews in Palestine is because she is feeling herself weak in the international sphere. In my opinion, therefore, we should submit our National Demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum and give a certain time-limit within which a reply is to be expected. If no reply is received within this period, or if an unsatisfactory reply is received, we should resort to such sanctions as we possess in order to enforce our National Demand.

"The sanction that we possess to-day is Mass Civil Disobedience or Satyagraha. And the British Government to-day are not in a position to face major conflict like an All-India Satyagraha for a long period. It grieves me to find that there are people in the Congress who are so pessimistic as to think that the time is not ripe for a major assault on British Imperialism. But looking at the situation in a thoroughly realistic manner, I do not see the slightest ground for pessimism. With the Congress in power in eight Provinces, the strength and prestige of our national organisation have gone up. The mass movement has made considerable headway throughout British India. And last but not least, there is an unprecedented awakening in the Indian States. What more opportune moment could we find in our national history for a final advance in the direction of Swaraj particularly when the international situation is favourable to us?

"Speaking as a cold-blooded realist, I may say that all the facts of the present-day situation are so much to our advantage that one should entertain the highest degree of optimism. If only we sink our differences, pool our resources and put our full weight in the national struggle, we can make our attack on British imperialism irresistible.

"Shall we have the political foresight to make the most of our present favourable position or shall we miss this opportunity, which is a rare opportunity in the life of a nation?"

"I have already referred to the awakening in India and to the awakening in the Indian States. I am definitely of the view that we should revise our attitude towards the States as defined by the Haripura Congress resolution. That resolution, as you are aware, put a ban on certain forms of activity in the States being conducted in the name of the Congress. Under that resolution neither Parliamentary work nor the struggle against the work (?) should be carried on in the name of the Congress; but since Haripura much has happened. To-day we find that the Paramount Power is in league with State authorities in most places. In such circumstances, should we of the Congress not draw closer to the people of the States?

"I have no doubt in my mind as to what our duty is to-day. Besides lifting the above ban, the work of guiding the popular movement in the States for Civil Liberty and Responsible Government should be conducted by the Working Committee on a comprehensive and systematic basis. The work so far done has been of a piece-meal nature, and there has hardly been any system or plan behind it. But the time has come when the Working Committee should assume this responsibility and discharge it in a comprehensive and systematic way and, if necessary, appoint a special Sub-Committee for the purpose. The fullest use should be made of the guidance and co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi and of the co-operation of the All-India States Peoples' Conference.

"I have referred earlier to the advisability of our making the final advance in the direction of Swaraj. That will need adequate preparation. In the first place, we shall have to take steps to ruthlessly remove whatever corruption or weakness has entered in our ranks, largely due to the lure of power. Next, we shall have to work in close co-operation with all anti-imperialist organisations in the country—particularly the Kisan movement and the Trade Union movement. All the radical elements in the country must work in close harmony and co-operation and efforts of all anti-imperialist organisations must converge in the direction of a final assault on British imperialism.

"Friends, to-day the atmosphere within the Congress is clouded and dissensions have appeared. Many of our friends are consequently feeling depressed and dispirited. But I am incorrigible optimist. The cloud that you see to-day is a passing one. I have faith in the patriotism of my countrymen. I am sure that, before long, we shall be able to tide over the present difficulties and restore unity within our ranks.

"A somewhat similar situation had arisen at the time of the Gaya Congress in 1923 and thereafter, when Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru of hallowed memory started the Sawraj Party. May the spirit of my late Guru, of the revered Motilal and of the other great sons of India inspire us in the present crisis, and Mahatma Gandhi, who is still with us, guide and assist our nation and help the Congress out of the present tangle—this is my earnest prayer. Vande Mataram."

Proceedings and Resolutions

Second Day—Tripuri—11th. March 1939

Uproarious scenes marked to-day's proceedings of the session. Mr. *M. S. Aney* moved that, in view of the alarming state of the President's health, the consideration of the resolution on the clarification of the misunderstanding that had arisen out of the Presidential election, should be referred to the A. I. C. C. for disposal at some future date.

This was greeted by loud shouts of "no, no" from a section of the delegates and the proceedings were interrupted for a few minutes.

Mr. Aney, who was constantly interrupted, stated that it was not necessary for him to make any speech at all. They had listened to the condition of health of the President and he was sure that they would carry his motion unanimously. (Shouts of "no" and "withdraw the resolution" from a section of the House.)

Pandit *G. B Pant*, speaking next, explained that Mr. Aney's resolution sought to refer the first resolution passed by the Subjects Committee to the All India Congress Committee. The delegates might recall that the resolution referred to statements made during the Presidential election. The delegates had the fullest authority to decide whether the matter should be discussed in the open session now or be referred to the All-India Congress Committee for disposal. So far as he himself was concerned, he was in agreement with Mr. Aney's proposal. Everyone was, at present, anxious about the Rastrapathi's health and everyone was anxious that he should recover as soon as possible. If Mr. Aney's proposal was accepted, it was possible to remove the President immediately to the hospital at Jubbulpur. (renewed shouts of "no, no" and "withdraw the resolution" from a section of the House). It was also the wish of all leaders, said Pandit Pant, that the resolution should be referred to the All-India Congress Committee and not discussed in the open session.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad then put the motion to the House and after counting hands twice, declared Mr. Aney's proposal carried by a clear majority, Bengal delegates voting against it. This was the signal for uproarious scenes.

Following the declaration of the result of voting on Mr. *Aney's* proposal, there were repeated shouts of "no, no, withdraw" from a section of the House which were more or less confined to the Bengal delegates' enclosure. The uproar increased in vigour and within a few minutes, that section of the delegates and some visitors found their way into the open gangway in front of the rostrum.

"Inquilab Zindabad", "Sarat Chandra Bose-ki-Jai", "Subhas Babu-ki-Jai" and such other slogans were raised by the crowd that had gathered and continued to rend the air as Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* stood up to explain that if they demanded a poll on Mr. Aney's proposal, it could be done only to-morrow in the Subjects Committee pandal. His voice was drowned in the uproar but still he persisted.

Other leaders came on the rostrum and hurried consultations were held. But the crowd continued to shout and everytime Mr. Nehru attempted to speak, there were renewed shouts, making it impossible for him to proceed. The vast gathering outside and those gathered in front of the rostrum were, however, sitting in perfect order.

The impasse continued for over an hour, Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* all the while standing in front of the microphone. He bowed more than once in appeal to the crowd to listen to him but they did not respond and continued to stand and shout, some shaking their clenched fists at him.

At last, Mr. *Sarat Bose* came to the microphone and asked the crowd to sit down, which they did and later, on his appeal went back to the enclosure. Mr. Nehru again came to the microphone and, amidst confusion again, started to address the gathering.

Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, whose patience appeared to be nearly exhausted, was heard talking to Mr. Sarat Bose excitedly. Mr. Nehru persisted in addressing the gathering and, after a few minutes, appeared to have got control over the situation. The uproar subsided gradually and excepting for occasional interruptions the entire audience settled down.

After a few minutes, there was complete order, and in perfect silence, the vast gathering heard one of the most impassioned and feeling speeches from Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, whose voice was faltering and who was brimming over with feeling. He made a supreme appeal for discipline and chastised the recalcitrant delegates, repeatedly reminding them that they had done the greatest injury to the Congress by their exhibition of temper and indiscipline.

Mr. Nehru spoke in all for about forty-five minutes, both in Hindustani and English. He said, "I am afraid I have tried the patience of the House for a long time now. I did not come here to make a speech or discuss this or that question. I simply came here to explain the position which the President wanted me to explain. You will remember that votes were taken on Mr. Aney's resolution and Maulana Saheb had declared that it had been passed. There was some protest from a certain section of the House and there was a good deal of shouting. The President was clear in his mind as to the result and I came to tell you that, if you desire to have a division, certainly there will be a division. Every facility would be given, so that there would be no doubt as to how many voted on this side and how many on the other. I came here only to tell you that. As it was inconvenient to have a division here, as the delegates were mixed up with visitors, it was desirable to arrange the voting to take place in the Subjects Committee pandal either to-night or to-morrow. I was asked to convey this to you and I came to the microphone. For some reason, which I have not been able to fathom, a section of the House started that uproar. I do not know whether I have offended you, or you felt that I have offended you. It is a great grief to me to see such a sight.

"May I add a few words? We have heard for a long time about certain indiscipline in the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi has been writing about it. In fact, to-day in the Subjects Committee, we talked about this question. It is obvious that the Congress could function only if it is an efficient and disciplined organisation. We talk and we think of the great struggle before us, the great struggle that is developing in India. Some of us think in terms of an earlier struggle, some perhaps of a struggle at a later date. But all of us think in terms of the great struggle ahead. We are growing stronger day by day. This organisation is growing and it is stronger to-day than what it has ever been. (Cheers from a large section of the audience.) Everything depends upon you and I and all of us who are tied together by the Congress."

Proceeding, Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* referred to disunity and communal disturbances, particularly in his province, and said that it was the communal question which stood in the way of India's independence. "Are we to start now within our own ranks, within our own organisation, this kind of mutual conflict?" he asked. "I shudder to think what the consequence would be."

"If you read the articles which Gandhiji has written during the last month, you will see a certain agony of soul in it. You will notice the pain in them. You may agree or disagree with what Gandhiji had written, but Gandhiji writes from his heart. Why is it so ? Because he is to-day fully conscious of the coming struggle. He is preparing for it. He wants the Congress and the country to be

ready for it. When he sees that we indulge in tall talks and that indiscipline spreads, his own instrument is getting rusty and he feels for it. He talks about corruption and indiscipline, because the time is very near when I and you will be put to the test. (Subdued cheers and clapping.) Therefore, it is time to be united and disciplined. It is a grievous sight, a painful sight to see some of our comrades shouting and coming out of their enclosures. The very same people have to march with us, shoulder to shoulder, and have to prepare for the struggle. It was a painful sight ; yet I tell you that in my heart, I welcome it most."

Mr. Nehru appeared to be overcome with emotion at this stage and his voice faltered. He said: "After all, many of us present here have devoted a large portion of our lives to the service of this great organisation and we have been working shoulder to shoulder all these years. During all these years, this is the first time I have witnessed such a scene. During more than a quarter of a century—and I am sure there are many others whose service to the country and the Congress are much longer than mine and they have served more than what I have done—I do not know how many of you remember such a scene. During the last twenty-six years, I have attended the Indian National Congress year after year; I have never seen such a scene, though I have seen many strange things.

"I beg of you to understand the true implications of what has happened. It does not matter, if it is a small thing or a big one. We all get excited. I too get excited very often. I feel sorry for it afterwards. I apologise for it afterwards. I know my own weakness. We have got to take a lesson from such happenings and incidents. The main thing is this. We have to learn a lesson from this incident. We should not allow such things to happen again. If we have fully realised that this kind of thing does weaken the Congress and if we have learned that lesson, it is well. Otherwise all our talk, all our struggle for the past so many years will be a vain attempt.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's speech in English (reported above) was preceded by a Hindustani speech. Coming immediately after the uproarious scenes, Mr. Nehru was speaking with excitement and declared that a couple of hundred people could not have prevented him from speaking, even if he had to wait till to-morrow morning. "I will be before you until I am able to say what I have got to say. You can continue to shout if you like. You know how things placed before the Congress are decided by a majority. The question before the House was decided by such a majority and a handful of delegates cannot try to stop the proceedings after the majority had given its verdict. This is not democracy. This is goondaism. This is Fascism. This is neither Socialism nor Democracy. (Loud cheers from all over the amphitheatre). Warming up, Mr. Nehru declared, "A lakh of people were waiting and wasting their time for the proceedings to go on, but hardly fifty or hundred people prevented the proceedings."

In a milder tone, Mr. Nehru proceeded to explain why he wanted to speak. All that he wanted to convey was that in response to the demands by a certain section of the House, Maulana Azad had decided to permit voting to take place in the Subjects Committee pandal to-morrow. Mr. Nehru added that so many proposals were made during the discussion yesterday before the Subjects Committee for intensifying our struggle. "You talked of six months' ultimatum. You talked of intensifying the struggle. If we are to succeed, if we are to translate our words into action, it cannot be done with an indisciplined mob behind us. It would not be possible to fight British Imperialism with the strength of a mob" (Ringing and prolonged cheers). Proceeding, Mr. Nehru said that possibly by now, some of those who had participated in the uproar were regretting it. It was possible that they had been misled. Continuing, Mr. Nehru said "If I have risen to my present heights, it is entirely due to you. If you want, you can pull me down. It is in your hands to do so. Greatness really comes from service and not by personal considerations. The organisation is greater than personalities." Mr. Nehru then proceeded to speak in English, after which Mr. *Aney* sought the leave of the House to withdraw his proposition.

Pandit G. B. Pant said that he had agreed to Mr. Aney's proposition in the present circumstances. Mr. Subhas Bose was seriously ill and his (the speaker's) resolution could not be discussed in a proper atmosphere. He was also told that the Bengal delegates would welcome his agreeing to the proposition and it was with a view to please them and not to avoid a voting that he had agreed to its being referred to the A. I. C. C. If the Bengal delegates wanted a discussion, he had no objection.

Mr. *M. S. Aney* then rose to withdraw his resolution. He said, "I am before you to ask your permission to withdraw the resolution which I moved a short while ago. In doing so, I wish to make a brief statement. I felt that something should be done to put a stop to the discussion of the resolution in which the President directly or indirectly was concerned. I felt that in the present state of health of the President, we should not discuss this resolution. Therefore, I suggested that the matter be referred to the A. I. C. C. and I must make it clear that the suggestion was my own. I did not consult any of my Bengal friends. I made this suggestion after a good deal of consideration and some of the leaders concerned readily agreed to it. I came forward to get it approved by you. My main object was to give satisfaction to our Bengal friends in particular and others who are interested in the health of the President. I made this endeavour and in view of the opposition to my resolution from some of our comrades and in view of the disturbed conditions I think it is proper that I should withdraw this resolution. As the resolution has already been declared carried by the President, I have to request you, delegates, to allow me to withdraw it. I have, no doubt, that you realise the need for my withdrawing it. Once I withdraw this resolution, the situation will ease and the proceedings can go on."

Mr. *Aney's* request for withdrawal of the resolution was put to the House and carried. Thereafter, resolutions welcoming the Egyptian delegation and expressing sympathy with China were put from the Chair and passed. The Chair also moved a condolence resolution (passed earlier by the Subjects Committee) and this was passed.

The National Demand

Mr. *Jai Prakash Narain* then moved the resolution on the National Demand.

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain said that it was a most vital resolution and referred to the Independence resolution passed at the Lahore Congress. The goal of independence was far away, but the struggle of 1930-31 had taken India a good deal forward and Congress Ministries had helped them to organise and uplift workers and peasants. "We are, however, convinced that the Federal part of the Constitution contained in the Government of India Act, 1935, does not part with any vital powers. Therefore, we have declared that any attempt to impose this Federal scheme on India will meet with determined opposition. The Federal scheme is only one aspect of the question. The bigger and fundamental question is how to win freedom and establish Swaraj for India. Hence this resolution."

The speaker referred to the awakening among the people in the Indian States and said that they were confident that in any future struggle for freedom, one-third of the Indians living in the Indian States would fight, shoulder to shoulder, with their brethren in British India. The speaker asserted that no struggle could be successful until and unless the Congress was united.

Continuing, Mr. Narain referred to the uproarious scenes in the House earlier and said that the demonstration showed the weakest link in the chain. "It makes me hang down my head in shame, particularly in view of the fact that we have some prominent visitors from Egypt amongst us this evening. What is the impression they will carry about us with them ? The demonstrators are neither true to the Congress nor to the country. I am confident that with a will to strengthen ourselves we shall be able to eliminate such persons from the Congress. A difference in principle cannot be settled by a show of fists. On behalf of the Socialists and Communists, I beg of you, beg of the President, Maulana Azad and Mr, Jawaharlal Nehru to pardon us for this evening's unruly and undemocratic demonstrations."

Acharya Narendra Dev, seconding the resolution, said that the object of the resolution was to prepare the country for the struggle for freedom, but freedom could not, however, be won without unity. He deeply deplored the evening's happenings and said that the demonstrators should have considered the presence of the Egyptian Delegation among them. unless this unruly and indisciplined element was eliminated, he asserted that there was no chance of success for them. They must organise themselves in putting their house in order. He emphasised the need for them to look into their weaknesses and remedy them immediately as otherwise the power and position that the Congress had attained would be undermined and destroyed.

Mr. *Sarat Bose*, opposing the resolution, said that it had been his desire to send amendments to the resolution, but his preoccupation with the President's illness prevented him from doing so. He had also not expected the resolution to come up to-night and hence he had not been able to move the amendments he wanted to.

"This resolution contains nothing but words, ineffective words, which do not lay down any plan of action, words which do not give our people any lead", added Mr. Bose. "The first four paragraphs of the resolution repeated what we have been saying in every session during the last few years and also at every meeting of the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee."

Mr. Sarat Bose expected the framers of the resolution to realise that the time had come to give a definite lead to the people but he had to confess that his expectations had been rudely shaken. "Do you want to postpone this struggle till all the people are united ? If that is what the resolution means, it will be more honest to say, 'Let us abandon our fight'. Let us not deceive our people."

Mr. *Sarat Bose*, continuing, said that self determination for a people was the universally accepted principle in the modern world. This principle had been applied in the case of many countries and the map of the world had changed considerably since 1918 and yet the application of this principle had been denied to India. With its hoary civilisation, with its distinct culture and traditions and its fundamental unity, India had been denied this right. The Government of India Act was a negation of this principle.

Mr. Sarat Bose continued : "It is time we ask the British Government in no uncertain terms whether they are prepared to concede the principle of self-determination to India. In order to enable them to give us a categorical reply to our demands, we should fix a time limit so that we may be able to consider the question at the next session of the Congress. It would be better to give six months' time but it may be even one year, as we will be meeting only next year. Having regard to the fact that the Congress is in power in eight provinces, having regard to the fact that the States' subjects are definitely moving towards responsible government and civil liberties and having regard to the international situation, I have no doubt that the result will be obvious. A treaty will have to be drawn up between the British Government and the Congress. If the reply is unsatisfactory or inadequate or no reply is received, it is my humble submission that the Congress should then resort to such sanction as it can impose."

Mr. Sarat Bose suggested that the Congress should take the necessary steps, both in parliamentary as well as extra-parliamentary affairs, and prepare the country for "the fight." The Congress Ministries in the eight provinces could create a deadlock. "Do you think that the British administration can go on in India if the eight Provincial Governments resign ? If the Congress Ministries resign, naturally non-Congress provinces also will have to follow suit and march abreast with us in our attack on British Imperialism." Mr. Bose asked, in conclusion, if they were not adopting a policy of drift by passing this resolution. "If we do not adopt a firm line of action, we shall be betraying our people and will be accused of betraying the cause of the country."

Mr. *Bharadwaj* supported the resolution. Mr. *A. M. Azad* supporting the resolution, said that the younger section in the Congress was ready to take orders.

Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, speaking next, said that the resolution has been unanimously passed by the Subjects Committee. He was, therefore, surprised to find opposition to the resolution from Mr. Sarat Bose. He could not understand Mr. Bose's opposition. Mr. Bose had said that the resolution contained nothing but words. Mr. Nehru wanted to know what Mr. Bose's own amendment contained except empty words. The language used by Mr. Bose was one which India was accustomed to use twenty years ago.

Mr. Nehru held that they could not escape the struggle even if they desired it, but he was opposed to the ultimatum tactics suggested by Mr. Sarat Bose. In the first place, they would be deceiving themselves if they thought that they could win their freedom from the British Government by using bombastic phrases and words. Then again, the ultimatum idea would give a chance to the enemy to prepare himself. As for Mr. Sarat Bose's contention that the Congress Governments should create deadlocks, Mr. Nehru said that deadlocks could help the Congress to some extent, but they could not certainly solve their main problem of winning the freedom of the country.

Mr. *Jaiprakash Narain*, replying to the debate, said that Mr. Sarat Bose's opposition was like a stab from behind. Mr. Narain alluded the plan of action formulated by mutual consent with Mr. Sarat Bose and said that the idea of incorporating an ultimatum clause had been deleted from that plan.

Mr. *Sarat Bose*, intervening, denied having agreed to delete the ultimatum clause. The resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority.

"Corruption" in Elections

Mr. *Sri Prakasa*, thereafter, moved his resolution on "corruption", which was passed by the Subjects Committee this morning. He pointed out how recently there had been many reports of bogus memberships at Congress elections and other malpractices. They could not prepare the country for a struggle unless they were united and organised. *Pundit Nekhiram Sharma* seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously. The proceedings then terminated.

Third Day—Tripuri—12th. March 1939

Faith in Mahatma Gandhi

The third day's session of the Congress was resumed at 9 a.m. to-day in the Subjects Committee pandal. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* presided. Only delegates and the Press were admitted. Elaborate arrangements had been made to prevent a repetition of last night's uproarious scenes. Strong volunteer forces were stationed all round and inside the pandal to maintain order. The delegates were seated in separate enclosures according to provinces.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant formally moved his resolution. He said that after what had happened yesterday, he had no heart to speak and therefore requested the House to pass it. The following is the text of the resolution :

"The Congress declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which have governed its programme in the past twenty years under the guidance of *Mahatma Gandhi* and is definitely of the opinion that there should be no break in these policies, and that these should continue to govern the Congress programme in the future.

"The Congress expresses its confidence in the work of the Working Committee which functioned during last year, and regrets that any aspersions should have been cast against any of its members.

"In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such a crisis, the Congress regards it as imperative that the Executive Authority of the Congress should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate the Working Committee for the ensuing year in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji."

Dr. *Gadgil* seconded the resolution with a speech.

Mr. *K. F. Nariman* moved that in view of the alarming state of the President's health, the consideration of Pandit Pant's resolution be postponed till the President was in a fit condition to attend the meeting (cries of "no, no" and counter cries). Mr. Nariman asked the delegates not to be swayed either by political or party considerations. He appealed to the delegates on considerations of humanity not to proceed with the resolution in the absence of the President who had come all the way to Tripuri risking his life despite the advice of his doctors. The resolution in question directly concerned the President, and it was highly improper to debate it in his absence, particularly when he was seriously ill. While deploring last night's demonstrations, Mr. Nariman asked the House if it was right because a few over-enthusiastic people with mistaken notions staged demonstrations that they should discuss this resolution. Mr. Nariman, in conclusion, said that he did not want the resolution to be shelved, but desired only that the consideration of the resolution must be postponed. He appealed to the House to consider his proposition dispassionately (cries of "no, no").

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that he had admitted Mr. Nariman's proposition and would put it to the vote of the House. He did not consider it necessary to have any discussion on Mr. Nariman's proposition.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant said that some people had asked him what his view was on Mr. Nariman's motion. He wanted to make it clear that he was definitely opposed to it as it would serve no useful purpose.

Mr. *Nariman's* motion was then put to the vote and, on a show of hands, it was declared lost.

Sardar Sardul Singh moved an amendment seeking the deletion of the portion relating to "aspersions" and in the last paragraph, wanting to substitute the words "Mahatma Gandhi's guidance and co-operation as in the past" instead of the words in the original resolution as passed by the Subjects Committee. The Sardar said that the re-election of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose as the

Congress President was not a vote of censure against members of the Working Committee. In his opinion, there could have been no better Working Committee. The resolution now before the House was tantamount to a vote of censure on the delegates who voted for the re-election of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose as the Congress President against the wishes of some members of the Working Committee. The speaker had no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi was above parties and bickerings and he did not want this resolution. He had also no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi could continue to give his guidance and co-operation even without this resolution. This was an attempt to exploit the name of Mahatma Gandhi. It was an injustice to *Mahatma Gandhi* to use his name and exploit it in this manner. (Cries of "No, no"). The Working Committee could not lose sight of the fact that as much as one-third of the total strength of the Subjects Committee has voted against it. Formerly, those who differed from the Working Committee were not more than thirty. If they persisted in their present attempt, it would mean dividing the Congress into two sections which would not be in the interests of the country and the Congress.

Mr. *Bharadwaj* moved an amendment, seeking the deletion of the paragraph relating to "aspersions". He maintained that the resolution had been conceived in a partisan spirit and meant an indirect vote of censure on the President. He asked the leaders to take note of the growing discontent among the rank and file in the Congress, particularly after the acceptance of office and warned them against aggravating this feeling of discontent. Yesterday's demonstrations clearly showed that there were people in the Congress who were neither Leftists nor Rightists. They had made their entry into the Congress somehow or other. He condemned yesterday's demonstrations and uproarious scenes and declared that his group would do its utmost to prevent such demonstrations in future. "Our position is very difficult, because we cannot be a party to such demonstrations and yet the Rightists would not listen to them," The amendment aimed at uniting them all together. Mr. Bharadwaj added: "We are prepared to accept the clause relating to the Working Committee being nominated with the approval of Mahatma Gandhi, but our request is that this clause relating to aspersions should be omitted."

Mr. *Nariman* moved an amendment stating that the Working Committee should be appointed in consultation with Mahatma Gandhi and not with the approval of Mahatma Gandhi, as had been suggested in the resolution. He did not want to make a speech but would request the House to pass his amendment.

Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa* moved an amendment seeking to add to the aspersion clause the words "aspersions cast by any section of the public." The speaker said that excepting for this he was in whole-hearted agreement with the resolution. His amendment had become necessary in view of the President's declaration that he never doubted the bonafides of any of his colleagues on the Working Committee. His name having thus been eliminated it was necessary to add the words suggested by him.

Mr. *Bhayangaracharjar* (an ex-Andaman psisoner) moved an amendment seeking deletion of the words relating to "aspersions".

Maulana Nuruddin Behari, in his amendment, sought that the policy of the Congress and its programme should be based on democratic principles, and that the Congress organisation should not become a tool in the hands of one single individual. "We have full confidence in Mahatma Gandhi but not in those who have been working out his policy, because these are surrounded by self-seekers."

Maulana Azad then announced that the amendments given notice of by Dr. *Lohia* and Mr. *Achut Patwardhan* were not being moved as the movers did not want to move them. He had, however, accepted the requisition sent by Mr. *L. K. Moitra* and 22 others that these amendments must be allowed to be moved by someone else. Mr. L. K. Moitra then moved for the deletion of the paragraph relating to "aspersions."

Mr. *Moitra* deplored the "unfortunate demonstration yesterday." As a result of this, the House was in a desperate mood. But he would like to remind them that the demonstration was the result of the serious condition of the Congress President's health. But to-day the atmosphere was better. He said, "If you carry this resolution without the amendment suggested by me, you will be censuring the President whom you yourselves have elected" (cries of "no, no"). It had been stated, the speaker continued, that the election of Mr. Subhas Bose would be detrimental to the interests of the country. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant had

tried to explain away this statement. The President, despite his illness, had attended the Subjects Committee and made a statement expressing the view that he never doubted the *bona fides* of any of his colleagues on the Working Committee. After that statement, there was no room for this resolution. If they passed this resolution at this critical juncture, they would do great harm to the cause that was dear to them all. Mr. Moitra maintained that the last paragraph of the resolution went against the constitution and that it could not be discussed without amending the constitution. He had himself thought of raising a point of order and he desired to emphasise that point now. He submitted that they should part in mutual trust and friendship. If this resolution was passed, a section of the delegates would go back with the impression that a no-confidence motion against the President whom they had elected had been forced through the backdoor. Mr. Moitra moved another amendment suggesting that in the third paragraph the following words be added : "for which we have to prepare the country" after the words "coming year."

Mr. Jai Prokash Narain said that he wanted to make a statement on behalf of the Congress Socialist Party. "Our Party voted for Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, but from the very beginning we had made it clear that our vote did not mean a settling of the issues between the Rightists and the Leftists. We voted for Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, because we preferred him to the other candidate, namely, Dr. Pattabhi. We then never expected that it would lead to a schism in the Congress. Our Party does not and will not participate in this quarrel. I am convinced that this could have been averted. We tried our best to prevent it. We failed and we were disappointed." Mr. Narain then detailed their efforts for a settlement and how they failed and said : "We went to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and requested him to issue a statement clearing the position. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose agreed, but the statement he made was not satisfactory. Coming to Tripuri, we approached the other side and discussed with them how a settlement could be effected. Here also our attempt proved abortive. We believed that unless the next Working Committee was appointed in accordance with the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi it will not be possible to maintain unity in the Congress."

Nr. Jaiprakash Narain continued : "There are things said in the resolution with which we cannot agree. It only both sides had co-operated with us, it would have been possible to bring about a settlement. I do not wish to participate in this quarrel and therefore, we have decided to remain neutral in the voting on this resolution."

Mr. *M. S. Aney*, opposing the resolution, deplored that all earnest efforts to avoid a discussion on this resolution at a time when the President was ill had failed, and the resolution had been brought before the open session. He did not blame anyone particularly for that. But it was unfortunate.

Referring to the resolution, Mr. Aney said that he did not see, how it was necessary. If it was only to clear misunderstanding, there was no need to bring in the question of policy and programme. It was not possible to hide the fact that the resolution breathed diffidence in the President. Despite what Mr. Rajagopalachari had said, the speaker could not agree that the resolution did not amount to a vote of no-confidence in the President. Viewing the resolution purely from a constitutional point of view, Mr. Aney said that even if it was technically in order, it certainly went against the spirit of the Congress constitution which gave the Congress President complete power to nominate his Committee. The Congress constitution never intended that the President should be a mere figure-head notwithstanding what some members of the Working Committee had said in their statement on the eve of the Presidential election. It was the President's business to form the Cabinet in which he had confidence to guide the Congress. As long as any attempt was made to restrict this power of the President in nominating his own Working Committee, he had no doubt that this action went against the spirit of the constitution. He appealed to the House not to stultify itself by passing the resolution.

Mr. *Bankim Mukherjea*, opposing the resolution, said that the statement made by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose clearly showed that his election had nothing to do with the policy and programme of the Congress. They had assembled to-day to discuss the important issues facing the country. It was unfortunate that those important issues were being shelved. The most important issue was Federation and how to oppose it. Mr. Mukherjee wanted to know if it was proper and keeping with the dignity of the the Congress to get this resolution expressing confidence in Mahatma Gandhi passed by a sixty per cent majority. How much better it would

have been if the leaders had come to agreement among themselves ? In his opini the resolution went against the spirit of truth and non-violence.

Mr. *Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar*, opposing the resolution, said that the House v wasting its time in discussing a resolution which should never have been brou forward. It only showed lack of confidence and trust. He referrred to the repor discussions at Bardoli where some members of the Working Committee discus the question of the President for the next year behind the back of the President. amounted to a caucus trying to decide things for itself. He wanted to know w was the basis of the suspicion against the President. The members of the Wo ing Committee should have made their suspicions public and shared them w the delegates so that the delegates could have acted accordingly. This o showed a spirit of vindictiveness on the part of the members of the Work Committee. He regarded the present resolution as a backdoor method. He as the delegates to stand on their own legs and not make their love and revere for Mahatma Gandhi lose sight of this. He appealed to the House not to ad "this cruel course of a vote of no-confidence through the backdoor." In conclusi Mr. Majumdar appealed for postponement of the consideration of the resolution.

Pandit Govinda Ballabh Pant, replying to the debate, regretted that had to speak on matters relating to the President in the latter's presence conditi But it was not his choice. Things had been said during the debate, which requi a reply. The Pandit proceeded : 'This resolution is in no way a 'no-confiden motion against the President. If we wanted that, we would have brought i straight motion of 'no-confidence'. The majority has elected Mr. Bose as Presid We do not want to reject that verdict. What we desire is that he may continue President and at the same time we may be able to bring about unity in Congress and make it strong." Pandit Pant, proceeding, quoted Maha Gandhi's statement in which he had said that Dr. Pattabhi's defeat was defeat and that it was apparent to him that the majority of the deleg did not favour his policy and principles. It was clear, therefere, that Subhas Bose could not have the advice and guidance of Mahatma Gan as he used to have before. It was agreed on all hands that if the work the Congress was to be carried on, Mahatma Gandhi's advice as also the ac participation of other members of the Working Committee, their old and tru leaders, should be available but in the present situation, this was not possible. T was why they had to do something by which the desired end could be gained. resolution sought nothing more than that. It was possible that when the deleg voted for Mr. Bose, they did not want it to be a vote of "no-confidence" Mahatma Gandhi. Barring a very few, all those who had spoken on the resolu had agreed that they wanted Mahatma Gandhi's leadership and also the co-opera of the old members of the Working Committee. "If you want Mahatma Ga to back you, you must tell him 'We did vote for Subhas Babu, but did not n we have no confidence in you'. Some of the speakers objected to the sugges that the Working Committee should be appointed in consultation with Maha Gandhi. It only showed that they did not mean what they said, when they that they wanted Mahatma Gandhi's guidance In the coming crisis, it is Gan and Gandhiji alone who can lead us. Who can doubt that he is the one man can shoulder the burden ? Can you think of attaining freedom without his le (Cheers). Continuing, Pandit Pant asked : "If you want him to shoulder the respo bility, as I believe most of you want, then, how can you expect him to do s you do not give him some voice in the formation of the Congress Cabine Quoting again from Mahatma Gandhi's statement, Pandit Pant declared : "If want Gandhiji's guidance, you have to compel him by this resolution to give guidance, and so long as you do not do that, you cannot expect him to give his advice and guidance". Digressing for a while, Pandit Pant said that whe nations had progressed they had done so under the leadership of one man. many had relied on Herr Hitler. Whether they agreed with Herr Hitler's met or not, there was no gainsaying the fact that Germany had progressed u Herr Hitler. Similarly, Italy had risen because of Sinor Mussolini and it Lenin that raised Russia.

Mr. *Mehrally* : Mr. President, I must object as a Socialist to Pandit Pant ting Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler in the same group (laughter).

Pandit Pant, continuing, said that he disliked many things that Herr H and Signor Mussolini did, but despite their many faults, their respective pe loved and honoured them. "We have Mahatma Gandhi in our country, a man

has no axe to grind. Then why should we not reap the full advantage of that factor ?" (cheers). Pandit Pant refuted the suggestion that the resolution savoured of vendetta.

Maulana Azad then put the various amendments to vote. The amendments were declared lost by overwhelming majorities by show of hands.

The original resolution was declared carried, by show of hands, amidst resounding shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai", by an overwhelming majority. The Socialist party delegates remained neutral.

On the resumption of the plenary session of the Congress at 6-30 p. m. to-day, resolutions on Palestine and Baluchistan passed earlier by the Subjects Committee were put from the Chair and carried with acclamation.

Foreign Policy

Pandit Nehru then moved the resolution on Foreign Policy passed by the Subjects Committee yesterday. He emphasised the need for India taking a keen interest in foreign policy, because it was a vital question affecting their interests considerably. He said that India had to pay attention to the British foreign policy, because, unfortunately, she was still part of the British Empire, and whatever foreign policy the British Government adopted, affected India. Though what was happening in the world did not affect India immediately, these were bound to affect and did affect a country like India. The Pandit strongly criticised the foreign policy pursued by Mr. Chamberlain and said that it was a dangerous one, particularly to India, as it meant destruction of what had been regarded as good and necessary. "I hate the foreign policy of the British Government and emphatically declare that I cannot stand it and that India cannot associate herself with it." He instanced the recent happenings in Czechoslovakia and China. He said that he had the picture of Czechoslovakia before his mind and he could not but condemn in the strongest terms "the betrayal of Czechoslovakia by England and France." "The League of Nations and Geneva," Pandit Nehru said, "are nothing but the tomb-stone of peace. History will never forget the treachery of the British and French Governments in the betrayal of the little democratic country of Czechoslovakia." Referring to the Spanish war, Mr. Nehru said that if Republican Spain failed, it was not because of the arms supplied by Italy and Germany, but because of the plotting of British and French Governments which were determined to kill it, and they had succeeded. "We cannot keep quiet when these murders of democracies are going on. India cannot be a party to this kind of murder of democracy. India must dissociate herself from the British foreign policy and line up with freedom and democracy-loving countries. India is on the threshold of her freedom, and she is bound to play an important role in the world's history. Therefore she cannot remain indifferent."

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, seconding the resolution, emphasised the need for India taking a keen interest in foreign affairs. They should know where they stood with regard to the outside world. He dissociated himself from the present policy of the British Government as it was based largely on the betrayal of States which she herself had been instrumental in creating. Condemning the Frontier policy of the India Government, Mr. Desai said that the Government had admitted that fifteen crores of rupees had been spent on maintaining peace and tranquillity in the frontier. Referring to the League of Nations, Mr. Desai said that India could not be a member of that body as things were at present, because it would mean a second vote to England. But he would have no objection to India being a member provided her elected representatives sat in the League and talked on equal terms with the other world statesmen on problems affecting the world. "Mahatma Gandhi", he concluded, "has got his own foreign and domestic policy. The main feature of his foreign policy is goodwill and friendship with other countries. His domestic policy is based on truth and non-violence."

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Indian States

Babu Rajendra Prasad then moved the resolution on Indian States passed by the Subjects Committee this afternoon. The following is the text of the resolution :—

"The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country, and considers this as a hopeful prelude to a larger freedom comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for Responsible Government and Civil Liberty in

the States, and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle for freedom of the whole country. While appreciating that some Rulers of States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people, the Congess regrets that some other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity, and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression. In particular, the Congress deplores the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people and condemns the unwarranted use of the military and police forces lent by British authorities.

"The Congress expresses its sympathy with the sufferings of the growing number of refugees from various States and trusts that the public will render them every assistance.

"The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of an indefinite fast by Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his counsellors on the one hand and Sardar Patel as representing the people, on the other. The Congress expresses its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast, and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled, and further hopes that Princes of Kathiawar and other parts of India will march with the times, and in co-operation with their people, introduce responsible Government.

"The Congress regrets that several State Governments besides Rajkot have gone back upon their assurances to their people and their pledged word. It trusts that these breaches of agreement will be repaired and the assurances given will be honoured.

"The Congress is of opinion that the resolution of the Haripura Session of the Congress, relating to States, has answered the expectations raised by it, and has justified itself by encouraging the peoples of the States to organise themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. This policy was dictated by circumstances and by the recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances but it was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always possessed the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to a relaxation or to a complete removal of the restraint which the Congress has imposed upon itself, thus resulting, in the ever increasing identification of the Congress with the States people. The Working Committee is authorised to issue instructions in this behalf from time to time as the occasion arises.

"The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective, complete independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, which are integral parts of India and which cannot be separated, and which must have the same measure of political, social, economic and religious freedom as a part of India.

Commending the resolution to the acceptance of the House, Babu *Rajendra Prasad* said that it did not require a long speech as, time and again, the problem of the States and their subjects had come up before the A. I. C. C. or the Congress. It was a matter of pleasure to note the awakening among the people of the States, indicating that the States' subjects had begun to stand on their feet. The Congress policy with regard to the Indian States was clear, although there was some misunderstanding in certain respects. He would like to make it clear that, so far as the Congress was concerned, there was no difference between the people of Indian States and British India. The Congress naturally recognised that, as long as the country was not strong enough to gain its freedom, is could not help the States' people. It was therefore thought that is was necessary for the States' people to acquire enough strength and they had been asked to organise themselves. Until the strength was acquired, no amount of help from the Congress would help the States' subjects. The success of the policy enunciated at Haripura was apparent to-day. Nobody doubted the wisdom and success of the policy. The Congress had always adjusted its policy to suit circumstances and this was true in respect of its attitude to the States problem. There was nothing in the Haripura resolution which prevented them from changing their policy. The Haripura policy of non-interference was self-imposed.

and not dictated by any outside authority. "We may have to change this policy and if and when necessity arises, we shall certainly change it," he declared. The Haripura policy had already begun to produce results, and movements for freedom had been started by the people in various States. Some of the Rulers themselves had begun to realise the spirit of the times, while some others shut their eyes to reality. If they failed to march with the times, they would be the sufferers. Babu Rajendra Prasad then referred to Rajkot and Gandhiji's fast leading to a fresh pact and said that unless the Rulers realised the sanctity of agreements, it would become impossible to have lasting understanding between the people and the Rulers. He had no donbt that what happened recently in Rajkot would prove of help to the States' subjects all over India. Babu Rajendra Prasad next referred to the wholesale emigration of people from Dhenkanal and Limbdi. He said that this could not go on for long. How long could the helpless people remain out of their homes. They would have to go back, but they should go back with their full rights secured.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, seconding the resolution, said that he did not want to speak, but he had been ordered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to second the resolution. The British Government had created the Indian States with a view to perpetuating imperialism in India. He referred to the extravagances of Princes and the miserable condition of their subjects and asked why the Princes, even if they wanted to be extravagant, did not spend the money in India instead of in foreign countries? The Congress policy had been to make the people of the States depend upon themselves. Unless they were able to do so, they would not be able to retain freedom even if somebody else secured it for them. He asked the Rulers to march with the times and concede the legitimate demands of their subjects.

Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya moved an amendment seeking the deletion of the paragraph relating to the Haripura policy. She contended that it had not been successful. She held that the awakening in Indian States, which the resolution sought to attribute to the Haripura resolution, was the result of many causes such as work by the States' People's Conference, the progress in British India, etc. She did not like that the country which was one should be divided into British and Indian India. She wanted that the Congress should take a direct interest in States' affairs and actively be in charge of the conduct of movements in the various States. She wanted the Congress to create a machinery which would direct and control the movement of the States' people for responsible Government. She appealed to the Congress to lend its power and prestige to the cause.

Mr. *Achyut Patwardhan* supported Srimati Kamaladevi's amendment. Mr. Patwardhan said that Socialists did not agree with the Haripura policy. In his opinion it was not correct to say that the present awakening among the Indian States' subjects was entirely due to the Haripura policy. He admitted that, though Socialists were opposed to office acceptance, it had resulted in creating an awakening among and a new hope in the States' people. Conditions in Indian States had changed since Haripura and it was now the duty of the Congress organisations directly to help the States' people in their struggle for responsible government. It was also necessary to have some machinery which would furnish the Congress High Command with a correct version of the condition of the people in the States.

Pandit Kashiram Sharma said that the Princes were organising themselves to take concerted action with a view to preserving their Princely Order against the onslaught of the people. He warned the Princes that they were bound to fail in their attempt to crush the awakening among the people. He recounted certain incidents where the States' people had been ill-treated by the agents of Rulers. "It is our duty to help the seven or eight crores of people, who are all residents in States in their fight to secure their rights". He said it was time that the Rulers realised the implications of the Rajkot happenings.

Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa* said that no power on earth could crush the growing awakening among the people of the States and the earlier the Rulers realised this the better for them. "We stand for independence for the people of British India, and we want the Rulers of the States to give the people of the States responsible government". If they did not do so, in time, the speaker warned the Rulers—that the Princely Order itself would be done away with and complete independence established all over India.

Mr. *Shankar* from Mysore supported the amendment. He contended that the agreement arrived at by Sardar Patel on behalf of the people, with the State authorities had been deliberately broken. He said that the State authorities had no hesitation in arriving at agreements which they knew they could break at any moment.

Mr. *Changalrai Reddy* (Mysore), supporting the resolution, strongly criticised the Mysore Government for breaking the Patel-Mirza Agreement before the ink on it was dry. "We have planned a programme of non-co-operation if the Mysore Government fails to fulfil this agreement.

Babu Rajendra Prasad, replying to the debate, said that the Congress had always said less than what it had intended to do. Nothing could be achieved by indulging in high-sounding words. "Let us, therefore, say less and do more." Sardar Patel, Mahatma Gandhi and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj did not wait for a resolution before entering the States struggle, but they did so when the psychological moment arrived.

Srimati Kamaladevi's amendment was rejected by a large majority. *Babu Rajendra Prasad's* resolution was passed by a big majority.

Indians Overseas

Mr. *S. Satyamurti* next moved the following resolution on Indians Overseas :

"This Congress notes with grave concern and anxiety the rapidly deteriorating position of Indians overseas, especially in countries within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations, and extends its sympathy and support to all Indian nationals abroad in their just struggle for the assertion of their legitimate rights, political, civic and economic.

"This Congress notes with particular anxiety the danger to Indian life and property in Burma, the hostile attitude towards Indians in Ceylon, the reservation of Kenya Highlands to Whites to the exclusion of Indians, and the attempt to segregate and pass unjust laws against Indians in South Africa.

"This Congress expresses its opinion that only a free and independent India can effectively help its nationals abroad. In the meantime, the Congress calls upon the people of this country to do everything in their power to help the cause of Indians overseas."

"India has," Mr. *Satyamurti* said, "the right and duty to extend her sympathy to her nationals abroad. The treatment of Indians abroad is particularly notorious in the British Commonwealth. While we are fighting for our own independence, we assure our brethren abroad of our full sympathy in their difficulties. We would remind our people abroad that they should learn the lesson that minorities should adjust themselves to the conditions of the country in which they live."

With regard to Burma, the speaker appealed to the good sense of the people there, so that there might be harmonious relations between India and Burma. He assured Kenya Indians that the Congress would support them in their demand, so also would the Congress support Indians in South Africa. Mr. *Satyamurti* assured the Indian settlers abroad of the full support and sympathy of the Congress in their legitimate demands.

Mr. *Jwala Prasad Shukla* moved an amendment which he moved in the Subjects Committee. The amendment was rejected, and Mr. Satyamurti's resolution was carried with acclamation.

Pandit Nehru moved a resolution that the next Congress session be held in the last week of December. *Babu Rajendra Prasad* invited the next Congress to Bihar. Normally this should have been settled by the A. I. C. C., but in view of the fact that it might take some time before the A. I. C. C. met, it was but proper, he said, that they should give time to the Reception Committee to make arrangements. Therefore the delegates themselves should take the final decision now, without waiting for the A. I. C. C. meeting.

Pandit Jawaharlal accepted Babu Rajendra Prasad's suggestion and requested the House to accept it. The resolution as amended by *Babu Rajendra Prasad* was unanimously carried.

The "Bande Mataram" was then sung and the fifty-second session of the Congress concluded amidst enthusiastic scenes.

Resolutions

The following are the authorised version of the resolutions passed by the Congress :—

1. Condolence

This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali, Sir Mohamad Iqbal, Begam Ansari and Shris K. Raman Menon, G. S. Khaparde, B. Raja Rau, Nathuji Jagtap, Thakur Gulzar Sinha, Rajarm Shukla, Devi Prasad Shukla, K. K. Bhar, Dhundiraj Mahadeo Naik, Abdul Wahid, Balwantrai P. Thakore, Mahesh Prasad Nigam, Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, Upendra Nath Mukherji, Jwala Singh, K. Nageshwar Rau, Rajab Ali Patel, Ghaltu Venkat, Chaturanan Das, Banchhanidhi Mahanty, Girija Bhushan Dutt, Shrinath Das and Pratap Singh.

2. Welcome to Egyptian Delegation

The Congress extends its cordial welcome to the fraternal delegation from the Wafd Party of Egypt and considers this visit as symbolising the solidarity of the movements for freedom in Egypt and India. The Congress sends its greetings to the people of Egypt and its earnest wishes for their complete success in achieving full freedom. It trusts that the association of the peoples of Egypt and India will ever grow closer and more fruitful in the furtherance of world peace and freedom.

3. China

The Congress sends its greetings to the people of China and its deepest sympathy in their trial and privations in their struggle against a ruthless and inhuman imperialism. It congratulates them on their heroic resistance.

The Congress expresses its approval of the sending of a medical mission on its behalf to the people of China, and trusts this mission will continue to receive full support so that it may carry on its work of succour effectively and be a worthy symbol of Indian solidarity with China.

4. The National Demand

The Congress has for more than half a century striven for the advancement of the people of India and has represented the urge of the Indian people towards freedom and self-expression. During the past twenty years it has engaged itself on behalf of the masses of the country in struggle against British Imperialism, and through the suffering and disciplined sacrifice of the people, it has carried the nation a long way to the independence that is its objective. With the growing strength of the people, it has adopted itself to a changing and developing situation, and while pursuing various programmes, has ever worked for the independence of India and the establishment of a democratic State in the country. Rejecting the Government of India Act and with the full determination to end it, it decided to take advantage of the Measure of provincial autonomy the Act provided, restricted and circumscribed as it was, in order to strengthen the national movement and to give such relief to the masses as was possible under the circumstances. To the Federal part of the Act the Congress declared its uncompromising opposition and its determination to resist its imposition.

The Congress declares afresh its resolve to achieve independence for the nation and to have a constitution framed for a free India through a Constituent Assembly, elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise and without any interference by a foreign authority. No other constitutions or attempted solutions of the problem can be accepted by the Indian people.

The Congress is of opinion that in view of the situation in India, the organised strength of the national movement, the remarkable growth of consciousness of the masses, the new awakening among the people of the States, as well as the rapid development of the world situation, the principle of self-determination must now be applied to the fullest extent to India so that the people of India might establish an independent democratic State by means of a constituent Assembly. Not only the inherent right and dignity of the people demand this full freedom, but also the economic and other problems which press insistently on the masses, cannot find solution nor can India get rid of her poverty and keep pace with modern progress, unless her people have full opportunities of self-government and growth which independence alone can give. Provincial Autonomy affords no such scope for development and its capacity for good is being rapidly exhausted; the proposed Federation strangles India still further and will not be accepted. The Congress is therefore firmly of opinion that the whole Government of India Act must give place to a constitution of a free India made by the people themselves.

An independent and democratic India will face the solution of her great problems rapidly and effectively and will line herself with the progressive peoples of the world and thus aid the cause of democracy and freedom.

With a view to a speedy realisation of the Congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crises that loom ahead and prepare the country for a nation-wide struggle, this Congress calls upon all parts of the Congress organisation, the Congress Provincial Governments and the people generally, to work to this end by promoting unity and seeking to eliminate disruptive forces and conditions which lead to communal conflicts and national disunity by co-ordinating the activities of the Provincial Governments with the work outside the legislatures, and by strengthening the organisation so as to make it a still more effective organ of the people's will.

5. Congress Machinery

Inasmuch as experience has shown that the working of the Congress machinery is often rendered difficult by abuse in the matter of enrolment of members, elections and otherwise, and as it is urgently necessary to remove all such defects, the Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to take all steps that may be necessary to attain that end including changes in Constitution. The All India Congress Committee shall have authority to give immediate effect to constitutional changes.

6. Reaffirmation of Congress Policy

In view of the various misunderstandings that have arisen in the Congress and the country on account of the controversies in connection with the Presidential election and after, it is desirable that the Congress should clarify the position and declare its general policy.

This Congress declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and is definitely of opinion that there should be no break in these policies and that they should continue to govern the Congress Programme in future. This Congress expresses its confidence in the work of the Working Committee which functioned during the last year and regrets that any aspersions should have been cast against any of its members.

In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such crisis, the Congress regards it as imperative that its executive should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to appoint the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji.

7. Palestine

The Congress has previously declared its full sympathy with the Arabs in Palestine in their struggle for national freedom and their fight against British Imperialism and has condemned the policy of the mandatory power in Palestine. Subsequent events have disclosed the continuance of a reign of terror maintained by the British army and policy in the name of law and order. The courage, determination and sacrifices made by the Arabs in the struggle have evoked the admiration of the people of India who desire to convey to them again their greetings and good wishes for the complete success in the attainment of their objective.

While sympathising with the plight of the Jews in Europe and elsewhere, the Congress deplores that in Palestine the Jews have relied on British armed forces to advance their special privileges and thus aligned themselves on the side of British Imperialism. The Congress trusts that the Arabs and Jews will endeavour to find a basis for direct co-operation with a view to establishing an independent democratic State in Palestine with adequate protection of Jewish rights.

8. Baluchistan

In view of the fact that British Baluchistan is still being governed in the old irresponsible and bureaucratic manner the Congress demands that democratic and responsible form of government be introduced in the province without any delay and it be granted the same constitutional status as other provinces of India.

9. Foreign Policy

The Congress records its entire disapproval of British Foreign Policy culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Italian Agreement and the recognition

of Rebel Spain. This policy has been one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security and co-operation with governments which are avowed enemies of democracy and freedom. As a result of this policy, the world is being reduced to a state of international anarchy where brutal violence triumphs and flourishes unchecked and decides the fate of nations, and in the name of peace stupendous preparations are being made for the most terrible of wars. International morality has sunk so low in Central and South-western Europe that the world has witnessed with horror the organised terrorism of the Nazi Government against people of the Jewish race and the continuous bombing from the air by rebel forces of cities and civilian inhabitants and helpless refugees.

The Congress dissociates itself entirely from British foreign policy which has consistently aided the Fascist Powers and helped in the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to imperialism and fascism alike and is convinced that world peace and progress required the ending of both of these. In the opinion of the Congress, it is urgently necessary for India to direct her own foreign policy as an independent nation, thereby keeping aloof from both imperialism and fascism, and pursuing her path of peace and freedom.

10 Indian States

The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of the Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom, comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle for the freedom of the whole country. While appreciating that some Rulers of the States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people, the Congress regrets that some other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression. In particular the Congress deplores the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and condemns the unwarranted use of military and Police forces lent by the British authorities.

The Congress expresses its sympathy with the sufferings of the growing number of Refugees from the various States and trusts that the public will render them every assistance.

The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of an indefinite fast by Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his councillors on the one hand, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, as representing the people, on the other. The Congress expresses its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled, and further hopes that the Princes of Kathiawar and other parts of India will march with the times and, in co-operation with their people, introduce responsible government.

The Congress regrets that several State Governments, besides Rajkot, have gone back upon their assurances to their people and their pledged word. It trusts that these breaches of agreement will be repaired and the assurances given will be honoured.

The Congress is of opinion that the resolution of the Haripura session of the Congress, relating to the States, has answered the expectations raised by it and has justified itself by encouraging the people of the States to organise themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. This policy was dictated by circumstances and by a recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances, but it was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always possessed the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to a relaxation or to a complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever increasing identification of the Congress with the States' people. The Working Committee is authorised to issue instructions in this behalf from time to time as occasion arises.

The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective, complete independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States which are integral parts of India which cannot be separated, and which must have the same measure of political, social, economic and religious freedom as the rest of India.

11. Indians Overseas

This Congress notes with grave concern and anxiety the rapidly deteriorating position of Indians overseas, specially in countries within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations and extends its sympathy and support to all Indian nationals abroad in their just struggle for the assertion of their legitimate rights, political, civic and economic. This Congress notes with particular anxiety the danger to Indian life and property in Burma, the hostile attitude towards Indians in Ceylon, the reservation of the Kenya Highlands to Europeans to the exclusion of Indians and the attempt to segregate and pass unjust laws against Indians in South Africa. This Congress expresses its opinion that only a free and independent India can effectively help its nationals abroad. In the meantime the Congress calls upon the people of this country to do everything in their power to help the cause of Indians overseas.

12. Next Congress

Resolved that the next session of the Congress be held in Bihar during the last week of December of this year.

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Tripuri—7th. March to 8th. March 1939

A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was held in the Subjects Committee Pandal at Tripuri on March 7, 1939 at 4-30 P. M, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided in the absence of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose owing to illness.

Minutes

The minutes of the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. held at Delhi in September last were confirmed.

Accounts and Report

Acharya Kripalani, though he had resigned from the membership of the Working Committee as also from the General Secretaryship of the Congress, was, in view of special circumstance, asked by the President to submit the audited accounts and the Report to the A. I. C. C. The audited accounts were passed. The Annual Report was placed before the Committee. Some members of the Committee asked for time to peruse and consider the Report before adopting it. The President agreed and adjourned the meeting.

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided at the second meeting of the A. I. C. C. held on **March 8**, in the Subjects Committee Pandal. The General Secretary's Report was taken up for consideration. A member of the house sought clarification of the point whether the Secretary's Report could be adopted without its being first approved of by the Working Committee. The General Secretary's Report is ordinarily approved of by the Working Committee before being placed before the A. I. C. C. The last meeting of the Working Committee held at Wardha could not transact any business owing to the sudden illness of the President. The President ruled that the constitution did not make it obligatory for the Working Committee to first approve of the report formally before its being placed before the A. I. C. C. Shri *K. F. Nariman* moved that the Report be formally recorded instead of being adopted. Shri *J. B. Kripalani* objected saying that this was contrary to the usual practice. It must be either adopted or thrown out. Thereupon the A. I. C. C. unanimously adopted the Report.

Shri G. B. Pant's Resolution

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and about 160 other members of the A. I. C. C. gave formal notice to the President of their intention to move the following resolution at the meeting of the A. I C. C.

"In view of various misunderstandings that have arisen in the Congress and the country on account of the controversies in connection with the Presidential election and after, it is desirable that the All India Congress Committee should clarify the position and declare its general policy.

The Committee declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and is definitely of opinion that there should be no break in these policies and that they should continue to govern the Congress programme in future. The Committee express its confidence in the work of the Working Committee which functioned during the last year and deplores that any aspersions should have been cast against any of its members.

In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such crisis, the Committee regards it as imperative that the Congress Executive should command his implicit confidence and request the President to nominate the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji."

The President expressed the opinion that there is nothing in the Congress constitution or past practice which allowed him to place such a resolution before the A. I. C. C. meeting. He however invited opinion on the subject before giving his final ruling.

The discussion that followed revealed a divergence of opinion. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and others expressed the view that an important resolution such as the one given notice of by a majority of the A. I. C. C. members should not be ruled out of order owing to some technical objection. So far as he could see there was not even any technical bar to the admission of such a resolution. Shris Sarat Chandra Bose, K. F. Nariman, M. S. Aney and others thought otherwise and expressed the opinion that the A. I. C. C. was not competent to discuss the resolution. Furthermore the delegates would be defrauded of their right to consider and pass their verdict on the vital issues raised in the resolution.

The President ruled that the Resolution could not be discussed by the A. I. C. C. He however expressed readiness to have the matter considered by the Subjects Committee.

Rajkot and Gandhiji's Fast

In a previous issue of the Bulletin we have recorded the circumstances in which the struggle was resumed by the people of Rajkot. It was a grim and desperate struggle. The State authorities resorted to inhuman repression to reduce the outraged people to tame submission. Gandhiji and Shri Vallabhbhai Patel received daily wires about hunger stikes in Rajkot over the barbarous treatment of prisoners and others in villages. Gandhiji put himself in telegraphic communication with the Rajkot authorities to ascertain the truth of the reports he received of growing terrorism and frightfulness. The telegraphic correspondence gave him no satisfaction. He decided to go to Rajkot himself and make a first hand study of the situation.

Gandhiji reached Rajkot on the 26th. February. Full facilities were given by the Rajkot authorities to Gandhiji for carrying on his investigations of the alleged atrocities on the part of the State. He visited jails and interviewed with prisoners. He visited the villages and heard from village-folk the tales of their sufferings. He had prolonged talks with Thakore Sahib, the Resident and the officials of the State. After he had closely investigated the situation he wrote a letter to the Thakore Sahib in which he made a few suggestions for restoring and implementing the agreement arrived at between him and his councillors and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Thakore Sahib was also intimated that if the suggestions were not accepted by him before noon of the 3rd. March he (Gandhiji) would undertake a fast which would continue till after acceptance.

The *Thakore Sahib* in reply rejected the suggestions as in his opinion they were not in accordance with the original agreement. He also argued that it was not possible for him to divest himself of his sole and final responsibility for deciding the personnel of the Committee and the measure and manner of the reforms to be introduced. Gandhiji characterised the reply of the Thakore Sahib as adding fuel to the fire. The Thakore Sahib divested himself of a large measure of responsibility when he gave the following note to the Sardar: 'Agreed seven members of the Committee mentioned in Clause 2 of the said announcement of this date are to be recommended by Sardar Patel and they are to be nominated by us.'

The fateful fast commenced at twelve noon, March 3. The whole country was stirred to its depths. It followed with deepest anxiety the progress of his fast and the rapid worsening of his delicate health. The authorities concerned were urged to intervene forthwith and right the blatant wrong for which Gandhiji has risked his life. On the 4th day of the fast was announced a settlement and the consequent termination of the fast. The Viceroy intervened. He sent a message to Gandhiji that the best way in which the alleged breach of faith could be proved and doubts resolved would be to refer the matter to the highest Judicial authority in the land, that is to say, the Chief Justice of India. The Viceroy gave a personal assurance that he would exert his personal influence to see that the terms of settlement are faithfully carried out by the Thakore Sahib. The Viceroy also expressed a wish to see Gandhiji and discuss matters with him, so that any misapprehensions may be removed. Gandhiji replied that the Viceroy's kind message was a sufficient warrant for breaking the fast and ending the anxiety of millions. The country received the news of this happy and successful termination of the fast with a thrill of profound relief.

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Calcutta—29th. April to 1st. May 1939

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Calcutta on April 29, 30 and May 1 in a special pandal erected for the purpose.

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose presided at the first sitting for a short while. He explained to the committee how his conversations with Mahatma Gandhi and some members of the old Working Committee had failed to bring about a settlement of the question at issue, namely, the formation of the Working Committee. In this connection he read out the following letter of Gandhiji addressed to him expressing his (Gandhiji's) inability to suggest the personnel of the Working Committee in terms of the Tripuri resolution of Shri G. B. Pant :—

Gandhiji's Letter

'My dear Subhas,

You had asked me to give you in terms of Pandit Pant's resolution the names for the Working Committee. As I have told you in my letters and my telegrams I feel myself utterly incompetent to do so. Much has happened since Tripuri.

Knowing your own views and knowing how you and and most of the members differ in fundamentals, it seems to me that if I gave you names it would be an imposition on you. I had argued this position at length in my letters to you. Nothing that has happened during the three days of closest conversation between us has altered my view. Such being the case you are free to choose your own Committee.

I have told you too that you could discuss with ex-members the possibility of a mutual approach and that nothing would please me better than to know that you were able to come together. Into what has happened since I need not go. You and the ex-members present will make the position clear befor the A. I. C. C. Only, it has been a matter of the greatest grief to me that a mutual settlement has not been possible. I hope however that whatever is done will be done with mutual goodwill."

Shri Bose's Statement

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose then made the following statement tendering his resignation of the office of the President of the Congress and explained the circumstances leading there to—

Friends, you are aware of the resolution that was passed at the Tripuri Congress relating to the new Working Committee. That resolution was as follows :

In view of various misunderstandings that have arisen in the Congress and the country on account of the controversies in connection with the presidential election and after, it is desirable that the All India Congress Committee should clarify the position and declare its general policy.

The Committee declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and is definitely of opinion that there should be no break in these policies and that they should continue to govern the Congress programme in

future. The committee express its confidence in the work of the Working Committee which functioned during the last year and regrets that any aspirations should have been cast against any of its members. In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such crisis, the Committee regards it as imperative that the Congress Executive should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji.

I regret very much that since the Tripuri Congress I have not been able to announce the personnel of the new Working Committee. But this has been due to circumstances beyond my control. Owing to my illness, I could not proceed to meet Mahatma Gandhi, in lieu thereof, I started correspondence with him. This enabled us to clarify our ideas and viewpoints, but did not bring us to a settlement. When I realised that correspondence had proved ineffective, I wanted to make a frantic effort to meet Mahatmaji at Delhi—but that effort also failed.

After Mahatmaji's arrival in Calcutta we have had prolonged conversations, but unfortunately they did not lead to any solution. Mahatmaji's advice to me is that I should myself form a Working Committee leaving out the members who resigned form the previous Working Committee. This advice I cannot give effect to for several reasons. To mention two of the principal reasons, I may say that such a step would be contrary to the directions in Pantji's resolution, which provides *"inter alia"* that the Working Committee should be formed in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji and should command his implicit confidence. If I formed such a committee as advised above, I would not be able to report to you that the Committee commanded his implicit confidence.

Moreover, my own conviction is that in view of the critical times that are ahead of us in India and abroad, we should have a composite Cabinet commanding the confidence of the largest number of Congressmen possible, reflecting the composition of the general body of the Congress.

Since I could not implement Mahatmaji's advice, I could only repeat my request that he should kindly shoulder the responsibility vested in him by the Tripuri Congress and nominate the Working Committee. And I told him that whatever Committee he appointed would be binding on me, since it was my determination to implement Pantji's resolution.

Unfortunately for us Mahatmaji felt unable to nominate the Working Committee.

As a last step, I tried my best to arrive at an informal solution of the above problem. Mahatmaji told me that the prominent members of the previous Working Committee and myself should put our heads together and see if we could arrive at an agreement. I concurred and we made that attempt. If we had succeeded in coming to a settlement, we would then have come up before the A. I. C. C. for formal ratification of our informal agreement. Unfortunately though we spent several hours in discussing the matter we could not arrive at a settlement. I have therefore to report to you with deep regret that I am unable to announce the personnel of the new Working Committee.

I have been pondering deeply as to what I could do to help the A. I. C. C. in solving the problem that is now placed before it. I feel that my presence as President at this juncture may possibly be a sort of obstacle or handicap in its path. For instance, the A. I. C. C. may feel inclined to appoint a Working Committee in which I shall be a misfit. I feel, further, that it may possibly be easier for the A. I. C. C to settle the matter, if it can have a new President. After mature deliberation, therefore, and in an entirely helpful spirit I am placing my resignation in your hands.

The time at my disposal has been very short and hence I could prepare only a brief statement. Nevertheless this brief statement will, I hope, succeed in clarifying the situation as it now stands."

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose then requested Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, the seniormost ex-President present to take the chair of the Committee and regulate the proceedings of the meeting.

After *Shri Sarojini Devi* took the chair, *Shri Jawaharlal Nehru* placed before the House the proposition that Shri Subhas Chandra Bose be requested to withdraw his resignation and nominate afresh the old Working Committee which functioned in 1938. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru explained that considering the external and internal situation of the country it was imperative that a way out must be found to end the controversy raised by Shri Pant's resolution passed at Tripuri

and that the proposition he put before the House was such as would command the largest measure of common agreement. As for the infusion of fresh blood in the Working Committee he explained that two old members of the Committee Shris Jamnalal Bajaj and Jairamdas Doulatram will be soon resigning their seats on the Committee for reasons of health. This would enable Shri Bose to nominate in consultation with his colleagues two new members from other groups thus adding fresh blood to the Committee. Shri Nehru invited opinion on his proposition. The proposition was supported by *Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai* and *Shri Jaiprakash Narayan.* There were however certain amendments moved by the members.

The discussion was not concluded when the sitting was adjourned for the day.

The A. I. C. C. meeting reassembled the next day, **April 30, 1939.** *Shri Jawaharlal Nehru* made a statement that the proposition he had put forward the previous day was with a view to end controversy and not to impose a Working Committee on Shri Bose, as was made out by some of the speakers on the Resolutions in the comments in the local press. That was very far from his intention. He also thought it was no use debating the proposition if it did not meet with the approval of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose. He therefore requested a definite reply from Shri Subhas Chandra Bose whether the proposition met with his approval and as a consequence he was prepared to withdraw his resignation.

In reply *Shri Bose* made the following statement:—

Shri Bose's Statement

"The resolution that is now before the House is one with which I am vitally concerned and it would perhaps help the discussion if I could indicate my reaction to it. I feel greatly honoured that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should move a resolution requesting me to withdraw my resignation. But when I have not tendered my resignation in a light-hearted manner, I should ponder deeply before coming to a decision. So I welcomed the adjournment of the debate last evening.

This resolution is in effect identical with the suggestion made informally by Mahatma Gandhi and others during my conversations with some members of the previous Working Committee. Ordinarily Mahatmaji's word is law to me but where principles are involved, I sometimes feel unable to accept his advice or suggestion.

When unfortunately Mahatma Gandhi has not found it possible to help us by nominating the Working Committee should we attempt to solve the problem without reference to the Congress constitution? I leave it to you, friends, to answer the question.

I shall now come to the practical aspect of the question. Judging from this point of view, the main question is, what sort of Cabinet is needed now and for the next few months?

Last year at Haripura I made three changes in the personnel of the previous Cabinet. My own view definitely is that there should be an inclusion of fresh blood every year. To ensure continuity of policy, the majority of the old members may remain. But in a vast country like India, the highest executive of the Congress should not be made the close preserve of a group of individuals. A change should therefore be made every year under normal circumstances.

Now what about an emergency like the present one. You know that even in countries like Great Britain, where there are well-defined political parties, a war-crisis or a national emergency breaks down political barriers and brings on the same Committee people who normally regard themselves as deadly opponents. And in Continental countries like France, composite Cabinets are the order of the day. Are we less partriotic than Britishers or Frenchmen that we cannot do what they can? I refuse to think that we are so inferior to them in quality.

If we want a strong Cabinet with a dynamic urge it is necessary for us to put representatives of different shades of opinion in the Congress, giving the majority to those who will ensure continuity of policy. If we do not allow this inclusion of fresh blood the Cabinet will lose in power and potency. If in countries like Great Britain it is necessary to do away with party Cabinets in times of war-crisis and substitute "national Cabinets", do we not feel the same necessity here?

It may be argued that such composite Cabinets will be too heterogeneous to function properly. But such an apprehension is unfounded. Within the A. I. C. C. or within the Congress there are different shades of opinion. But do we not have a large measure of agreement among ourselves? Are we not all of us anti-imperialists who accept the present Constitution, creed and policy of the Congress? Are

not all Congressmen homogeneous in this sense, vis-a-vis the world outside? I am afraid, that we sometimes give a too narrow meaning to the word homogeneity.

Let us face the fact that the Congress has changed its composition to some extent since 1921. The change should be reflected in the composition of the Working Committee also, so that that Committee may be truly representative of the general body of the Congress. Further, we should not forget the latent implications of the voting at the last Presidential election. Shall we not move with the times, see the writing on the wall and adjust ourselves to it?

I do not know exactly the mind of the A. I. C. C. to-day, but I respectfully submit that if you desire that I should continue as President you should be good enough to show some consideration for the views indicated above. If, however, you think otherwise you should kindly release me from the responsibility of Presidentship. Serious and critical times are ahead of us. We must pool our resources and pull our whole weight if we are to emerge triumphant out of the external crisis that is fast overtaking us. To this arduous task I shall contribute my humble mite. What does it matter if I am not in the Presidential Chair? My services will be always at the disposal of the Congress and of the country for what they are worth. I claim to have sufficient patriotism and sufficient sense of discipline to be able to work as an ordinary soldier in this great fight for India's political and economic emancipation."

The Chairwoman *Shrimati Naidu* after he had finished made an appeal to Shri Bose to accept the proposition of Sri Jawaharlal. She explained how two seats would be available for infusion of fresh blood in the Committee. She also thought that with mutual goodwill some other changes may be made in the composition of the Committee in the near future. She requested the President to inform the House of his definite opinion in the light of Shri Nehru's assurances and her appeal.

Replying to Jawaharlal's statement and Shrimati Naidu's appeal, *Shri Subhas Bose* said:

"In the statement which I have just made before the House I thought I made my position perfectly clear. I have nothing to add to what I have stated therein. As to my attitude on the question of resignation, as I submitted at the very beginning, I submitted my resignation in an entirely helpful spirit. If you ask me here and now to give my final reply, as the President had asked me to do, I can say this that my final reply can only depend on the form of the resolution to be adopted by the A. I. C. C. At this stage I do not know what resolution will be adopted by the A. I. C. C. and until I know that, it is impossible for me to give a final reply."

This reply was considered by the Chairwoman and Shri Jawaharlal as too vague. The latter therefore sought leave of the House to withdraw his Resolution. Permission was granted by the House and the proposition was withdrawn.

Thereafter the *Chairwoman* pointed to the House that as Shri *S. C. Bose* had refused to withdraw his resignation by rejecting Shri Jawaharlal's proposition the House should proceed to elect a new President. At this stage a point of order was raised that the resignation of the President had not yet been accepted by the house. Shrimati Naidu replied: "The President has told you that he has not light-heartedly tendered his resignation. The resignation stands there. The A. I. C. C. cannot be without a President. Therefore you have got to elect a new President." She then read out article X of the Congress Constitution. However, at this stage Shri *Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar* sought and obtained permission of the chair to move a resolution to the effect that in view of the assurances given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri Sorojini Naidu and in view of his condition of mind as evinced in his statement this House requests the President to withdraw his resignation. Some speeches were made for and against it. Shri *S. C. Bose*, however, requested the mover to withdraw the resolution which he did.

Mrs. *Naidu* then ruled that the House do proceed with the election of the new President. Shri *K. F. Nariman* at this stage raised a point of order that as the President had been elected by the general body of the delegates, the A. I. C. C. was not competent to elect a new President.

The point of order was replied to by Shri *Bhulabhai Desai* who read the provision laid down in article X (viii), which says that "in the event of an emergency arising by reason of any cause such as death or resignation of the President elected as above the General Secretary shall forthwith fix a date for a fresh election by the delegates as prescribed above. In case such procedure is found not possible the All

India Congress Committee shall elect the President." He added that if this was not sufficient, the House could also proceed to elect the President in terms of Art. XII (b), which says that "The A. I. C. C. shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from session to session and deal with the new matters, that may arise during its term of office." To prove that an emergency existed Shri B. Desai pointed out that the Congress organisation at the time was without a President, the Working Committee or the General Secretary.

When Shri Bhulabhai had finished, Shri *Subhas Bose* got up and said that it was not true to say that there was no acting General Secretary. There was the acting General Secretary, whom he had appointed and that the office machinery was competent to call the meeting of all the delegates for the purpose of electing the new President. The Chair however ruled that there was no General Secretary in terms of the Congress Constitution, that an emergency existed and the House was competent to elect a new President for the remaining portion of the year.

Dr. *Choithram Gidwani* thereupon moved that Babu Rajendra Prasad be elected as President of the A. I. C. C. for the remaining period of the year. Babu *Mohanlal Saksena* seconded the Resolution. The Resolution was voted upon and declared carried.

Shri *Rajendra Prasad* then took the chair and made the following speech amidst interruptions made from a section of Bengali visitors.

"Friends, I have been called upon to discharge the onerous duty of the President by the All India Congress Committee. During the past few days that we have been here we have been discussing and considering the grave problem before us and I have not felt happy at all at what has happened. Considering the situation that confronts the country, the internal position of the Congress itself and various other factors which we have to face, it is not a bed of roses on which you, friends, have called on me to sit. I have realised more than anybody else the difficulties, the trials and tribulations which await anyone in these circumstances who is called upon to hold the office of the President of the Congress. It has, therefore, been not a pleasure to me to accept your mandate.

"We have appealed to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose to continue to shoulder the burden of the office of the President. I requested and implored him to form a Working Committee of his own liking, composed of people who shared his views in entirety, and we were prepared to go with him as far as possible. I assured him further that if he did that, I would not for myself—and if I may speak for others, they also would not stand in his way and there would be absolutely no obstruction. But unfortunately he could not see eye to eye with me and he thought that in the circumstances the best course for him was to resign. I am really sorry for that. It is with a sense of duty and doing my little bit for the country that I am here to-day. I did not covet the Presidentship.

"Considering the circumstances in which we are situated to-day, I would implore you, all members of the A. I. C. C., to extend to me your indulgence and your good-will. It is difficult for any President to achieve anything without the help and co-operation of all. The difficulties of the President under the situation like the present one have been doubled. Without your co-operation, good-will and help it would be impossible for me to do anything. When you received the declaration of my election with cheers, that did not make me elated; on the other hand I was overwhelmed with a sense of responsibility. I hope that the support of all members, whatever their views, whatever their differences will be given to me. It is in that confidence and hope that I appeal to you to give me your help.

"I see here that some friends are displeased with what has happened. They have every right to be displeased, and I have no quarrel with them. I have been called to this onerous position by the All India Congress Committee. If at any moment I feel that I am not wanted or there is any indication of your wish that I should not be in this post, I shall obey you, as I am obeying you now when you have called me to this office. I have also said that it would be my duty to give effect to the resolutions which have been passed by the Congress to the best of my ability, and I think it is also the duty of every member and I have not the least doubt that they will discharge their duty as well. We do not have to lay down any new policy just at the present moment. The policy is there. It has been laid down by the Congress. We have to devise ways and means for giving effect to it, and I am hoping that in devising ways and means we shall be all united and we shall have co-operation amongst each other.

The meeting was adjourned for the day.

The third sitting of the A. I. C. C. was held on the 1st. May, with Babu *Rajendra Prasad* in the Chair. Opening the proceedings Babu Rajendra Prasad addressed the House and observed that before the business of the day started he wanted to make certain observations. Yesterday he explained to them the circumstances under which he had to accept the responsibility and also made it clear that the moment they disapproved he would vacate. He regretted that Subhas Babu did not find it possible to withdraw his resignation. But since it has happened there was no use lamenting it. He wanted to congratulate Sjt. Bose for the sincerity with which he tried to find out a solution of the present tangle.

In the lives of such individuals such occasions did occur and they had to be faced. He derived greal satisfaction from the fact that Shri Bose had promised to give his fullest support. He, on his part, would try his best to utilize Subhas Babu's services and his talents for the good of the country. He added that after a great deal of deliberation, he had come to the decision that the old Working Committee should continue. It was, however, regrettable that Shri Bose did not see his way to serve on the Committee. Pt. Nehru also had declined, but, at the same time, he too had given an assurance of his fullest support and he in return assured Pt. Nehru that he (Shri Rajendra Prasad) would avail of every opportunity of utilizing Pt. Nehru's services and give due weight to his suggestions. He then referred to the change made in the Working Committee, that is, the inclusion of Dr. B. C. Roy and Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh. He added that the remaining one seat will be filled later. Continuing he said that the A. I. C. C. was meeting under difficult circumstances and therefore he suggested that after passing a few resolutions of a non-controversial nature the Committee should adjourn so that the Working Committee might have time to consider the situation and chalk out the future programme. He also said that the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. would be held in about a month's time to afford the House opportunity to give its decision on important issues.

Reviewing the resolutions to be placed before the meeting, he said that one of them was about the war. It was true that the Tripuri Congress passed a resolution on this subject but as the matter was very important it was necessary that the attitude of the Congress should be reiterated. The recent changes made in the Government of India Act also indicated that the question had become very important and its consideration could not be postponed. Other questions were those relating to the organisational aspect of the Congress and matters which the African delegation had represented. These were some of the matters which the A. I. C. C. had to consider before it adjourned.

Personnel of the Working Committee

The President then announced the following personnel of the new Working Committee :—

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj (Treasurer), Dr. *Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shris Jairamdas Doulatram, J. B. Kripalani (General Secretary), Bhulabhai, J. Desai, Shankerrao Deo, Harekrishna Mehtab*, Dr. *B. C. Roy*, Dr. *Profulla Chandra Ghosh.*

A Protest

After the President had finished, *Shri K. F. Nariman* sought and obtained the permission of the Chair to read out to the House a protest from some 28 members of the A. I. C. C. against the alleged illegality of the A. I. C. C. proceedings in connection with the election of the new President.

Resolutions

The following resolutions recommended by the Working Committee were then passed :—

Condolence

This Committee places on record its deep sense of loss at the death of Sjts. Birendra Chandra Mazumdar *M. L. A.* and Manoranjan Banerji, two veteran Congress workers and others as a result of the railway disaster at Majdia.

2. War Danger and Amendment of The India Act

In view of the imminent danger of international war, the A. I. C. C. reminds the country and all others concerned of the national policy in regard to war which

the Congress has often proclaimed. This policy will be strictly adhered to and the Congress is determined to oppose all attempts to impose a war on Indian resources in a war without the consent of the Indian people.

The Committee has noted with disapproval the despatch of a small body of Indian troops towards Aden as this can only mean their employment for British imperialist purposes.

The Committee, in particular, records its complete disapproval of the attempt being made by the British Government to amend the Government of India Act with a view to concentrating all power, in the event of a war emergency, in the hands of the Central Government which functions completely as an agent of British Imperialism. While the Congress is not interested as a rule in amendments to the India Act and has worked for the whole Act to be ended, it cannot tolerate an amendment which strikes at the very basis of Provincial Autonomy and reduces it to a farce in case of war; which in effect creates a war dictatorship of the Central Government in India, and which makes Provincial Governments helpless agents of Imperialism. Any attempt to impose such an amendment on India must and will be resisted in every way open to the Congress. Provincial Governments are warned to be ready to carry out the policy in this respect as may be determined by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee as the case may be.

3. Reform in the Congress Machinery

In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Tripuri Session of the Congress regarding reform in the Congress machinery the A. I. C. C. appoints a Committee consisting of the President, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Narendra Deo and J. B. Kripalani to recommend measures for the purification of the Congress in terms of the Congress Resolution.

4. Bengal Political Prisoners

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. while appreciating the strenuous efforts made by Mahatma Gandhi to secure the release of political prisoners in Bengal, notes with regret the failure of the negotiations between Gandhiji and the Huq Ministry on the matter.

The time during which Gandhiji expected to secure the release of all political prisoners is over. In view of the stiff and callous attitude of the Bengal Ministry and the policy adopted by it, the release of the long-term prisoners has become almost a hopeless question.

In the opinion of the A. I. C. C. there is no longer any justification to detain the prisoners in jail who have been convicted during an emergency period mostly under special powers and especially so, when the prisoners have openly expressed their aversion to terrorism.

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. therefore, resolves to make the release of these prisoners a vital all India issue and instructs the Working Committee to fix all India Political Prisoners Day and to direct the Congress Committee to begin a vigorous agitation for the immeditate unconditional release of all political prisoners. Similarly an agitation should be carried on regarding release of political prisoners in the Punjab also.

5. Kenya Highlands

The All India Congress Committee notes with grave concern the promulgation of an Order-in-Council regarding reservation of highlands in Kenya for Europeans which is a violation of all announcements and assurances by the Secretary of State for colonies and the Government of India, and perpetuates the policy of racial discrimination and is an insult to India.

The All India Congress Committee also places on record its opinion that the Government of India have failed to do their duty by the Indians in Kenya. The All India Congress Committee is further of opinion that situation in Kenya cannot be met by efforts on the part of the Government of India and requests the Working Committee to take necessary steps in this behalf.

NOTES (1) The Rajkot Tangle

The last issue of our bulletin recored the circumstances in which Gandhiji broke his Rajkot fast. As soon as he had sufficiently recovered he proceeded to Delhi to discuss matters with the Viceroy. There were several prolonged conversations. The Rajkot dispute was referred to Sir Maurice Gwyer for arbitration and

terms of reference settled in consultation with Shris V. Patel and Virwala. After an exhaustive examination of the dispute, Sir Maurice Gwyer announced his award. He upheld in its entirety the interpretation of Shri Vallabhbhai Patel of the Rajkot Durbar notification NO. 50 dated December the 26th, 1938, and the note sent by His Highness the Thakore Sahib to Sardar Patel on the same date. Sir Maurice adjudged that the true construction of each document is that the Thakore Sahib undertakes to appoint the persons whom Mr. V. Patel may recommend and that he does not reserve to himself any discretion to reject those whom he does not approve. The award having been announced it now remained for the Thakore Sahib to implement it. After the announcement of the award Gandhiji had a fresh series of conversations with the Viceroy. He then proceeded back to Rajkot to see that the award was implemented and obstacles artificial or otherwise removed. It may be remembered in this connection that before the reference of the dispute to the Chief Justice, the Thakore Sahib had, for reasons into which we need not go here, given promise of reservation of seats on the Committee for the Muslims and Bhayats of the State. Neither the notification nor the award of Sir Maurice provided for separate representation of these interests. However, a furious agitation at the instance of the authorities, for communal and sectional representation on the Committee, was started and this created an atmosphere in which the smooth working out of the Durbar's notification in terms of Sir Maurice award was well nigh impossible. Gandhiji therefore made an attempt to redeem in some form the promise given by the Thakore Sahib to the spokesmen of the Muslims and Bhayats, consistently with the purpose for which he had fasted. He suggested to the Thakore Sahib the enlargement of the Committee in order to make possible separate representations of these special interests, care being taken that a majority, be it a majority of one only, is preserved for the Parished which alone had fought and struggled for the rights of the people.

The proposal was turned down by the Thakore Sahib as being inconsistent with the award. Gandhiji replied that with mutual agreement such modifications of the notification were possible and that the award did not at all stand in the way. When this obvious way out was barred by the unreasonable attitude of the Thakore Sahib and his adviser, Gandhiji had to apply his mind to exploring other avenues. He had prolonged and strenuous consultations with the representatives of the Muslims and Bhayats for evolving a mutually acceptable formula. Gandhiji put it to them that they could be Sardar's nominees on the Committee if they agreed to work with the Parished nominees as a team ; otherwise if they disagreed in vital matters and the communal representatives sided with the official block on the Committee the very purpose of the Committee would be frustrated and the grim and protracted struggle which the Parished had gone through would be self-stultified. An alternative position for them was to press their communal and sectional claims and leave the essential task of constitution making to the Parished representatives. Neither of these alternatives however proved acceptable to the Muslims and Bhayats and they elected to keep out of the Committee. The negotiations having fallen through Gandhiji had no option left but to send the names of seven Parished nominees of Sardar V. Patel to the Thakore Sahib. He also requested that the labour of the Committee be finished by some specified time. Shri Virwala replied asking for proofs that the six nominees were the subjects of the State. The reply gave a deep shock to Gandhiji. If this was the spirit in which the Gwyer award was going to be implemented there would be no end to obstructions and delays.

Of the seven names proposed for the Committee three were accepted by the State itself for the Reform Committee announced by it in January. There could be, on the face of it, no possibility of any doubt as to their being State subjects. Then again the State owed it to itself and the public that it should give some idea of the objection it had to the Sardar's representatives being considered as State subjects. Nothing of the kind was done. Gandhiji however sent the required proofs. But all this left a bad taste in the mouth. Why this wilful obstructiveness on the part of the Thakore Sahib and his adviser Shri Virawala and this distressing lack of grace in fulfilling their part of the solemn contract.

Gandhiji met again the President and explained to him the implications and consequences of the way the affairs of the Reform Committee were handled by the State authorities. Sir Gibson advised Gandhiji to see Darbar Virawala.

This he did. There was a long conversation between the two in which Gandhiji explained the position of affairs as he saw it and heard Darbar Virawala's reactions to it. Gandhiji explained that it was easy for him to invoke the assistance of the Paramount Power and put an end to all vexatious delays but this he was extremely averse to do. He desired Virawala's willing and hearty cooperation. If the Reform Committee was such a disagreeable imposition, Gandhiji made to him what he termed a sporting offer. He said he would forego the Reform Committee and allow the Thakore Sahib to appoint a Committee of his own nominees and draft a constitution. If the Sardar or the Parished was not satisfied with the drafted constitution, they would submit amendments which if not acceptable to the State authorities could be referred to Sir Maurice Gwyer for arbitration in terms of the notification. Darbar Virawala rejected Gandhiji's offer. Gandhiji found himself in an extremely delicate and embarrassing position as every reasonable proposal of his was vetoed by Darbar Virawala. As is his way he did not want to coerce but win Virawala by persuasion. As a final gesture he told him that he (Gandhiji) would withdraw from the scene of conflict and leave Virawala complete freedom to pursue his ways and satisfy the people. If Virawala could win the people's confidence and give them a workable constitution none would be more happy than he. To further facilitate an agreed solution of the tangle he advised the Parished to pitch their demands as low as would be consistent with their real and pressing wants.

This put the Prince and his adviser on their honour. If they were genuine in their desire to placate their people, no better opportunity could have presented itself to them. But no such desire was visible. The scheme of reforms they have proposed retains the substance of power in their hands. Negotiations were started for reasonable alterations in the scheme but they have fallen through. The prospect in Rajkot is therefore dark indeed. Gandhiji's reintervention is sought by the people. He is proceeding again to Rajkot.

It may be noted here that in the course of the negotiations the Bhayats accused Gandhiji of breach of promise. The Bhayats held that Gandhiji in his letter to them of March 11 gave a definite and unconditional promise that a representative of the Bhayats would be taken on the Reform Committee. Gandhiji asserted that his letter was being misconstrued and that he gave no unconditional promise. The Bhayats however persisted in their charge of breach of faith on the part of Gandhiji and made other unseemly attacks. This charge of breach of faith grieved Gandhiji deeply.

The Bhayats however kept up this agitation and insisted upon getting the interpretation of the letter from Sir Maurice. Gandhiji did not want to trouble Sir Maurice and would have preferred the matter being placed before a judge of the Bombay High Court. He however had no objection if Sir Maurice took up the matter.

(2) Anti War Day

In response to the appeal of President *Subhas Chandra Bose*, the Congress observed 23rd April as anti-War Day. Meetings were held in the evening in important towns and cities at which resolutions were passed condemning the Amending Bill recently introduced in the British Parliament empowering the Central Government to deprive the Provincial Governments of their normal powers in the event of war emergency arising at any time. The resolutions also made clear beyond doubt India's determination to non-violently resist any attempt to involve India in such a war or to exploit India's man-power or natural resources for war-purposes.

(3) The National Week

The National week was observed throughout the country from April 6 to 13. Meetings, flag hoisting ceremonies, sale and hawking of Khadi formed as usual the principal features of the celebrations. April 13th was observed as the Jallianwalla Bagh Day, a day reminding us alike of the shame of our servitude and our determination to count no sacrifice as too great for ending it.

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Bombay—24th. June to 27th. June 1939

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Bombay on June 24, 25, 26 and 27 in a special pandal erected for the purpose. Babu *Rajendra Prasad* presided. Before commencing the proceedings of the meeting, Babu Rajendra Prasad made the following statement on behalf of the Working Committee.

President's Statement

The Working Committee have been entrusted with the task of guiding the Congress organisation and the country at a time of peculiar difficulty, when the international situation is continually on the verge of crisis and many of our national problems have also reached a grave and critical stage. The responsibility which the Committee have to shoulder is thus heavy, and recent events, and the circumstances under which the Committee came into existence, add to that responsibility. The crises that overhang the world and India demand from us unity of action, the sinking of petty differences, the co-operation of all those who care for the independence of India, and the maintenance of the Congress as a strong and disciplined organisation. At such a time the Executive of the Congress can only function effectively and advance the cause of Indian freedom, if it has the full confidence of the All India Congress Committee and the good-will of Congressmen and the country. It is the earnest desire of the Working Committee to have that confidence and goodwill and to serve the country by preparing it for the great struggles that loom ahead. Unfortunately forces of disintegration are at work in the country and in the Congress and domestic faction and internal conflict absorb much of our attention and weaken our movement. In this hour of threatening peril, it is the duty of all those who care for a free and united India to combat these forces of disruption and endeavour to put an end to internal conflict, so that all the vital elements in the Congress and the country might pull together for the common good. It is with this object in view that the Working Committee approach their task and they claim the willing co-operation of all Congressmen in it.

The danger of world war is ever present and it might materialise in the course of months. This would be a disaster to the world, but if unfortunately war comes, attempts are likely to be made to involve India in it. Already the British Government have taken some steps to this end in India, and the proposed amendment of the Government of India Act prepares the ground for further action by concentrating all power, in the event of war, in the hands of the Central Government. This Government is only an agent of the British Government and is in no way responsible to the people of India. Such a war will thus be of vital concern to India and there is grave danger of our being exploited for imperialist purposes. We must therefore be ready to meet this crisis and to resist all attempts to drag us into war, and thus give effect to the oft-declared policy of the Congress.

But apart form international happenings, the national problems that we have to face are of the gravest import, and the position of our countryman overseas is rapidly becoming intolerable. In Burma, they have suffered already greatly; in Ceylon steps are being taken which will do injustice and injury to thousands of Indians; in the Belgian Congo Indian merchants are being harassed and persecuted; in East Africa the policy of discriminating against our countrymen, to their grave disadvantage, continues to be pursued. In South Africa the Government of the Union are deliberately committing a breach of solemn agreements and endeavouring to humiliate our people by segregating them. and a situation which may lead to passive resistance by our countrymen there is developing.

In Indian States there has been a marked deterioration of the situation and many of the Rulers or their advisers have pursued a policy of intensive repression and, in some cases, of unabashed gangsterism against their people. In Orissa and Kathiawar and elsewhere tragedies and inhumanities have occurred, in which many persons have been done to death and thousands have become refugees and homeless wanderers. The Working Committee realise fully that the struggle in the States is a vital part of the larger struggle for Indian freedom and cannot be dissociated from it. The Committee are guided by the resolution of the Tripuri Congress and will seek to give effect to it in so far as they can. But the Committee are convinced that the burden of the struggle must inevitably fall on the people of the States and they cannot advance without developing self-reliance and strength.

A significant feature of the States struggle has been the part played by the representatives of the British Government. The paramount power has in many cases thrown the weight of its influence on the side of the misgovernment of the rulers and has itself taken part in the repression of the people. This policy of the British Government has demonstrated still further the dangers in the scheme of Federation which the Congress has completely rejected. Although Federation is not a live issue at present, it is possible that attempts might still be made to impose it on India. Such an imposition, if it comes, must be combated and the country prepared for it.

The general policy of the British Government in India continues to flout Indian opinion and to further British vested interests at the expense of the peasant and of Indian industry. As a recent instance of this may be mentioned the imposition of the Indo-British pact in the face of an overwhelming vote of the Central Legislature against it.

Conditions in India have reached a stage of stalemate which is detrimental to the progress of the country, and deterioration is inevitable unless a rapid advance is made. We cannot merely wait for the British Government to impose Federation, so that we might combat it and thereby seek to reach our objective. It is necessary for us to devise means to do so apart from any action taken by the British Government. In the opinion of the Working Committee the situation in the world and in India urgently demands, in the interests of our people as well as freedom, that Indian independence be recognised and steps be taken to establish it.

The Provincial Goverments have to-day to face many serious problems which require for their solution the united strength and wisdom of all of us. In some provinces communalism and sectarianism have increased and have resulted in riots and bloodshed, and in intolerance and bitterness of feeling. The Working Committee have noted this deterioration with distress for they realise that such conflicts and divisions are barriers to all progress. They are keenly anxious to do all in their power, in co-operation with Congressmen and all others, to root out the causes of communal disharmony.

There are thus all these and many other vital problems which face the country, and it is clear that the Congress can only tackle them effectively if its own house is in order. At present there is conflict within the Congress which disables us and the growth in the power of the Congress has led to undesirable practices and the entry of many fictitious names in our rolls, which weaken the organisation. Even within the organisation disruptive and anti-Congress elements have found place. The first and most urgent problem for the Congress is therefore to purify the organisation and make it a disciplined and effective instrument of the people's will. The Congress has been built up as a fighting organisation and it has functioned as such on many occasions in the struggle for India's freedom. The future has greater struggles for us, and if we allow the organisation to weaken or to lose itself in petty faction, we would be unworthy of the trust imposed on us.

With the object of tightening up the Congress organisation attempts have been made to amend the Constitution. The Tripuri Congress gave special authority to the A. I. C. C. for this purpose and recommendations to this effect will be considered by the A. I. C. C. It is clear, however, that the object aimed at cannot be achieved by mechanical means only; it requires an earnest and joint endeavour by all Congressmen. The Working Committee trust that it will be in this spirit that all the members of the A. I. C. C. will consider this question.

Among the recommendations made by the Constitution Sub-Committee was the addition of some words to Article V (c) of the Constitution so that the rule applying to communal organisation might also be applied to other anti-national organisations. The Working Committee agreed with this recommendation and indeed, as worded, it cannot be objected to. It is the inherent right of an organisation to protect itself in this way against rival organisation and disruptive forces. Nevertheless the Committee have decided not to press for this change before the A. I. C. C. They have come to this decision as it is their desire to avoid, as far as possible, any misapprehension in the minds of members of the A. I. C. C. and others so that the changes in the Constitution might be considered and passed in a spirit of goodwill.

It appeared to the Working Committee that there was a fear in the minds of some Congressmen that the proposed change in Article (c) was intended to be used to penalise opinions or to suppress organisations. This fear was entirely unjustified. The Congress stands for freedom of opinion and the right to express

it. When, however, any organisation is continually being attacked and run down by another organisation it is improper for the same person to be a member of the executives of both the organisations. This produces not only conflict between the organisations but continuous internal conflict within them. It was with a view to avoid this and thus to have greater harmony even between the organisations that the amendment to Article V (c) was suggested. But in view of the suspicions that some members have, the Working Committee have decided not to press for the change in the A. I. C. C. They desire that the Constitution, as amended, should be worked with the goodwill and co-operation of all concerned.

It is clear, however, that the difficulties that confront us today must be met and overcome if we are to function effectively. Every member of the Congress must realise that by saying or doing anything to bring the Congress into disrepute or to weaken its prestige and influence, he is doing injury to the national cause. No organisation can approve of such activities on the part of any of its members. There have been in the past many instances where Congressmen, and even those occupying prominent positions in the organisation, have not hesitated to speak or act in a manner which is contrary to all discipline and which has injured the great organisation itself of which they claim to be loyal members. If such indiscipline and disruptive tendencies continue, the Congress will inevitably be reduced to impotence. They have to be checked. The surest way of checking them is for each Congressman to realise his responsibility and to appreciate that in these days of difficulty he must on no account encourage disruption within the Congress. In the event of individual Congressman deliberately discrediting the Congress and promoting indiscipline, it becomes inevitable for disciplinary action to be taken against him in the interests of the organisation and the cause.

The Working Committee earnestly trust that every Congressman will give his co-operation in solving the great problem before the country and in making the Congress a fit instrument for the service of the nation. They hope that a joint endeavour will be made to lessen the spirit of faction within the Congress and in the country, so that in the trials to come the Congress may be fully prepared to carry India's cause to a successful conclusion.

Resolutions

The following resolutions recommended by the Working Committee were passed with slight verbal changes :—

1. Condolence

This Committee has learnt with regret of the sudden death, in the prime of his life, of Dr. Alimchand Udhoram, Congress worker since the non-co-operation days. The Committee conveys its sincere condolences to the family of the deceased in their bereavement.

2. Indians in Ceylon

The All India Congress Committee views with grave concern the measures proposed by the Ceylon Government with reference to their Indian employees and hopes that it may be possible to find a way to avoid the most undesirable and grave conflict that, as a result of these measures, is threatened between such near and ancient neighbours as India and Ceylon.

The Committee cannot contemplate without much concern a quarrel between the two countries which are separated by only a strip of water but which have a common culture and which have been intimately connected from times immemorial. The Committee desires to explore every means of avoiding conflict and, therefore, appoints Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to go to Ceylon and confer with the authorities and representative associations and individuals on behalf of the Working Committee and do all that may be possible to effect a just and honourable settlement.

3. Indians in South Africa

The A. I. C. C. regrets the attitude of the Union Government towards Indian settlers. It betrays utter disregard of the obligations undertaken by the predecessors of the present Government. The policy just initiated by them is in direct breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, the Capetown Agreement of 1927, the Feetham Commission of 1932 and the subsequent undertakings on behalf of the Union Government. The A. I. C. C. notes with pride and satisfaction the firm stand taken up by the Indians of South Africa. They will have the sympathy of the whole Indian nation behind them in their fight for self-respect and honourable

existence. The A. I. C. C. trusts that there will be no dissensions among them and that they will present a united front. The A. I. C. C. appeals to the Union Government to retrace their steps and carry out the promises of their predecessors to adopt a policy of progressive amelioration in the status of the Indian Nationals in South Africa 80 per cent of whom are born and bred in that sub-continent and to whom South Africa is their only home.

4. Constitutional Amendments

Shri *J. B. Kripalani* moved the 'Constitutional Amendments' as proposed by the Constitution Sub-Committee together with the amendments suggested by the Working Committee. Numerous amendments were moved to the proposed amendments. A few were accepted and the rest rejected. Shri *Bhulabhai Desai* moved the new Article XI. A series of amendments were moved to this. They were all rejected by the House and the Article XI as proposed by the mover was adopted in its entirety. The new Constitution as amended at Bombay is printed separately (p. 358).

5. Satyagraha in Provinces

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. resolves that no Congressman may offer or organize any form of Satyagraha in the Administrative Provinces of India without the previous sanction of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

6. Congress Ministries and the P. C. Cs

The Working Committee has repeatedly laid stress on the desirability of co-operation between the ministry, the Congress party and the P. C. C. Without such co-operation misunderstandings are likely to arise with the result that the influence of the Congress will suffer. In administrative matters the P. C. C. should not interfere with the discretion of the ministry but it is always open to the executive of the P. C. C. to draw the attention of the Government privately to any particular abuse or difficulty. In matters of policy if there is a difference between the ministry and the P. C. C. references should be made to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. Public discussion in such matters should be avoided.

Non-Official Resolutions

The A. I. C. C. office received notice of over 175 Non-official Resolutions to be moved at the Bombay meeting of the A, I. C. C. The resolutions were arranged according to ballot.

The President received three requisitions signed by several members of the A. I. C. C. requesting that priority be given to non-official resolutions on (1) Digboi Strike, (2) War-Resistance, (3) Unemployment which stood at No 48, No. 24 and No. 89 respectively in the ballot. The President observed that if he acceded to the requests made, the system of ballot would be reduced to a nullity. Before however giving a ruling, he wanted the House to discuss the matter. Shri Satyamurti and a few others quoted the practice of the Central Legislature as well as of provincial legislatures, where the order of the ballot was strictly adhered to and no majority vote was allowed to up-set it. Some urged for upsetting the ballot for giving priority to vital matters in case a majority in the House agreed to it. The President observed that the ballot was the fairest system and to upset it by a majority vote was to do wrong to minorities. He would however on the present occasion give priority to a non-official resolution which had behind it the unanimous or almost unanimous support of the House. At the same time he made it clear that this ruling of his was in no way binding on future Presidents.

The House having unanimously agreed to 'Digboi Strike' being given priority, Dr. *B. C. Roy* moved the following resolution as recommended by the Working Committee in place of the non-official resolution of which notice had been given. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Digboi Strike

This Committee views with grave concern the prolonged strike at Digboi and expresses its sympathy with the strikers in their distress. The Committee regrets that the Assam Oil Company has not seen its way to accept the modest suggestion of referring the question of the method and time of re-employment of the strikers to a conciliation Board to be appointed by the Government of Assam.

In the opinion of this Committee no corporation, however big and influential it may be, can be above public criticism or Government supervision and legitimate control. Moreover, as was declared at the Karachi session, the Congress policy is that there should be State ownership or control of key industries. The oil industry

is undoubtedly a vital key industry. This Committee therefore hopes that better counsels will prevail with the Company and that its directors will accept the modest suggestion made on behalf of the Committee by the President of the Congress. If however the directors do not see their way to do so, the Committee advises the Assam Government forthwith to undertake legislation for making the acceptance of the decisions of Conciliation Boards obligatory and further to give notice to the Company that the Committee may reluctantly be obliged to take such steps as may be necessary to stop renewal of the lease to the Company on its termination. At the same time that this Committee urges the Company to fall in with the just suggestion made by the Committee, it hopes that the Labour Union will be ready to listen to the Committee's advice and if they were to retain Congress and public sympathy they will be ready and willing to abide by the advice that may be tendered to them by the Committee.

Separation of Andhra

"Separation of Andhra" was the first non-official resolution to come up for consideration before the A. I. C. C. The nine resolutions preceding it, were left out by reason of their being either covered by the official resolutions or owing to the absence of those who had given notice of them. The Resolution read as follows:

"The All India Congress Committee is strongly of opinion that immediate steps should be taken for the formation of a separate Andhra province."

The resolution was passed by a majority vote.

Constitution of the National Congress

(*As amended by the Bombay Meeting of the A. I. C. C, June, 1939*).

Article I—**Object**

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment by the people of India Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence) by all legitimate and peaceful means,

Article II—**Constituents**

The Indian National Congress will comprise :—

(1) Primary members enrolled under Article III ;

(2) Village, Ward, Town, Taluka, Thana, Mandal, Tahsil, Subdivision, District, or other local Committees ;

(3) Provincial Congress Committees ;

(4) Annual Session of the Congress ;

(5) All India Congress Committee ;

(6) Working Committee ; and may comprise (*a*) committees or associations directly organised by the All India Congress Committee or the Working Committee and (*b*) committees organised by any provincial Congress Committee in accordance with the rules framed by it in that behalf and approved by the Working Committee.

Article III—**Membership**

(*a*) Any person of the age of 18 years and over who believes in Article I shall, on making a written declaration to that effect attested by a witness and presenting an application in Form A annexed hereto and on payment of four annas, become a primary member of the Congress and be entitled to be placed on the register of Congress members kept at any office duly authorised in that behalf within the district in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business :

Provided that no person shall be a primary member of more than one committee at the same time.

(*b*) The application shall be handed in personally or sent by post or messenger.

(*c*) It shall state the full name, father's name, or in case of a married woman husband's name, age, sex and occupation of the applicant, as also the village, the Taluka, the district and the province in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business.

(*d*) The official receiving the application shall note on it the date of receipt, serial number and such other particular as may be prescribed and shall send it to the office of the District Congress Committee concerned for record.

(*e*) The applicant, on being enrolled, shall receive certificate of membership as per Form C, annexed hereto, either in the language and script of the province in which he resides or in the Hindustani language written in Devanagri or the Urdu script.

(*f*) Unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee the year for the membership fee shall be reckoned from January 1 to December 31 and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the course of the year.

Article IV—**Renewal of Membership**

(*a*) A member of the Congress enrolled as per Article III shall continue to be a member of the Congress until he resigns or is expelled therefrom, provided he renews his application and pays on or before the 31st of August of every subsequent year the annual membership fee of four annas and obtains a certificate of membership. The application for renewal shall contain the name, the father's name or in case of a married woman husband's name and the place of residence of the applicant in the prescribed Form B. The official receiving such application for renewal and subscription shall make a note to that effect in the Register of members.

(*b*) The name of any member failing to make the application and to pay the annual membership fee within the prescribed time shall be removed from the register of members.

Article V—**Membership Register**

Every district Congress Committee shall maintain a permanent register of members enrolled for each constituency within the district showing the names and particulars required by Article III (*c*) in which shall be noted from year to year the fact whether a renewal application has been made or not and the membership fee paid or not.

Article VI—**Provinces**

(*a*) The following shall be the provinces with the head quarters mentioned against them :

	Province		Language		Headquarter
(1)	Ajmer-Merwara	...	Hindustani	...	Ajmer
(2)	Andhra	...	Telugu	...	Madras
(3)	Assam	...	Assamese	...	Gauhati
(4)	Behar	...	Hindustani	...	Patna
(5)	Bengal	...	Bengali	...	Calcutta
(6)	Bombay (City)	...	Marathi and Gujrati	...	Bombay
(7)	Delhi	...	Hindustani	...	Delhi
(8)	Gujrat	...	Gujrati	...	Ahmedabad
(9)	Karnatak	...	Kannada	...	Dharwar
(10)	Kerala	...	Malayalam	...	Kalicut
(11)	Mahakoshal	...	Hidustani	...	Jubbulpore
(12)	Maharastra	...	Marathi	...	Poona
(13)	Nagpur	...	Marathi	...	Nagpur
(14)	N. W. F. Province	...	Pushtu	...	Peshawar
(15)	Punjab	...	Panjabi	...	Lahore
(16)	Sindh	...	Sindhi	...	Karachi
(17)	Tamil Nadu	...	Tamil	...	Madras
(18)	United Provinces	...	Hindustani	...	Lucknow
(19)	Utkal	...	Oriya	...	Cuttack
(20)	Vidharbha (Berar)	...	Marathi	...	Akola

(*b*) A provincial Congress Committee with the previous sanction of the Working Committee shall have the power to change its headquarters from time to time.

(*c*) The Working Committee may, after ascertaining the wishes of the Provincial Congress or committees concerned, constitute a new province or assign to a province, a district or portions of a district from another province as also to assign an Indian State or States or parts thereof, to any province.

Article VII—**Qualificatons**

(*a*) No member shall be entitled to exercise his vote at any election unless he has been continuously on a Congress register for 12 months prior to the date of the election and only on production of a certificate of membership :

Provided however that in the case of elections to the newly formed primary Congress Committee, a member shall be entitled to vote, even if he has been a member only for three months, for the election of the committee's office bearers.

Note—The condition of 12 months' continuous membership will not apply to voters in the current year i. e., 1939. To them will apply the old condition of three months' continuous membership prior to the date of the elections.

(*b*) No member even if he is qualified under clause (*a*) hereof, shall be eligible for election to an office of any primary committee or to membership of any elective committee, unless he is a habitual wearer wholly of handspun and handwoven Khaddar, provided that at the time of offering himself for such elections he is not a member of any parallel committee;

(*c*) No member even if he is qualified under clauses (*a*) and (*b*) shall be eligible as a delegate to the Congress or as a member of a Provincial or a District Congress Committee, unless he has been a member of the Congress for three consecutive years at the time of the election, provided that at the time of offering himself for such election he is not a member of any other parallel committee:

Provided further that it shall be open to the Executive of the Provincial Congress Committee to grant an exemption in favour of any person regarding the aforesaid qualification for elections in 1939 and 1940.

(*d*) No person who is a member of a communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are in the opinion of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress shall be eligible for election to any office or membership of any elective Congress Committee.

Article VIII—**Election Tribunals**

(*a*) The Executive of the Provincial Congress Committee shall unanimously or by a majority of at least three-fourths of its members, appoint yearly a Provincial Election Tribunal, no member of which shall stand as a candidate for election as a delegate or to any office or membership of an elective Congress Committee in the province, during the term of his office. The Provincial Election Tribunal shall appoint one or more persons to constitute a District Tribunal in each district, to receive and decide disputes relating to enrolment of members, preparation or maintenance of register of members and election of delegates and office-bearers and members of elective committees, provided that no person so appointed shall be a candidate for election during his term of office:

Provided that it shall not be necessary to appoint a District Tribunal in the provinces of Bombay, Delhi and Ajmere Merwara and provided further that if there is no District Tribunal appointed in any other province for any reason whatsoever, objections will be filed before and disposed of, by the Provincial Election Tribunal.

(*b*) If any provincial executive fails to appoint by a date specified by the Working Committee, the Provincial Election Tribunal, the Working Committee shall appoint one.

(*c*) No person who is a dealer in Foreign cloth or British goods or who carries on trade in liquor or who is addicted to drink shall be eligible for election to an executive office or elective committee of the Congress.

Article IX—**Objections to the Rolls**

(*a*) The Register of members shall be brought up-to-date on or before the 15th of September every year and shall be open to inspection by the member of the Congress at the office where it is kept from 16th to 23rd September.

(*b*) Any person whose name is omitted from the Register of members, or who objects to the entry of any name therein, may submit an objection in writing, stating the reasons for challenging such entry or omission to the District Tribunal, on or before the 30th September.

(*c*) The District Tribunal will, after hearing the objection and any other party concerned, may direct any name to be entered into or omitted from the Register as the case may be, on or before the 10th October.

(*d*) The District Tribunal shall maintain a record of all proceedings before it and a copy of its order directing any amendment in the Register shall be forwarded by it to the District Congress Committee concerned and the District Congress Committee shall amend the Register where required in accordance therewith. The Register, after such amendment if any, shall be final, except for any change rendered necessary by disciplinary action taken against any member by a competent authority.

Article X—**Election of Delegates**

(*a*) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall prepare a roll of its primary members qualified to vote and shall send to the A. I. C. C. Office a statement in regard to it, on or before a date fixed by the Working Committee. This statement shall be in the form prescribed by the A. I. C. C. Office and shall give separately the number of urban and rural members in each district.

(*b*) Members included in the said roll shall alone be entitled to vote at the election of delegates in that province.

(*c*) In the event of a Provincial Congress Committee failing to furnish the statement in time, the province concerned may be disentitled to elect its delegates.

(*d*) On receipt of the aforesaid statement, the Working Committee shall fix the date by which the election of delegates must be held.

(*e*) Provincial Committees shall divide the Province into fixed territorial constituencies.

(*f*) Every province shall be entitled to return a number of delegates at the rate of one delegate for every one lac of the inhabitants of such province including the Indian States or agencies therein, or a fraction thereof, in accordance with the last Census.

Proviso 1—Bombay (City) shall have a maximum quota of 25 delegates, and the province of Delhi shall have a maximum quota of 15 delegates.

(*g*) (*i*) Each district shall be entitled to elect not more than one delegate, for each lac of its population provided that for every delegate to be elected, there are not less than 500 primary members enrolled during the year.

(*ii*) The number of delegates remaining unallotted to the constituencies on account of the inclusion of the population of Indian States in any Province, shall be distributed by the executive of the P. C. C. concerned, in such manner as in its opinion would meet the requirements of the case, subject to the rule of minimum enrolment of 500 primary members for each delegate.

(*h*) The province which has not completed its election on or before the date appointed by the Working Committee, may at the discretion of the Working Committee be disentitled to be represented at the Annual Session.

(*i*) A certified list of delegates shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee, not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf.

(*j*) Every delegate so elected shall, on payment of a fee of Rs. 5/- at the office of the Provincial Congress Committee of his province, receive a certificate in accordance with Form D hereto annexed, duly signed by one of its Secretaries. No delegate who has not paid the fee, shall be entitled to exercise any of his functions.

Article XI—**Election Disputes**

(*a*) It will be open to any member of the Congress within a constituency to lodge a complaint about an election within the constituency before the District Tribunal within seven days of the declaration of the result of such election and the District Tribunal shall decide the complaint.

(*b*) Until the election is set aside by the District Tribunal the person elected shall be deemed to have been duly elected.

(*c*) An appeal shall lie to the Provincial Election Tribunal against any order passed by the District Tribunal within seven days of the passing of such order. The order of Provincial Election Tribunal shall be final.

(*d*) The Working Committee may lay down rules for the conduct of elections and lodging and disposal of objections and complaints and appeals.

(*e*) The Provincial Tribunal shall on its own motion or on report by a District Tribunal, have the power to direct that any person found guilty of misconduct in connection with enrolment of members, maintenance of register of members, election or lodging of a false objection or complaint, knowing it to be so, shall be disqualified from standing as a candidate for election or be expelled from the Congress for such period as it may consider just and proper. An appeal shall lie to the Working Committee from any order passed by the Provincial Election Tribunal under this clause.

Article XII—**A. I. C. C. Elections**

(*a*) The delegates in every province shall assemble in a meeting to elect from among themselves, one-eighth of their number, as representatives of the province, on the All India Congress Committee; provided that no Province shall have less

than five representatives on the All India Congress Committee, except Delhi which shall have four.

(*b*) The election in Sub-clause (*a*) shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote.

(*c*) The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All India Congress Committee to the persons elected to it.

Article XIII—**Provincial Congress Committee**

(a) The Provincial Congress Committee in each province shall consist of the delegates from the province. In case, the number of such delegates is less than 30, any number required to make the number of members of the Provincial Congress Committee 30, will be elected in such manner as the constitution of the province may determine, provided that in the case of Sindh and Nagpur the number may be increased by the P. C. C. to not more than 50 and in the case of Vidharbha 45 and Delhi 40. In addition to these, the President and ex-Presidents of the Congress, resident in the province and duly qualified under Articles III and VII, shall also be members of the Provincial Congress Committees.

(*b*) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall,

(*i*) subject to the general control and supervision of the All India Congress Committee, be in charge of the affairs of the Congress within its own province and to that end frame rules not inconsistent with this constitution, which rules shall come into operation only with the previous sanction of the Working Committee;

(*ii*) submit an annual report of the Congress organisation and the work in the province to the Working Committee not later than one month before the commencement of the Annual Session ;

(*iii*) before the new All India Congress Committee meets as Subjects Committee under Article XVI, pay to the Working Committee the fees received from the delegates. Any other subscription that may be fixed by the latter, having regard to the population, membership and financial capacity of the province, shall be paid not later than the end of June every year. Delegates and members of the All India Congress Committee from provinces in default shall not be permitted to take part in any of the proceedings of the Congress or any Committee thereof.

(*c*) (*i*) No Provincial Congress Committee and no subordinate committee shall be recognised by the Working Committee unless it has complied with the conditions laid down in this constitution or any rules framed thereunder by the Working Committee.

(*ii*) On failure on the part of any Provincial Congress Committee to function in terms of the constitution, the Working Committee may form one, to carry on Congress work in that province.

Article XIV—**Annual Session**

(*a*) The Annual Session of the Congress shall be held at the time and place decided upon at the preceding Session. The A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee, may however, for sufficient reason change either the venue or the date or both of the Session.

(*b*) The Annual Session shall consist of—

(*i*) the President of the Congress;

(*ii*) the Ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are duly qualified under Articles III and VII;

(*iii*) the delegates elected under Article X.

(*c*) The Provincial Congress Committee concerned shall make such arrangements for holding the Annual Session as may be deemed necessary, and for this purpose shall form a Reception Committee, and may include therein persons who are not its members.

(*d*) The Reception Committee shall collect funds for the expenses of the Session, make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and visitors and for the printing of the report of the proceedings of the Session.

(*e*) The receipts and disbursements of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the auditors' report shall

be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee to the Working Committee, not later than three months after the termination of the Annul Session. Any surplus funds remaining with the Reception Committee shall be divided equally between the All India Congress Committee and the Provincial Congress Committee.

(*f*) The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

Article XV—**Election of President**

(*a*) Any ten delegates may jointly send the name of any delegate or ex-President of the Congress duly qualified under Articles III and VII, whom they propose to be elected President of the next annual session of the Congress, so as to reach the General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee on or before a date to be fixed by the Working Committee.

(*b*) The General Secretary will publish the names of all persons so proposed and it will be open to any person whose name has been so proposed, to withdraw his candidature by informing the General Secretary of his intention to do so, within 10 days of the publication of the proposed names.

(*c*) After eliminating the name of any person who has withdrawn, the General Secretary shall publish the name of the remaining candidates and circulate them to the Provincial Congress Committees.

(*d*) On a date fixed by the Working Committee, each delegate in a province shall be entitled to record his vote in favour of one of the candidates for the Presidentship of the Congress, at a place to be fixed by the Provincial Congress Committee.

(*e*) The Provincial Congress Committee shall report to the All India Congress Committee Office the number of valid votes recorded in favour each candidate

(*f*) As soon as may be after the receipt of the report the General Secretary shall announce as President-elect the name of the candidate obtaining the largest number of votes, provided that such candidate has secured not less than 50 per cent of the votes polled.

(*g*) In case he does not get the requisite number of votes the delegates in each province shall, on a date fixed by the General Secretary, elect one out of the two persons getting the highest number of votes at the previous election and the General Secretary shall on receipt of the report from the Provincial Congress Committees of the number of votes recorded at the second election, declare the person getting the higher number of votes as the duly elected President of the Congress.

(b) In the event of an emergency arising by reason of any cause such as death or resignation of the President elected as above, the General Secretary shall forthwith fix a date for a fresh election by the delegates as prescribed above. In case such procedure is found not possible, the All India Congress Committee shall elect the President.

Article XVI—**Subjects Committee**

(*a*) The New All India Congress Committee shall meet as subjects committee, under the president-elect at least two days before the Annual Session. The outgoing Working Committee presided over by the President-elect, shall submit to it the draft programme of the work for the session including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees.

(*b*) The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the programme and shall frame resolutions for being moved in the open session. At least one day shall be allotted for the consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by the Provincial Congress Committees or members of the All India Congress Committee, other than Resolutions recommended by the Working Committee, in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

Article XVII—**Congress Session**

At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows:

(*i*) The resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

(*ii*) Any substantive motion not included in (*i*) and which 25 delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress ; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

Article XVIII—Special Session

(*a*) The Working Committee may upon its own motion, or shall upon a joint requisition addressed to it, as provided in Article XIX (*e*), convene a meeting of the All India Congress Committee for considering a resolution for holding a Special Session. Such resolution shall be effective if passed by the two-thirds majority of the members present. Thereupon the Working Committee shall summon a Special Session of the Congress, at such time and place as it shall determine and the Articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the Working Committee may consider necessary, provided that the delegates of the preceding session shall be the delegates for such Special Session.

(*b*) The President of a Special Session shall be elected by the delegates in the manner prescribed in Article XV.

Article XIX—All India Congress Committee

(*a*) The President of the Annual Session, members of the All India Congress Committee, elected under Article XII and the ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are qualified under Article III and VII, and the Treasurer of the Congress shall constitute the All India Congress Committee.

(*b*) The All India Congress Committee shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from session to session and deal with all new matters that may arise during its term of office.

(*c*) The All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules, not inconsistent with this Constitution, for regulating all matters connected with the Congress.

(*d*) The President of the Annual Session shall be the Chairman of the All India Congress Committee.

(*e*) The All India Congress Committee shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee, or on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee, by not less than 24 members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the All India Congress Committee. At such meeting additional items of business may be brought up for consideration, provided the notice thereof has been given to the members. At least one full day shall be allotted for the consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by members of the A. I, C. C, in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(*f*) Forty or one third of the total number of members whichever is less, shall form the quorum.

(*g*) The All India Congress Committee shall hold office till the meeting of the new All India Congress Committee immediately before the next Annual Session.

(*h*) The All India Congress Committee may from time to time affiliate to the Congress such organisations as it may deem necessary, provided such organisations are calculated to further or assist the object of the Congress.

(*i*) Every member of the All India Congress Committee, *ex-officio* or elected, shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 10 payable at or before the first meeting of the All India Congress Committee. Members in default will not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the All India Congress Committee, the Subjects Committee, or in any Session.

Article XX—Working Committee

(*a*) The Working Committee shall consist of the President of the Congress, thirteen members including not more than three General Secretaries appointed by the President from amongst the members of the All India Congress Committee, and a Treasurer appointed by him from amongst the delegates.

(*b*) The Working Committee shall be the executive authority and as such shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the All India Congress Committee and the Congress, and shall remain responsible thereto.

(*c*) The Working Committee shall place before every meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the reports of its proceedings and the agenda of the meeting and shall assign at least one clear day for resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the All India Congress Committee, other than those of the Working Committee, in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(*d*) The Working Committee shall appoint one or more inspectors to examine the records, papers and account books of all Congress organisations, which shall furnish all information and give to the inspectors access to all offices and records.

(*e*) The Working Committee shall have the power :

(*i*) To frame rules and issue instructions for the proper working of the Constitution and in all matters not otherwise provided for,

(*ii*) To superintend, direct and control all Congress Committees,

(*iii*) To take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against a committee or individual for misconduct, wilful neglect or default.

(*f*) The Working Committee shall pay to the Provincial Congress Committee convening the Annual Session, one-fifth of the fees recovered from the delegates, within a fortnight of the termination of the session.

(*g*) The Working Committee shall take steps to have a regular audit of the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.

Article XXI—**Funds**

The Treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of all investments, income and expenditure.

Article XXII—**General Secretaries**

(*a*) The General Secretaries shall be in the office of the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee.

(*b*) The General Secretaries shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the Annual or Special Session in co-operation with the Provincial Committee concerned. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the Session.

(*c*) The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee during their period of office and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may have come into their hands, to the meeting of the All India Congress Committee immediately before the Annual Session.

Article XXIII—**Vacancies**

The office of a delegate or a member of the All India Congress Committee or a Provincial Congress Committee shall be vacated by resignation, death or prolonged absence from India and such vacancy shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned in the same manner in which the vacating member was chosen. A vacancy on the Working Committee shall be filled by the President.

Article XXIV—**Fractions**

Where there is a question of considering the value of fractions, a fraction of one-half or more shall be treated as one, and less than one-half as zero.

Article XXV—**Language**

(*a*) The proceedings of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani. The English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President.

(*b*) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned, Hindustani may also be used.

The All India Muslim League

DR. SYED ABDUL LATIF'S SCHEME

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League which met at Meerut on the 25th. March 1939 appointed a committee to examine and report on the various draft schemes of constitutional reforms put forward to secure the rights and interests of Muslims in India.

The resolution on constitutional changes referred to the League's opposition to the scheme of Federation as proposed in the Government of India Act. The working of the Provincial part of the Constitution, it was stated, had "created grave apprehension amongst Moslems and other minorities regarding their future, because the provincial scheme has utterly failed to safeguard even the elementary rights of the Moslem minorities in various provinces."

The committee consisted of the following :—Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Syed Abdul Aziz, Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, Sir Abdul Haroon, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Nawabzada Liaqatali Khan. The following in the text of the draft scheme which was prepared by Dr. *Syed Abdul Latif* of Hyderabad and placed before the Sub-committee of the League :—

Whereas the Constitution provided in the Government of India Act of 1935 is not acceptable to the Moslems of India because

(a) It is framed on the assumption that India is a composite nation which it is not and does not promise to be, so long as the Hindus and Moslems, the two leading or major nationalities of India continue to remain divided into two different social orders drawing direct inspiration in every detail of life from two fundamentally different religions or cultures,

(b) The democratic majority Government which it has established in most provincial units, and aims to establish at the centre will in reality be a Government of a single majority nationality, viz., the Hindus, on whose sufferance the other nationalities will have to live,

(c) It will reduce the Moslems perpetually to the position of a helpless minority at the Centre and in most of the British Provinces, as well as, in all but a few of the several hundreds of Indian States,

(d) It will deny to them opportunity of economic regeneration and of free and independent cultural development on Islamic lines,

(e) It neutralises their historic importance in the country, and eliminates for ever every prospect of their acquiring a status whereby they may exercise a steadying influence on the administration of the country and,

(f) It helps to intensify and perpetuate the prevailing cultural clashes between the Hindus and the Moslems—religious, social, economic, educational, and political, —all operating to put off indefinitely India's attainment to independence.

The Moslems of India call upon the British Parliament to replace the Government of India Act of 1935 by another which should lead the country to resolve itself into an independent confederacy of culturally homogeneous free states as envisaged in Schedule I to this resolution.

Division into Zones

The establishment of a confederacy of culturally homogeneous States for India will call for the assignment of zones to such cultural units or nationalities in the country as may by virtue of their number and economic position afford to resolve themselves culturally into homogeneous states. Since this condition may be fulfilled in this case of the two leading nationalities of India, the Moslems and the Hindus, the Moslems of India will have to show where such zones may conveniently be formed for them, leaving the rest of the country to resolve itself into Hindu zones, so that self-secure in homelands of their own, the two might freely unite into a confederacy. The smaller nationalities such as the Christians or Anglo-Indians, Budhists, and Parsis who have not so far shown any irreconcilable cultural differences with either the Hindus or the Moslems may continue to live where they are enjoying under the constitution of the country adequate and effective cultural safeguards, or be allowed if they so desire, cantonal life, wherever possible, in each zone, whether Hindu or Moslem.

The formation of such zones will take time, as it will have to be effected by exchange of population spread conveniently over a number of years, on lines, more or less, followed by Turkey and Greece in 1923 ; but the demarcation should be made before the process starts. The exchange of population is ultimately a question of compensation for property in all forms left behind by migrants, and may be settled between the Governments of the areas concerned. The preparation of registers of those who will be involved in the exchange and the determination of the reciprocal financial obligations of the units concerned will have to be done in the transitional period. For the purpose the forthcoming census of 1941 may do the spade work and furnish preliminary date for the consideration of a Royal Commission which will have to be appointed to demarcate the zones.

Confederacy for India

A lasting confederacy for India will be possible only when these zones are finally formed and rendered culturally homogeneous. This being the goal, and the only solution to the problem of Indian unity, a constitution will have to be devised for the transitional period which, while assuring political unity for the whole country, will allow no single nationality to obtain the upper hand over the other, and yet afford them all every moral urge to work together for the evolution of the needed homogeneous free states.

The transitional constitution is suggested in broad outline in Part III of this schedule, and should form the immediate objective.

But before outlining the transitional constitution, the several zones into which India will ultimately have to be resolved may roughly be indicated here, leaving the final demarcation to the Royal Commission to be. This will determine the goal and influence the transitional stage.

Moslem Homeland

As things stand, the following zones should be assigned to the Moslems :—

North-West Block.—There is at present a great Moslem block in the North-West consisting of Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir, Khairpur and Bahawalpur. The whole of this area needs to be converted into a Moslem Zone, allowing over 30 millions of Moslems a free homeland of their own. But as several Hindu and Sikh Indian States are situated therein governed by treaty relations with British Paramountcy, the Hindus and Sikhs of this area who materially do not differ from each other in culture, may concentrate into these States with the boundaries of the State of Kashmir and Jammu altered in certain respects to give them a free and homogeneous cultural existence. This State has a predominant Moslem population. Its Hindu Ruler is in possession of the territory through a proprietary right acquired from the British in lieu of monetary consideration. In the interests of abiding peace in the land, the transaction may be re-settled with adequate compensation allowed to the Maharaja. This may be done either by transferring to the British Punjab such portions of the State as are predominantly Moslem in population in exchange for the British Kangra Valley which is at present predominantly Hindu, or in any other manner that may be mutually agreed to between the parties concerned in conformity with the requirements of the proposed confederacy of culturally homogeneous states.

It is to be added that Amritsar of religious importance to the Sikhs falling within the Moslem zone may be converted into a free city for the Sikhs.

North-East Block.—Right on the other side of India, the North-East, there is a solid block of Moslems in Bengal and Assam of over 30 millions, who may be assigned a free political existence.

Delhi-Lucknow Block.—In between the two above mentioned blocks the Moslems are unevenly distributed. Those of this area living close to each of the two blocks should be attracted for naturalization to the one nearer to them. The rest, the great bulk, belonging at present to the United Provinces and Bihar numbering about 12 millions, may be concentrated in a block extending in a line from the Western border of United Provinces to Lucknow and rounding up Rampur on the way. This zone should be contiguous to the Punjab Moslem block but will leave out the Hindu religious centres of Muttra, Benares, Hardwar, and Allahabad.

The Deccan Block.—The Moslems below the Vindhyas and Satpuras are scattered all over the south in colonies of varying size and exceed 12 millions in number. For them a zone is to be carved. Such a zone the Dominions of

Hyderabad and Berar may provide with a narrow strip of territory restored to them in the south, running down *via* Kurnool and Cuddapah to the City of Madras. There is an influential school of thought among the Moslems who prefer to have an opening to the Western Coast *via* Bijapur. Such a strip with an opening to the sea will be found necessary to settle the large Moslem mercantile and marine community living for ages on the Coromandal and Malabar Coasts.

Hyderabad has been chosen for the concentration of the Moslem population in the south because it commands a central position and will allow the formation of five autonomous cultural zones for the Hindus—the Mahrattas, the Andhras, the Tamilians, the Kanarese, and the Malayalis w th exclusive boundaries of their own. To shift the Moslem zone from the central position chosen will be to push it into one of the five Hindu zones just mentioned. That will bifurcate the Hindu zone concerned and destroying its linguistic or cultural homogeneity. At present, three different Hindu nationalities, the Mahrattas, the Andhras and the Kanarese have overspread themselves on this area from their natural homelands on either side. They will now have to join their respective mainstocks and live a compact life with their own kind in British India, leaving this neutral ground to concentrate withing it the entire Moslem population from all over the Peninsula. It is only a matter of coincidence that this central land happens to be the domain of a Moslem Ruler; but the thought of making it a homeland for Moslems is not chosen on that sole ground, although the coincidence may offer considerable facility in the final settlement.

The Moslems living outside of the areas covered by the four main Moslem zones, *viz.*, those living in Rajputana, Gujrat, Malwa, and Western India States may concentrate in the Moslem Indian States situated in these areas, and in a newly constituted free city of Ajmer which under the scheme will become culturally homogeneous for the Moslems.

Hindu Zones

The rest of India, will now be in a position to resolve itself into cultural zones for the Hindus according to the several languages spoken by them, *viz.*, Bengali, Hindi, Oriyya, Ragasthini, Gujarati, Maharattie, Telugu, Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalam or in any manner the Hindus may decide upon.

It may be pointed out that each cultural zone, Hindu or Moslem, will consist, wherever necessary, of British territory and Indian States grouped together in view of natural affinities. Each such zone will form a homogeneous state with a highly decentralized form of government within, wherever more than a unit should compose the zone, but fitting along with similar states into an All-India Confederacy.

The Safeguards

In the Constitution of the Confederacy the following provisions will need to be made:—

Public law of Indian Nations.—(1) Individuals belonging to one or other of the several nationalities may for special purposes, live in zones to which they do not naturally belong. Such individuals will be afforded security of person and rights of citizenships under a "Public Law of Indian Nations" to be adopted by the Central Government.

Religious Shrines, etc.—(2) All religious shrines, monuments and graveyards belonging to the Hindus or the Moslems and left behind by either will be preserved and looked after by each confederate regional state under the supervision of the Central Government.

Christians, Parsis, Buddhists.—(3) The smaller nationalities such as the Christians or Anglo-Indians, Parsis and Buddhists will be afforded by each State, Moslem or Hindu, all the necessary religious or cultural safeguards which they may need to preserve their individuality. They will at the same time have the right to ask for a cantonal life for themselves, if they should desire at any time.

Harijans.—(4) The various depressed classes and untouchables, euphemistically styled Harijans, dispersed as they are all over the country and forming countless racial varieties and possessing no common culture between them, and being mostly landless will be given perfect liberty to choose the Hindu or Moslem zones to form their permanent homelands where they may enjoy the fullest rights of citizenship, even as the Christians or Anglo-Indians, Buddhists and Parsis.

This in broad outline is the form which the idea of a confederation of culturally homogeneous states will assume finally. The transitional period will need therefore

to be marked by definite stages leading thereto. Part III outlines the immediate stage in the process.

The transitional constitution for India will have to fit into the conception of the confederation outlined in Part II, and must lead to it. It may even take the form of a Federation, provided the residuary powers of the Centre are reduced to a bare minimum, but such federation should consist of units which may conveniently be grouped later on under the desired cultural zones. This will necessitate the creation of certain new Provinces on cultural or linguistic lines without involving immediate exchange of population. The new Provinces may be constituted even piecemeal, but one of them at any rate, should be carved immediately out of the present United Provinces with Lucknow as its centre. It should be formed with a view to resolving it eventually into a Moslem zone, and a permanent home for all the Moslems living at present in U. P. and Bihar.

It is for the constitutional lawyers to work out the details of the transitional constitution, but any such constitution should embody the following provisions .—

1. In the preamble, it must be clearly brought out that the aim of the transitional Federal constitution laid down is to lead India to a confederacy of only culturally homogeneous free states.

2. *Legislation.*—(a) The Federal Legislative List should be reduced to a minimum number of items and be confined only to subjects which concern the common political and economic interests of India as a whole.

(b) All other subjects should form the Provincial list subject to the following proviso:—

Regional Boards.—There may be subjects of cultural and economic importance common to contiguous federal units and it will be found useful to have for them Regional or Zonal Boards to evolve a common line of action, leaving the individual federal units to legislate in the light of the common policy evolved.

Three of the zones may be constituted as follows:—

1. North-West Zone composed of Sind, Baluchistan, N.-W. F. P., Kashmir, Khairpur, and the Indian States of the Punjab Agency.
2. North East Zone composed of Bengal and Assam.
3. The Dominions of Hyderabad and Berar.

The above arrangement has two advantages :—

(i) It will remove Cultural Legislation from Federal control.
(ii) It will develop a zonal or regional sense necessary to evolve culturally autonomous states, which the transitional constitution is to lead to.

Transition Stage

Safeguards for Moslems.—Whatever be the nature of the transitional Federal constitution, whether consisting of newly formed units as suggested above or of units in their existing form, the Moslems will need the undermentioned safeguards to be incorporated in the Constitution.

Representation on Legislature.—1. The system of separate electorate for Moslems should be maintained, as well as the existing proportion of Moslems in the several Legislatures.

2. The inclusion of the Indian States in an All-India Federation should be made dependent upon their returning to the Central Legislatures a sufficient quota of Moslems so as to maintain their present proportion at the Centre.

3. If the proposed Zonal or Regional Boards are established the Moslems should be allowed adequate and effective representation commensurate with their total strength in the Legislatures of several units composing each Zone.

Legislation.—All subjects touching their religion, personal law and culture will be the exclusive concern of the Moslem members of the Legislature concerned, constituted into a Special Committee for the purpose. The strength of the Committee should be augmented by a third by co-opting, by means of ballot, representative Moslems learned in Moslem Law and Religion. The decision of such a Committee should be accepted by the whole Legislature. If such decisions should seem to affect the interests of other nationalities they may, on reference made by the head of the Administration, be reviewed by the Legislature as a whole, but no amendment shall be permissible which would affect the basis of the legislative enactment.

Executive.—The Executive Government or the Ministers in each province or at the Centre should not be drawn from the majority party alone as is the vogue in homogeneous democratic countries like England. Here in India, it is the

Hyderabad and Berar may provide with a narrow strip of territory restored to them in the south, running down *via* Kurnool and Cuddapah to the City of Madras. There is an influential school of thought among the Moslems who prefer to have an opening to the Western Coast *via* Bijapur. Such a strip with an opening to the sea will be found necessary to settle the large Moslem mercantile and marine community living for ages on the Coromandal and Malabar Coasts.

Hyderabad has been chosen for the concentration of the Moslem population in the south because it commands a central position and will allow the formation of five autonomous cultural zones for the Hindus—the Mahrattas, the Andhras, the Tamilians, the Kanarese, and the Malayalis w th exclusive boundaries of their own. To shift the Moslem zone from the central position chosen will be to push it into one of the five Hindu zones just mentioned. That will bifurcate the Hindu zone concerned and destroying its linguistic or cultural homogeneity. At present, three different Hindu nationalities, the Mahrattas, the Andhras and the Kanarese have overspread themselves on this area from their natural homelands on either side. They will now have to join their respective mainstocks and live a compact life with their own kind in British India, leaving this neutral ground to concentrate withing it the entire Moslem population from all over the Peninsula. It is only a matter of coincidence that this central land happens to be the domain of a Moslem Ruler; but the thought of making it a homeland for Moslems is not chosen on that sole ground, although the coincidence may offer considerable facility in the final settlement.

The Moslems living outside of the areas covered by the four main Moslem zones, *viz.*, those living in Rajputana, Gujrat, Malwa, and Western India States may concentrate in the Moslem Indian States situated in these areas, and in a newly constituted free city of Ajmer which under the scheme will become culturally homogeneous for the Moslems.

Hindu Zones

The rest of India, will now be in a position to resolve itself into cultural zones for the Hindus according to the several languages spoken by them, *viz.*, Bengali, Hindi, Oriyya, Ragasthini, Gujarati, Maharattie, Telugu, Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalam or in any manner the Hindus may decide upon.

It may be pointed out that each cultural zone, Hindu or Moslem, will consist, wherever necessary, of British territory and Indian States grouped together in view of natural affinities. Each such zone will form a homogeneous state with a highly decentralized form of government within, wherever more than a unit should compose the zone, but fitting along with similar states into an All-India Confederacy.

The Safeguards

In the Constitution of the Confederacy the following provisions will need to be made:—

Public law of Indian Nations.—(1) Individuals belonging to one or other of the several nationalities may for special purposes, live in zones to which they do not naturally belong. Such individuals will be afforded security of person and rights of citizenships under a "Public Law of Indian Nations" to be adopted by the Central Government.

Religious Shrines, etc.—(2) All religious shrines, monuments and graveyards belonging to the Hindus or the Moslems and left behind by either will be preserved and looked after by each confederate regional state under the supervision of the Central Government.

Christians, Parsis, Buddhists.—(3) The smaller nationalities such as the Christians or Anglo-Indians, Parsis and Buddhists will be afforded by each State, Moslem or Hindu, all the necessary religious or cultural safeguards which they may need to preserve their individuality. They will at the same time have the right to ask for a cantonal life for themselves, if they should desire at any time.

Harijans.—(4) The various depressed classes and untouchables, euphemistically styled Harijans, dispersed as they are all over the country and forming countless racial varieties and possessing no common culture between them, and being mostly landless will be given perfect liberty to choose the Hindu or Moslem zones to form their permanent homelands where they may enjoy the fullest rights of citizenship, even as the Christians or Anglo-Indians, Buddhists and Parsis.

This in broad outline is the form which the idea of a confederation of culturally homogeneous states will assume finally. The transitional period will need therefore

to be marked by definite stages leading thereto. Part III outlines the immediate stage in the process.

The transitional constitution for India will have to fit into the conception of the confederation outlined in Part II, and must lead to it. It may even take the form of a Federation, provided the residuary powers of the Centre are reduced to a bare minimum, but such federation should consist of units which may conveniently be grouped later on under the desired cultural zones. This will necessitate the creation of certain new Provinces on cultural or linguistic lines without involving immediate exchange of population. The new Provinces may be constituted even piecemeal, but one of them at any rate, should be carved immediately out of the present United Provinces with Lucknow as its centre. It should be formed with a view to resolving it eventually into a Moslem zone, and a permanent home for all the Moslems living at present in U. P. and Bihar.

It is for the constitutional lawyers to work out the details of the transitional constitution, but any such constitution should embody the following provisions .—

1. In the preamble, it must be clearly brought out that the aim of the transitional Federal constitution laid down is to lead India to a confederacy of only culturally homogeneous free states.

2. *Legislation.*—(a) The Federal Legislative List should be reduced to a minimum number of items and be confined only to subjects which concern the common political and economic interests of India as a whole.

(b) All other subjects should form the Provincial list subject to the following proviso:—

Regional Boards.—There may be subjects of cultural and economic importance common to contiguous federal units and it will be found useful to have for them Regional or Zonal Boards to evolve a common line of action, leaving the individual federal units to legislate in the light of the common policy evolved.

Three of the zones may be constituted as follows:—

1. North-West Zone composed of Sind, Baluchistan, N.-W. F. P., Kashmir, Khairpur, and the Indian States of the Punjab Agency.
2. North East Zone composed of Bengal and Assam.
3. The Dominions of Hyderabad and Berar.

The above arrangement has two advantages :—

(i) It will remove Cultural Legislation from Federal control.
(ii) It will develop a zonal or regional sense necessary to evolve culturally autonomous states, which the transitional constitution is to lead to.

Transition Stage

Safeguards for Moslems.—Whatever be the nature of the transitional Federal constitution, whether consisting of newly formed units as suggested above or of units in their existing form, the Moslems will need the undermentioned safeguards to be incorporated in the Constitution.

Representation on Legislature.—1. The system of separate electorate for Moslems should be maintained, as well as the existing proportion of Moslems in the several Legislatures.

2. The inclusion of the Indian States in an All-India Federation should be made dependent upon their returning to the Central Legislatures a sufficient quota of Moslems so as to maintain their present proportion at the Centre.

3. If the proposed Zonal or Regional Boards are established the Moslems should be allowed adequate and effective representation commensurate with their total strength in the Legislatures of several units composing each Zone.

Legislation.—All subjects touching their religion, personal law and culture will be the exclusive concern of the Moslem members of the Legislature concerned, constituted into a Special Committee for the purpose. The strength of the Committee should be augmented by a third by co-opting, by means of ballot, representative Moslems learned in Moslem Law and Religion. The decision of such a Committee should be accepted by the whole Legislature. If such decisions should seem to affect the interests of other nationalities they may, on reference made by the head of the Administration, be reviewed by the Legislature as a whole, but no amendment shall be permissible which would affect the basis of the legislative enactment.

Executive.—The Executive Government or the Ministers in each province or at the Centre should not be drawn from the majority party alone as is the vogue in homogeneous democratic countries like England. Here in India, it is the

majority nationality which permanently returns the majority of members to the Legislature and in as much as the majority nationality, namely the Hindus, unfortunately differ from the Moslems, the next largest nationality in the country, not merely in the fundamentals of life and outlook but in almost every detail of domestic and social life, the governance of the country by a permanent majority in the Legislature resolves itself into the governance of the country by the majority nationality only and cannot be expected to be a Government of the whole people.

The Executive that needs to be chosen for every province and the Centre should in the present stage be a composite executive representing Hindus and Moslems with an agreed policy acceptable to both, and not liable to be turned out by the Legislature. That should be the arrangement, at any rate, until India resolves itself into a confederation of culturally autonomous free states, when alone true democracy may take its birth in the country, and responsible Government justified.

Under the transitional constitution, therefore, the Executive should be not a "parliamentery executive" in the English sense, but a "stable executive" independent of the legislature as in the great democracy of the United States of America, but the Prime Minister instead of being elected directly by the people as the President in U. S. A., should be elected by the entire Legislature, and should remain in office during the life of the legislature, and will not be removeable by it. He will choose his colleagues of Ministers in the interests of good Government from the members of all groups in the legislature, an equitable number of whom should be Moslems enjoying the confidence of the Moslem members of the legislature concerned and should be selected from a panel suggested by them.

Of the two Provinces into which Hindustan will be divided, the Prime Minister for the Lucknow Province should be a Moslem, as this area will have in the transitional period to prepare itself to resolve into a Moslem zone, and will have its policy to be directed by a Moslem.

In the case of the portfolios affecting Law and Order and Education which have to deal with problems over which cultural differences arise, provision should be made to have a Minister and an Assistant Minister and to appoint a Moslem to either of the two posts, in order that the Government may have the benefit of his steadying influence.

Public Service Commission.—It should be provided in the Constitution that in all provinces where the Moslems are in a minority and at the centre, one of the members of the Public Service Commission should be a Moslem, part of whose duty shall be to see that the ratio fixed for the Moslems in public services is properly adhered to in practice by the Government.

Judiciary.—The personal law of the Moslems should be administered by Moslem Judges.

Moslem Board of Education and Economic Uplift.—In should be provided in the constitution that in each provincial unit a Moslem Board should be established to control and supervise the cultural side of the education of Moslems, their technical and industrial training and to devise measures for their economic and social uplift. For this purpose a proper budgetary provision shall be made.

Special Taxation.—If for any special object, the Moslems are willing to tax themselves, the necessary legislation should be passed.

Exchange of Population

One of the objects of the transitional constitution is to facilitate and prepare the ground for the migration of Moslems and the Hindus into the zones specified for them so as to develop them into culturally autonomous States. During the transitional period migration should be on a voluntary basis. For this the necessary legislation will have to be passed for each region, and a machinery set up to organize and regulate this voluntary migration. The proposed constitution will therefore have to provide for the appointment of a Royal Commission to lay down a suitable programme of gradual exchange of population.

The result of voluntary migration may be reviewed from time to time and if it should be found that it has eliminated the cultural clashes between the Moslems and the Hindus to an appreciable extent and given them a sense of security wherever they need it, or has brought about a change of heart in either camp, the question of compulsory migration may be put off indefinitely, and the voluntary method adhered to for a further term.

The Andhra Muslim League Conference

The Andhra Provincial Muslim League Conference, the first of its kind, was held under the presidentship of Mr. *Mahaboob Ali Baig*, M L.A., at Pithapur on the **30th. January 1939** in a decorated pandal. It passed a resolution, among others, supporting the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League.

Mr. *Mahaboob Ali Baig*, in the course of his presidential address, surveyed the modern tendencies in the world in the field of politics and economics and observed that he would not dare to say at the present moment what form of Government should be advocated. The foreign dominance was still there; the proposed Federation had been condemned on all hands as unsatisfactory and inadequate. Provincial Autonomy had been working in the country with dubious effects and the fears of the minorities had not been allayed. They had, therefore, to decide what should be their attitude in the present circumstances and he had no hesitation in commending to them the solution embodied in the creed of the All-India Muslim League. He affirmed that it was perfectly legitimate for minorities to demand constitutional safeguards. The President referred to the attempts on the part of the Congress to create a split among the Muslims by weaning some of the Muslims from the Muslim League. The attempt on the part of the Congress to enrol more Muslims as Congressmen was bound to be considered as a hostile act aiming at the disintegration of Muslim solidarity. It was for the Muslims to so organise themselves as to make it impossible for the Congress to weaken it, so that its legitimate demands for safeguards might not be brushed aside.

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference regretted the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali and Kamal Ataturk and supported the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League and declared that the League was the only political body representing Muslims of India. It called upon the Muslims of the Andhra districts to form Muslim League branches in every village, town and district and exhorted all Muslims living in Andhradesa to join the League. It deplored the "religious bias" in the political activities of the Congress Government and protested against the singing of the "Vande Mataram" song in any public institution. It opposed the introduction of the Wardha and Vidya Mandir schemes and demanded that an educational scheme for Muslims should be drafted in consultation with Muslim representatives.

The Conference urged the immediate creation of an Andhra Province, the interests and rights of Muslims being adequately safeguarded therein. It also condemned the British policy in Palestine.

The Conference resolved to hold a special Conference of the Muslims of the Andhra Province at a central place with a view to accelerating the League campaign.

The Bihar Muslim League Conference

That the Bihar Muslim League would start civil disobedience against the Government, if the latter introduced the Wardha scheme in the province, was the threat held out in a resolution passed at the annual conference of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League held at Patna on the **13th. March 1939.**

The Conference requested the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to sanction the launching of civil disobedience against the introduction of the scheme, to be directed by the Provincial League, which would convert its Working Committee into a "War Council" for the purpose.

Another resolution demanded that all demonstrations against Hyderabad be banned, otherwise "the responsibility for any consequent disturbance will rest with the Government."

The Conference called on the Government of Bihar to withdraw the Municipal Amendment Bill and protested against the introduction of the system of joint electorates to local bodies embodied in the Bill.

The Conference re-elected *Syed Abdul Aziz* as President of the Provincial League.

The U. P. Muslim League Conference

'The Muslim League is no more domineered by a handful of rich individuals, nor is it an organisation of a section but of the whole Muslim populace", declared *Nawab Muhamad Ismail Khan*, presiding over the U. P. Muslim League Conference held at Gorakhpur on the **18th. March 1939.**

Since the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, added *Nawab Muhamad Ismail Khan*, the constitution of the League had been almost revolutionised. It was now a democratic body, with complete independence as its goal. Its doors were open to all and a good Muslim could be a good Leaguer. Referring to the charge that the League was a supporter of British Imperialism, he said that such aspersions were unbecoming on the part of those, "who against their principles were blindly following one who was not even a four anna member of the Congress. Had not that person recently declared the Congress to be an ally of the British Government? The Congress was the biggest ally to-day with the result that none but that organisation now counted with the British Government." "Is the taking of the oath of allegiance and sitting in Ministerial chairs wrecking the constitution?" asked the Nawab. "Has not Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, once the greatest opponent of office acceptance, meekly submitted to that decision?" The Congress Government dared not go, he stated, against the wishes of the Government, lest it should lead to their resignation. Despite all this, it was deplorable that the Jamiat should repose confidence in the Congress.

Nawab *Ismail Khan* reiterated his opposition to the Federal scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act, but opposed the demand for a Constituent Assembly unless the Hindu-Muslim question was satisfactorily settled. The Nawab felt that in view of the Congress agitation in Indian States, the League should see that the right of Muslims in the States were safeguarded. Referring to communal riots, Nawab Ismail Khan expressed the opinion that political unrest alone could not be responsible for them. Repression would not solve communal trouble. Suspicion and misapprehension had to be removed, and a clear and definite policy of recognition and fulfilment of religious rights should be evolved, after consulting the leaders of the various communities. Referring to Palestine, he said, it was the concern of the Muslims of the entire world. The League should decide its future course of action in respect of this issue after consulting its deputation now in England.

Meerut Division Muslim League Conference

With the arrival in Meerut on the **25th. March 1939** of Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, President of the All-India Muslim League, and other leaders, preliminary discussions begun which led to the re-orientation of the League policy in certain important respects. The "Associated Press" special correspondent gathered from well-informed quarters that there were two questions uppermost in the minds of the leaders there. These were: Firstly, the formulation of a scheme which would secure the political and cultural development along traditional Islamic lines, of the Muslim "nation" in India; and, secondly, the immediate adoption of measures effectively to safeguard the interests of the Muslims in the States.

The expression given on the 25th. March by *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*, to the view of a certain section of League opinion that the 1935 Constitution had failed so far as Muslims were concerned, brought Muslim leaders to the point where they were considering whether Muslims should press for securing for themselves political and cultural independence. In this connection, attention was being focussed on a number of draft schemes which were considered by the Working Committee of the League on the next day. As regards the policy of the League vis-a-vis the States, the general feeling among the leaders assembled appeared to be that the League should render all help to Muslims in the States to enable them to secure their legitimate place in any reforms that might be introduced.

Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* made a brief speech in Urdu on the 25th. March at the Meerut League Conference. During the last two years, he said, Muslims had been made to realise that the Congress was trying to perpetrate a big political fraud. Muslim League members were still called communalists because they were not prepared to fall into the trap set for them by the Congress. The Muslims were told by certain interested persons that they should not oppose the Congress, which was working for the uplift of the poor and was de-

voting itself to solving the problem of bread for the masses. Was it really the object of the Congress to liberate the people ? (Cries of "No, no"). The Muslims had now seen what atrocities were being wrought on them in the Congress provinces. It was to be regretted that even now there were some amongst the Muslims who were in favour of their unconditionally joining the Congress. Mr. Jinnah began by saying that Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan was not an extremist and had until recently believed in working with the British and the Hindus. Similarly, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan was of the conservative school of thought and came of Nawab family. What, then, were the forces at work which had brought about this change in the mentality of those two men ? Referring to the interview which the special correspondent of the "New York Times" recently had with Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah said that the Mahatma had said, in answer to the correspondent's questions, that the Congress had not yet decided whether, firstly, they would accept Dominion Status and, secondly, whether they would support the British Government in case of the war. What did this imply ? Further, in one of his recent statements, Mr. Gandhi had admitted that the Congress had entered into an alliance with the British Government. Should it, then, lie in the mouths of Congressmen to say that the Muslim League was an ally of the British Government ? He urged the audience not to be carried away by the false propaganda of the Congress. He assured them that if they united and organised themselves, no power on earth would be able to crush them or their organisation, the Muslim League.

Pressed to add a few words in English, Mr. Jinnah said that it was presumably the intelligentsia that spoke English. Addressing the intelligentsia, therefore, he impressed upon them that it was from their ranks that the leaders and officers of their organisation must come. Throughout the world it was the intelligentsia that was providing the leadership and drive of the great movements. But he warned that they must be prepared to make every sacrifice to establish and maintain their solidarity. His message to them was : "Be prepared to sacrifice anything and everything rather than sacrifice a hair of your national community."

Welcoming the delegates to the Conference, *Major Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, declared that the march of time demanded that the Muslim should take stock of their activities in the field of practical politics rather than merely passing resolutions. The All-India Muslim League, he said, stood for the unity of Indian Muslims and its object was to awaken them to their religious duty and make them aware of their internal and external enemies. He said that the Muslims stood for that liberty which acknowledged equal rights for everyone irrespective of caste, creed or colour. The freedom that provincial autonomy had brought was not wanted. It had deprived the people of peace of mind and the events in Benares, Cawnpore, Mereira, Badaun, Maharajganj and Allahabad in U. P. were a sufficient proof of that. He thought that experience had shown that the western type of democracy had failed in India. Just as it cannot be tolerated that Indian States should interfere in our affairs, similarly they should be left alone to take care of their own affairs. But the Rajkot incident was an eye-opener. If this sort of interference was continued, the Muslims of British India would be obliged to take steps to safeguard the interests of their brethren in the States. He complained that the Zemindars of the U. P. were being deprived of their possessions by false pretences and that the Indian problem was the problem of bread. He deplored the propaganda that was being carried on against the Urdu language. He said that if India attained freedom, then Urdu would be the only Indian language that could help in carrying on diplomatic talks with countries in the Near East. Finally, he appealed to the Ulemas to give a true lead to the Muslims in formulating their attitude towards other political parties in India.

The A. I. Muslim League Working Committee

A decision to appoint a committee to examine and report on the various draft schemes put forward as being more likely than the present constitution to secure the rights and interests of Muslims in India was taken at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, held at Meerut on the **25th. March 1939** at the residence of *Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan*, President of the U. P. Provincial Muslim League. The meeting passed another resolution advising Muslims in the States to effectively organise themselves and assuring them of its fullest support.

Mr. *Jinnah* presided and among those present were Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Sir Abdulla Haroon, Haji Abdus Sattar, Essak Seth, Syed Abdul Aizaz Rasul, Mr. Abdul A. Rauf Shah, Malik Barkatali, Raja of Mahmudabad, Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan, Begam Mohammad Ali and Nawabzada Liaquatali Khan.

Resolution—on Federation

The following is the text of the first resolution :—

"Whereas the Muslim League is opposed to the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935,

"Whereas the working of the provincial part of the constitution has created grave apprehension amongst Muslims and other minorities regarding their future because the provincial scheme has utterly failed to safeguard even the elementary rights of the Muslim minorities in various provinces,

"And whereas by a resolution passed at the Patna session in December, 1938, the President of the All-India Muslim League was authorised to adopt such course as may be necessary with a view to exploring the possibility of a suitable alternative which would safeguard the interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities, the President, with the conference of the working committee, hereby appoint a committee of the following to examine various schemes already propounded by those who are fully versed in the constitutional development of India and other countries, and those that may be submitted hereafter to the President, and report to the working committee their conclusions at an early date :

Mr. M. A Jinnah, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Syed Abdul Aziz, Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, Sir Abdulla Haroon, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Nawabzada Liaquatali Khan (Convenor)."

States & Muslims

Following is the text of the second resolution :—

"In view of the set policy of the Congress and other Hindu organisations to achieve Hindu supremacy and their persistence in resorting to coercive and subversive methods in the Indian States, the Muslim League is gravely concerned with regard to the fate of Mussalmans in various States and therefore earnestly advises them effectively to organise themselves forthwith in order to protect their liberties, rights and interests and assures them of its fullest support and assistance in the struggle."

The Secretary then made his report regarding his visit to C. P. in connection with the Vidyamandir scheme which was recorded. The working committee resolved that as a result of the settlement between the C. P. Government and the Muslim League with regard to the proposed Vidyamandir scheme it notes with satisfaction that the C. P. Muslims are taking practical steps to advance Muslim education. It appeals to every Mussalman to assist the Association which is being formed for this purpose.

The All India Muslim League Council

The Council of the All-India Muslim League met at new Delhi on the **8th. April 1939** under the presidentship of Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*. Representatives from all provinces were present. Mr. Jinnah explained at considerable length the implications of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the League after its Patna session and said that copies of Pirpur report on communal disturbances had been forwarded to the Viceroy and the Congress Governments concerned. The League now awaited the action on that report. In regard to Palestine, Mr. Jinnah advised the Council to defer further action till the publication of the proposals by His Majesty's Government and the return of their own delegates from London. Mr. Jinnah was glad to inform the Council that Muslims in the Indian States were rapidly organising themselves. In regard to Federation, he said that there were several schemes in the field including that of dividing the country into Muslim and Hindu India. These schemes were before the Committee which had been set up by the Working Committee of the League. He assured the meeting that the Committee was not pledged to any particular scheme. It would examine the whole question and produce a scheme which, according to the Committee, would be in the best interest of the Muslims of India.

Prolonged discussion ensured on the work of the Organisation Committee appointed in the Punjab. Maulana Zafar Ali Mir Maqbul Mahmud Mir Barkat

Ali and Mir Ahmed Shah participated in the discussion. One point of view was that the Organising Committee was not working as it should. Mir Maqbul Mahmud explained that the Committee had been able to organise twenty district Leagues. He assured the meeting that the Muslims of the Punjab were rapidly becoming League-minded.

ORGANISATION OF NATIONAL GUARDS

The meeting discussed at length the proposal to organise a National Guard on an All-India basis.

The *Raja of Mahmudabad* wanted a committee to work out the scheme.

Maulana Zafar Ali felt that the members of the National Guard should be paid.

Mr. *Jinnah* wanted that a beginning be made with volunteer organisations in the provinces, which might develop into a National Guard.

Nawab Ismail Khan urged that the Guard should consist of educated persons and a committee was necessary to determine the period of training and qualifications of recruits. The Council decided to appoint a committee.

Resolutions—on Rajkot

Resolutions relating to the situations in Rajkot, Jaipur and Hyderabad were adopted by the Council. The resolution on Rajkot runs as follows:—

"The Council of the All-India Muslim League deplores Mr. Gandhi's action in launching upon his fast in a matter of political issue, involving, amongt others, the inclusion of two Muslim representatives on the Rajkot Constitutional Reforms Committee, already nominated by the Thakore Saheb. This Council earnestly urges upon the Thakore Saheb and the Viceroy, who has thought fit to intervene as representing the Paramount Power and thereby has created a dangerous precedent, that in no case should these two Mussalman members, who are the truly chosen representatives of the Mussalmans of Rajkot now, be displaced by the nominees of Mr. Patel. The Council further urges upon the Mussalmans of Rajkot and the Muslim Council to do all in their power to resist any change with regard to their representation already declared, as the Muslim League is of opinion that such change would be highly detrimental to the vital interests of Rajkot Mussalmans."

During the discussion of this resolution, Mr. *Jinnah* declared that he was not in the confidence of the Viceroy and nothing which the Viceroy had said or done was in consultation with him. He added that one end of the episode was the award given by the Chief Justice of India. "We must wait and see what happens next", he said. *Maulana Zafar Ali* asserted that Rajkot was a test case and was bound to have repercussion everywhere in the Indian States.

On Jaipur

The resolution on Jaipur runs as follows :—

"The Council is of opinion that our Muslim brethren, who have migrated from Jaipur should be persuaded to return to their homes as it is in their own interest to do so, and they should not be misled by anyone who advised them to the contrary. The Council fully sympathises with their deeply wounded feelings with regard to the firing, which resulted in loss of and injury to many innocent people and will do everything to help them in pressing their demand."

The resolution was moved by *Maulana Zafar Ali*, who explained the circumstances under which 6,000 Muslims had migrated from Jaipur to Delhi. He said that the Muslim League was opposed to this migration, which had cost the Jaipur Muslims a good deal of money and inconvenience.

Mr. *Ziaul Haq* from Delhi explained that the migration was not undertaken by Jaipur Muslims at the instance of the League. He informed the meeting that the migrants were not prepared to go back to Jaipur as they said it would be against the oath they had taken before leaving their homes. Furthermore, they were not organised and many of them were not prepared to entrust their case to the League.

Mr. *Jinnah* endorsed this point of view. He said that his own enquiries showed that the Jaipur Muslims were hopelessly disorganised and had no leader to guide them. He urged that the first thing to do was to persuade them to go back to Jaipur and organise themselves under a leader.

On Hyderabad

The resolutions on Hyderabad were adopted without discussion. The resolutions run as follows :—

"In view of the revolutionary unrest that is stalking the land as a result of the intensive propaganda launched by the 'National' Congress and its henchmen to establish Hindu hegemony all over India, in utter disregard of the just and natural aspirations of Indian Mussalmans, this Council trusts that while given the fullest protection to the Mussalmans of the Deccan who constitute the main strength of Islam in His Exalted Highness' Dominions, His Exalted Highness' Government will provide for adequate representation for the millions of Depressed Classes in the impending scheme of Constitutional Reforms and take effective steps to emancipate these voiceless millions from the bondage of the high caste Hindus, who have hitherto monopolised all administrative and educative power in the rural areas throughout the Dominions.

"This Council views with grave alarm the united onslaught of the Arya Samajists, the Hindu Mahasabhaites and their Congress friends on His Exalted Highness' Dominion, on the unreal pretext that Hindu religion and Hindu civil liberty are in danger of extinction in those Dominions. The Council is firmly of the opinion that the indefensible policy of the Paramount Power in refusing to stop this subversive movement in British India against His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who is their 'faithful ally', has already resulted and will go on resulting in an intercommunal clash for which the main responsibility lies on its shoulders.

"In view of the fact that Mr. Gandhi's direct interference in the affairs of the Indian States has for its main object the total extinction of the sovereign prerogatives of the Indian Rulers and the overlordship of the Congress-ridden majority, the popular front, which is overwhelmingly Hindu as evidenced by the Rajkot episode and other atrocities of the Congress in Indian States, the Council urges upon His Exalted Highness' Government not to recognise outside agencies. It further emphatically calls upon the British Government to stop their mischievous and dangerous activities as they are already creating communal tension and hatred and must lead to serious and disastrous consequences."

Delhi Provincial Muslim League Conference

"In the welter of present day politics, one thing stands out clear, namely, that Mussalmans are determined to lead a life of equal partnership and not of subordination," declared the *Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad* in his presidential address at the First Delhi Provincial Muslim League Political Conference, held at New Delhi on the **8th. April 1939.**

Proceeding, the Raja said that to the Mussalmans the whole question presented itself not as how the country would be governed but how they would live in India. "The alternatives to the Federation have, therefore, no mere academic interest to them. These alternatives touch the very fundamentals of their political existence." The Raja Sahib referred to the plan formulated by the late Sir Mohammed Iqbal the fundamental weakness of which, according to the Raja, was that it left out of account the fate of the Mussalmans scattered in the provinces where the Hindus happened to be in the majority. "That scheme does not take note of Bengal, Hyderabad, Bhopal and other Muslim States." He added: ,"There is the more recent scheme of dividing India into cultural zones of Hindus and Mussalmans. The basic idea underlying the scheme is concentrating culturally homogeneous people into separate homelands, States and cantons. It takes stock of the present day conditions of the whole Muslim population in India and by assigning to them certain areas where they will be invited to migrate voluntarily leaves the rest of the country to Hindus. The Raja Sahib next referred to the agitation in the Hyderabad State and said that the pace of reforms could not be forced by outside interference. He then criticised "the misrule in Congress provinces" and paid a tribute to "our brave brethren fighting British Imperialim in Palestine." In conclusion he exhorted Mussalmans to organise themselves under the banner of the League.

Resolutions

The first resolution dealt with Muslim representation in local bodies in the Delhi province where it was stated, the representation was very low.

The Conference appealed to the Muslims, in view of their economic and financial condition, to use swadeshi cloth and other articles, and especially to give preference to goods produced by Muslims.

The Conference condemned "the repressive policy of Congress Ministries towards Muslims and other minor communities." In this connection, special reference was made to the actions of the Governments of the U. P., C. P., and Bihar.

Finally, it was resolved that the "Government of India Act 1935 is incomplete" and that the All-India Muslim League be asked to prepare a preferable Constitution, which would safeguard the rights of Muslims.

Resolutions regarding Hyderabad and Jaipur were also moved at the night sitting.

Bengal Provincial Muslim League Committee

An appeal to all Muslims to organise themselves under the banner of the All India Muslim League was made by the hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Chief Minister of Bengal, presiding over the inaugural session of the Council (General Committee) of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League held at Calcutta on the **8th. April 1939.**

Mr. Huq complained that all the leaders of the Muslim community throughout India had declared that the Muslims not only got no justice at the hands of the Congress Governments, but that their legitimate interests were generally ignored and often sacrificed to suit the convenience of the majority community. It was not suggested, Mr. Huq added, that the Ministries themselves had been guilty of 'atrocities', but the fact remained that the Hindus had been encouraged to commit 'untold atrocities' on Muslims and to commit the most unprovoked assault on their religion and culture, and the Hindu Congress Governments had not been able to protect the Muslim minorities in their province.

The hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Labour, said that the Muslim League offered a platform to all those who believed in justice and fairplay to all. He declared that it was imperative that the Hindus and the Muslims must work together for the attainment of that national independence which must be their goal. If the Congress, in pursuance of a vain ideal, refused to co-operate with the Muslims, he said there was no reason why they should not refuse co-operation with those non Muslims who believed in their principles. The Muslim League, he explained, was not anti-Hindu and he considered it their duty and the duty of all true Muslim Leaders to see the cooperation of non-Muslim elements.

"Under no circumstances should the Government recognise the Congress as a national organisation representing the various communities of India". This was the opinion expressed by the Committee of the League, which concluded its deliberations on the 9th. April. According to the Committee, the Congress was a "communal organisation inimical to Muslim interests."

The Committee declared that in matters concerning the Muslims, the Government should always be guided by the opinion of the Muslim League "as the sole and accredited representative of the Muslim community."

The meeting stressed "the need for protecting and promoting the Urdu language and script in Bengal, and for securing for Muslims special quarters in municipal areas and adequate civic amenities." A Committee was formed to raise a fund of one lakh to carry on the work of the League on sound lines.

The hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Haq* was elected President. The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Maulana Akram Khan, Mr. M. A. Ispahani, Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood, and Maulana Rahul Amin were elected Vice-Presidents and the hon. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Secretary.

Bombay Muslim League Conference

A stern warning to the British Government that they would be making a very great mistake if they thought that they could settle the Federation issue with the Congress, leaving out the Muslim League, was given by Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, President of the All-India Muslim League, inaugurating the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Sholapur on the **6th. May 1939.** He declared that in such a case the Muslim League would fight Federation alone and make it impossible.

In this connection, Mr. Jinnah pointed out that Muslims were prepared for greater sacrifices, as he had a feeling that the Congress would ultimately join

Federation. It was curious, he stated, that Mr. Gandhi has not uttered a word about Federation in recent months, which was a significant fact. Mr. Jinnah reiterated the Muslim League's policy *vis-a-vis* the Indian States as one of non-intervention. But, he declared, if the Congress continued, in contravention of its resolutions, to interfere in the Indian States, then the Muslim League would also be compelled to interfere, in order to protect Muslim interests in the States. Mr. Jinnah traced at length the history of the recent growth of the Muslim League organisation and expressed gratification at its present strength. He stated that it had been proved that the Congress High Command did not want Muslims to collaborate or co-operate with them as their equals and partners; they wanted Muslims to be their henchmen. Every action of the Congress High Command, whether inside or outside the Legislatures, was directed to crush and divide the Muslims. Mr. Jinnah cited the instances of the Bombay Municipal Amendment Act and the District Local Boards Act which, he said, were deliberately enacted to injure Muslim interests. Referring to the Rajkot affair, Mr. Jinnah said that it had proved his worst apprehensions that Mr. Gandhi wanted Muslims to stay as his henchmen which they would never do. Mr. Jinnah severely criticised Mr. Gandhi's proposal of conditional representation of the Muslims on the Reforms Committee and said, "It is a proposal which I would feel ashamed to offer to the Hindus." Mr. Jinnah concluded with the advice, "in difficulties do not despair, in victory do not lose your head."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's Address

In the course of his Presidential address *Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*, Punjab Premier, said :—

"Let us, ladies and gentlemen, look round and survey the events of contemporary history. It would suffice for our present purpose to begin with the introduction of the new constitution in India. The experience in the Provinces during the past two years has conclusively shown that some of the basic principles incorporated in the new constitution after protracted deliberations are already almost completely inoperative. The so-called "safeguards", on the importance of which much stress was laid by the framers of the Government of India Act, have either been completely circumvented or proved ineffective in actual working. To me this development has not come as a surprise as it was clearly predicted by me in the report of the Punjab Reforms Committee nearly a decade ago. Similarly, the expectation that the minority communities would find effective representation in the various provincial Cabinets has, except in a few non-Congress provinces, remained merely a pious wish. In the Punjab also, about which I can speak with authority, I could have excluded these elements from the Cabinet without violating the canons of democracy, since my Party was returned to the Assembly in a clear and working majority. The interests of my province and the country as a whole, however, demanded that I should endeavour to accommodate all those important minority interests which had a stake in the province and were prepared to work with us; and the result has amply justified the step and has been achieved without detracting from the basic principle of joint responsibility. Moreover, the success of the Punjab experiment indicates that much of the present communal bitterness and tension which unfortunately prevail in certain other parts of India could have been avoided if they had adopted a similar attitude towards the minorities. Incidentally, the balanced constructive achievement of the Punjab, during the short span of two years, in the economic and other spheres can be mainly attributed to the judicious combination of the various interests in the Cabinet. Another disquieting feature which has prominently come into relief in these few months is the danger of interference by one or more units in the internal affairs of other units. While this could partly be attributed to the ineffectiveness of the safeguards, it is primarily due to a short-sighted and wholly unjustifiable conception of the rights and duties of the various units under the scheme of the Indian Constitution. This aggressive tendency has not unnaturally aroused serious apprehensions among the prospective constituents of the future Federation of India."

"Ladies and gentlemen, there are ominous indications that the ideology and the tactics of the dictators in Europe are being imbibed by some influential Congress leaders, though the weapons employed by them are, of necessity, of a different character. The new constitution offered a unique opportunity of service the masses and our motherland, and if all the parties which had secured the

confidence of the majority of the provincial electorates had been allowed to apply themselves to this task with true constructive patriotism and vision, in a spirit of live and let live, unimpeded by outside dictation, India would have been nearer to-day than ever before to her legitimately claimed status amongst the nations of the world. Angels, however, are proverbially jealous; and it is a great misfortune that in the flush of newly-gained power the Executive of the Congress should have consciously or unconsciously discarded the ideals of democracy and service for the glamorous but dangerous precepts and methods of Hitler and Mussolini which otherwise they are never tired of denouncing in their public statements. The results have been most ominous, and it seems that the Congress is dangerously heading towards the ideal of a totalitarian State. If the energy spent in trying to coerce the Indian States had been applied towards the solution of outstanding problems which are vital to the ordered progress of our country, India would have been several steps nearer her goal and the Congress a notch higher in public estimation. After all, an honourable and just solution of the communal question would be far more profitable to the country, as also to the majority community, than the doubtful pastime of baiting the minorities and the Indian States; and incidentally it might also secure for the Congress, in an honourable and straightforward manner, what it is so strenuously striving to gain by devious and back-door methods. Thus the opportunities offered by the new constitution of winning the confidence of the minorities have been callously and deliberately allowed to slip, and a very short-sighted policy of outside interference in the internal affairs of the States, and studied indifference to the interests of the various minority communities in British India, has been initiated instead. The so-called non-violent and peaceful methods of penetration into the Indian States, in the name of nationalism or under the pretext of vindicating religious rights, are too transparent to deceive fairminded public opinion in and outside the country. The legitimate claim of depressed classes to be recognized as a distinct community with specific rights has been feverishly opposed by the very class which is responsible for their present plight lest the present Hindu majority be thereby reduced to a minority. Similarly, hectic but abortive attempts have been made to create dissension among Muslims, by fair means or foul, under the guise of the Mass Contact movement. These attempts backed by vast financial resources—thanks to the munificence of the accommodating capitalists—lend colour to the belief that they are meant merely to subjugate these classes in order to perpetuate the domination of a communal oligarchy. Such unpatriotic and shortsighted attempts on the part of a section of our fellow-countrymen to undermine the position of the Mussalmans and other minorities, by trying to create rifts in their ranks, instead of seeking an honourable settlement on terms of equality with the accredited representatives of the Mussalmans and other minorities, can result only in widening the gulf, instead of bridging it, which should be the duty of every patriotic Indian."

"This, in a nutshell, is a review of the political situation in which we find ourselves to-day. The atmosphere in the country is surcharged with suspicion and mistrust. Communal strife and bitterness are rampant in various parts of India. There is a feeling of insecurity among the minorities which are seriously apprehensive of their future. Relations between British Indian units and the Indian States are far from healthy, and both the minorities and the States suspect the Congress party of sinister designs to annihilate or subjugate them. Unfortunately, recent events provide ample justification of such misgivings and forebodings.

"The aforesaid review of the political trend in the country has confronted the 90 million Mussalmans of India with one vital question. Are we content to lose our identity and to be relegated to the position of political pariahs: or do we want to live in this country as a free and self-respecting people? There could be only one reply to this question from the Mussalmans, consistent with the traditions of Islam and our history, and that reply has already been given in clear and unequivocal terms by our distinguished leader Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. And it is this, as in the past so also in the future, the Mussalmans are prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder as equal and self-respecting partners with their fellowcountrymen for the political emancipation of their motherland. But they cannot and will not play the role of campfollowers whatever may happen. In this resolve we stand unshaken and united, and if we are denied our birth-right to live as free and self-respecting people, let me declare with all the

emphasis that I can command that the Mussalmans will not consider any sacrifice too great to achieve this end. Let me also warn you that you must be prepared to fight your battles alone. It would be foolish and futile to rely on or expect help from any other quarter whatsoever. That age-old and hackneyed axiom "God helps those who help themselves" is as true to-day as ever, and the recent events in India and elsewhere have once again brought home to us the truth of this adage. Remember that to a Muslim his religion, his culture and his self-respect are even dearer than his life and if, God forbid, any one of these cherished possessions is threatened, he shall defend it even if he has to fight with his back to the wall. So be prepared under the banner of the Muslim League, with ill-will towards none, but determined to safeguard this precious heritage on which depends the very existence of the Muslim community."

"The recent sinister change in the attitude of the Congress towards the Indian States made it incumbent for the Muslims in British India to define their attitude in this matter. This has already been done by the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League. It will be seen from the resolution recently passed by the Working Committee at Meerut and subsequently endorsed by the Council of the League, that while the Muslim League is in full sympathy with the people of the Indian States in their genuine aspiration for political advance and for the removal of their legitimate grievances, it strongly deprecates the coercive methods adopted by the Congress to browbeat the smaller States and to engender disaffection and unrest in some of the bigger ones. This short-sighted reorientation of the Congress policy towards the States cannot be too severely condemned, as it must inevitably result in creating a spirit of suspicion and hostility among the Indian States against British Indian units and must eventually militate against the ordered progress of India. From whatever angle one may examine this bellicose attitude of the Congress, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that this sinister move, which has been initiated with the ostensible object of helping the people of these States, is in essence an attempt to secure undisputed supremacy of the Congress in the federal sphere as also in it various components. What new factor accounts for this significant change in the Congress attitude ? The answer is not far to seek, and the fact remains that the change came about when the Congress secured a majority in various provinces and decided to "wreck" the constitution in the provincial sphere. Apparently they have now decided to repeat their "wrecking" tactics in the federal sphere also and for this purpose must secure a majority by fair means or foul at the centre. Comment is unnecessary.

"This brings me to the recent agitation against the Hyderabad State. Let me make it clear at the very outset that we stand for the fullest possible freedom in religious matters consistently with due respect for the legitimate susceptibilities of others, and if the non-Muslims of Hyderabad approach their government in a constitutional manner for the redress of their legitimate grievances, if any, they will have our whole-hearted sympathy. Moreover, the traditional tolerance and magnanimity of the exalted ruler of Hyderabad and the enlightened far-sightedness of the Hyderabad Government are to my mind the surest guarantee that no genuine grievance of Hyderabad subjects can remain unredressed if it is brought to the notice of the administration in a constitutional manner. But the way in which an organised subversive movement is being engineered in and directed from British India against this premier State in India, which is the repository of some of the best features of Islamic and Indian culture, makes one suspect that it may be a concerted move in pursuance of that very sinister policy which aims at subduing the various units to the will of the majority community. It is significant that the agitation against the Hyderabad State was originally started by an unholy alliance between the twin organisations of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. Later, I understand, in order to escape the charge of communalism the Congress announced its withdrawal from the field and left it to the Mahasabha to carry on the agitation."

Speaking on Federation, Sir *Sikandar* stated that the following points would make the scheme acceptable :—

"(a) That it secures to India the unfettered right of rising to its full political stature.

"(b) That the autonomy and the integrity of the units is effectively guaranteed and that neither the Centre nor any unit or any outside subversive movement shall be allowed to interfere with the internal autonomy and the integrity of individual units.

"(c) That the financial provisions of the proposed Federation shall leave free scope for the development of the units and of their resources unhampered from pressure or discrimination from the Centre.

"(d) That important minorities and interests in the country shall be effectively guaranteed the fullest possible protection and unhampered development of their political and cultural rights, and their due share in the governance and the administration of the country.

"(e) That the powers of the Centre shall be confined to a few essential subjects and functions and that the residue shall vest either in the individual units or groups of units as they may desire."

Speaking on Palestine, Sir Sikandar said :

"Ladies and gentlemen, the question of Palestine continues, as you are aware, to exercise the minds of the Mussalmans. It has been receiving constant attention from the All India Muslim League and its executive. It was decided at the last meeting of the Council to defer a further pronouncement on the subject pending the return of our representatives from Europe. They have now returned, and their services to the cause entitle them to our gratitude. No satisfactory settlement appears vet to have been reached. It would be the reverse of wisdom and fairplay if British statesmanship falls to rise to the occasion and do justice to the Arabs. A fair and just decision in this matter would not only please the 90 million Musalmans of India, but should go a long way in swaying the goodwill of the Musalmans of the world. Moreover, in the settlement of this question the *bonafides* of British professions regarding the right of self-determination for smaller nations are on trial. Ladies and gentlemen, the Muslim League has in unmistakable terms given expression to the feelings of the Musalmans in this matter and both Mr. Jinnah and I have also been apprising from time to time, the authorities concerned in this country of the gravity of the situation, and the depth of the feeling of the Musalmans over this question." In conclusion, Sir Sikandar said :

"Ladies and gentlemen, I have freely and frankly placed before you my views, for all they are worth. The ultimate decision in the vital All-India matters affecting the Muslims must rest with the Mussalmans and with their only accredited organisation in India—the All India Muslim League. Our path is strewn with obstacles. Our difficulties and limitations are enormous. But I am an optimist, and as a Mussalman, I have faith in *La Tanquatoo min Rahmatillah*. I have faith in the destiny of the Musalmans and I feel confident that with tolerance, self-respect and patriotism, the three great Islamic principles as our guide, and with faith in an All-Wise and Merciful Providence as our bed-rock, we Mussalmans shall never be vanquished, and that, God willing, our future shall be worthy of our great traditions."

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind Conference

Annual Session—New Delhi—3rd to 6th. March 1939

The Welcome Address

The attention of the Ulemas was drawn to the "critical situation" through which the Muslims of India are passing in the struggle for freedom by Dr. *Shaukatullah Shah Ansari*, Chairman of the Reception Committee in his address at the annual sesion of the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind Conference, which opened at New Delhi on the **3rd. March 1939.** Over ten thousand persons, including a large number of Ulemas and six hundred delegates from all over India attended the session.

Tracing the origin of the Balkan, Khilafat and Non-co-operation Movements, Dr. *Shaukatullah Shah* said that the seeds of the Jamait were sown in Delhi for the purpose of solving not only the theological problems, but for organising the collective life of the Muslims in all its aspects. He reminded the audience that they were meeting at a place where the memory of the sacrifices of the late Maulana Sheikul-Hind, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mohamed Ali and Dr. Ansari was still cherished.

Following in the footsteps of these torchbearers, not only the Ulemas but the Muslim masses plunged into the political movements of India. Dr. Shaukatullah next referred to the movement for freedom in Yeman, Iraq, Syria and Palestine, where the Western powers were trying to continue their domination. Japan was not lagging behind, but Chinese Muslims were fighting shoulder to shoulder with their countrymen to keep their independence intact. Criticising British policy in India, Dr. Shaukatullah asked Muslims to play a "decisive" role in the country. He regretted that the Muslim community in India to-day was divided into classes and factions which had resulted in creating sharp divisions both social and political and this situation was being exploited by interested parties. The best way to fight communalism was, he added, not to keep aloof from the Congress but to participate in its activities. Dr. Shaukatullah laid special emphasis on the Palestine situation, and said that it was the immediate task of all Muslims in India to bring the pressure of their opinion to bear on England. The speaker placed constructive plans before the audience, such as, adult education, the opening of night schools and the establishment of co-operative societies.

The Presidential Address

After Dr. Shaukat Ansari had read his address, *Maulana Abul Huque Madani* of Moradabad, President of the Session, spoke. Maulana Madani emphasised the supreme need of the Jamiat assuming direct responsibility of organising Muslims for the protection of their religious and cultural rights, especially their personal law. In this connection, he asked for the establishment of courts to be presided over by Qazis. He regretted that owing to lack of support in the Central Assembly to Mr. Mohd. Ahmed Kazimi's Divorce Bill, the measure as it had emerged was not as effective as it was intended to be. The Maulana feared that this legislation, like the Sarda Act, would remain a "dead letter". Maulana Madani criticised the Wardha and the Vidya Mandir schemes, chiefly on the ground that they had totally ignored religious education. As regards a common language and script for the country, he deplored the tendency to unnecessarily revive the use of Sanskrit words in the "Hindustani" language which was being evolved. While appreciating the efforts of the Congress High Command to discountenance this tendency, he accused certain Congress Governments of not putting an effective check on it. Proceeding, Maulana Madani expressed his uncompromising opposition to the Federal Scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act and suspected that it was a device to tighten foreign control over Indian affairs. It was a great satisfaction to him to find that people of all shades of opinion were one in opposing it. As regards the situation in Palestine, Maulana Madani said that Indian Muslims could effectively contribute to the solution of this all important problem, only if they first shook off the foreign yoke. In conclusion, he strongly criticised the policy of the U. P. Government in imposing conditions on the public recital of Madhe Sahava by Sunni Muslims.

Resolutions

Several resolutions were passed by the conference on the next following days. One of them urged uncompromising opposition to the Federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, and appealed to the various political organisations to offer a joint front against it.

Fulfilment of the Arab demands for the constitution of Palestine into a self-governing State and the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration was urged in the next resolution.

The Jamiat expressed grave concern at the increasing number of communal riots, and appealed to all concerned to adopt all possible measures to put an end to them.

It further demanded that, in view of the fact that Moslems were dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to them in certain provinces, the Congress should appoint a non-official Committee, including representatives of the Jamiat, to make an enquiry into their grievances and redress them, if necessary.

The Jamiat regretted the non-inclusion of any Muslim in the Industrial Planning Committee appointed by the Congress President and feared that this might result in injury to Moslem interests.

The Jamiat condemned the firing on Moslems in Jaipur and urged the unconditional release of those arrested.

Finally, a protest was made against the increasing use of Sanskrit words in the Hindustani language. The Jamiat pointed out that this tendency, if not discouraged, would lead to further suspicions among Moslems against the Congress.

The Bengal Hindu Mahashabha Conference

Eighth Session—Khulna—17th. to 18th. February 1939

The Presidential Address

The complete recital of the original song of *Bande Mataram* as composed by its author, Bankim Chandra, marked the opening of the 8th session of the Bengal Hindusabha Conference which opened at Khulna on the **17th. February 1939.** Among those who were present on the dais were Dr. B. S. Moonje, Dr. Miss Savitri Devi, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Mr. Makhan Lal Sen, Mr. Sanat Kumar Roy Choudhury and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sj. Bankim Chandra Bhattacharjee. In the course of his presidential address, Mr. *Vinayak Damodar Savarkar*, the President of the session said :—

"I hope none of you will expect me to advance any reasons for assuming this that it is now clear that our Moslem brethren in India do not want to be united into a common nation with Hindus." Because, said he, every day that had passed, every attempt on the part of the Congress to paliate them and to give them more and more vantage point had hitherto helped to widen the cleavage between the Hindus and Mahomedans. If, for instance, the question of language was taken, it was apparent that only 10 years ago or say five years ago there was only one language in Bengal. Linguistically Bengal was more united than any other province in India. But now attempts were being openly made by the Moslem League to the effect that Urdu alone should be the national language of India. Attempts were also being made to have history and other text books written in half Bengali and half Urdu scripts. It was a curious notion about meeting languages ! Could there be unity in religion and race unless unity was achieved in individual life.

If what was being attempted by the Moslem League in unifying Bengali and Urdu would be successful, said Mr. Savarkar sarcastically, it would be possible for a man to appear covering his one leg in trouser and the other in Dhoti. But, said he, even a resolution suggesting such national dress was adopted by them and was sent forward to the Moslem League he was sure it would not find favour with the League which would continue "fighting" until there were trousers for both legs. This was simply because the League was determined to form a nation in India. Not a Maulavi or Maulana here and there but a responsible body like the Moslem League and a leader like Mr. Jinnah were of the opinion that India was to be divided into a Moslem Federated India and a Hindu Federated India. To divide the motherland, wondered he, in whose interest they had fought for generations and shed their blood. Was it not futile to talk of compromise with them after such statements had been made ? They, he knew, would never tolerate any such division of the motherland but let them realize it fully that Moslems were determined to form themselves into a nation apart from the Hindus, linguistically, religiously, politically and provincially. That was the clear thing that the Hindus must take it for granted for at least another 100 years to come.

If the Congress policy continued there would be unity but the result of it would be that with the one hand whatever rights the Hindus would wrest from the British, they would have to part with them in another hand to the Muslims. The Hindus would have to remain merely as helots in the country.

Was it not a fact, asked Mr. Savarkar, that in provinces like Bengal, Frontier, Sind and even in a province like the U. P. where the Hindus were in majority were faring under the Congress Government worse than they did before the Provincial Autonomy was inaugurated. Even after following such a policy had the Congress succeeded in satisfying the Muslims more than they did 25 years before ? No. They did not. It was the Congress which was trying to be friendly to the Moslems. But could he ask at whose cost ? Was it not at the cost of the Hindus ? But even then was it not a fact that to-day if the Muslims hated anything most it was the Congress? When the Muslims brought accusation, said Mr. Savarkar, one by one the Bombay Government, the C. P. Government, and the Bihar Government issued statements trying to prove that they so far it lay in their power they were friendly with the Muslims.

In Bihar the Congress Government tried to disprove the Muslim allegations telling that although the Muslims were only 12 per cent of the total population the Muslims had been given 26 per cent posts of Deputy Collectors, 28 per cent of posts of Education Department, 41 per cent in local bodies and all these were in defence of the Congress Government policy. The Congress was anxious to prove that the Indian National Congress were dealing with all equally and that they had not done any injustice to the Muslims. That they had not done so was no doubt a fact. But the Congress being a national institution and the Ministers being returned by Hindu votes, did it not follow that by being friendly towards the Muslims to such an extent they had been in equal proportion unjust to the Hindus? Was it nationalism to give more to anybody simply because he belonged to another community.

Referring to the U. P., Mr. Savarkar said that it was decided by the Government there to stop all music during Mohurrum festival because it was a mourning affair with the Muslims, no matter whether it was the music of any Hindu marriage festival or anything else. Not only that, even the blowing of conch-shells had to be banned—conch-shells which formed such an integral part in the Hindu daily household religious ceremony—conch-shells which were not under ban even by the Britishers. Even bells could not be rung in Hindu temples towards evening (shame). Remember, said Mr. Savarkar, he was not telling all these but the Congress which was of the opinion that the Hindu Sabha was a communal organisation. The most surprising thing was that the Congress Minister was telling all these things as if they were acts of merit. Was this, asked he, in justification of a national policy? If there was to be no music before the mosque and if prayer was to be conducted undisturbed it should be done in the way the Hindu Sadhus performed their 'Samadhi' by resorting to forests away from human habitation. Would it be conceded to a Hindu Sadhu if he went to a Bazar and asked all noise and disturbances to be silenced because he was to perform his prayer there? What would the Moslems say in reply to such a request by a Hindu Sadhu?

In view of all this, he thought that the Hindu Mahasabha was not at all required to prove the accusation that it was hurling against the Congress. Mr. Savarkar admitted that the Congressmen were honest, they were patriotic but the policy that they were now pursuing was deteriorating day by day and was only anti-Hindu and anti-national. On these two points he condemned the Congress policy. However he wished that the Congress would give up this policy, and sooner they did it the better for all. If the national policy was to be like that then he should like the day coming soon when he would urge every Hindu to be a bit un-national. So far he was concerned he could say that what was good for the Hindus was his nationalism.

The Hindus, proceeding said Mr. Savarkar, were the only people who cared more for the justice of mankind than asking for justice for their own community. They were perhaps the only people anxious for saving the lives of ants than the lives of their mothers and sisters. This had been the curse of the Hindus all along. Referring to the province of Bengal, Mr. Savakar said that he had often been asked as to what was the solution of the problem brought about in this province. What was the best way to solve their difficulties? He however knew only one way and that way was very simple and he knew it was most effective. He would like to request his Hindu friends—if they wanted to follow the one way he could give direction—the way which was most straightforward. It was that they must take interest in Hindu politics, they must organise the Hindus of the province in a way that they looked to the interest of the Hindus. Their only duty would be to try to safeguard the Hindu interest.

Mr. G. B. Panth had been returned to the Assembly only by Hindu votes, but by following a policy of which he had given ample instances, Mr. Panth was trying to prove that his was the policy of a nationalist. If in future they were to return to the Assembly a Hindu they must take care to ascertain that that particular candidate was ready to defend the Hindu interests. Such a Hindu when elected a Minister in the U. P. and accused by the Muslims would at once ask the Muslim accusers as to their strength iu the province. He would be told that it was 13 p. c. of the total population but because they were Muslims they demanded 14 p. c. of the privileges. In reply to such a demand the Hindu Minister would say that his nationalism was somewhat different from that of the Congress. He had been returned to the Assembly only by Hindu votes and in the circumstances it was ten times his duty to safeguard the just Hindu rights and privileges.

Mr. Savarkar then proceeded to discuss the Bannu raids and kidnappings and maintained that if there was such a happening in Maharastra under a Hindu minister it would be his duty to provide such a condign punishment to the guilty that he would never be attempting at touching a Hindu maiden. He referred to the case of Miss Elis which happened near Bannu and pointed that the brave Pathans of the Frontier since the chastisement meted out to them on that occasion were careful in not kidnapping an English woman. What they were suffering from at the present moment resulted from the mistake committed by them in recording their votes wrongly in favour of a candidate who was not pledged to safeguard the Hindu interest with courage and boldness. He did not accuse the Congress. The Congressmen were undoubtedly patriotic. But patriotism was sometimes nothing but madness. If the Congress policy was thus thoroughly wrong, the Muslim policy was decidedly better. So far as Mr. Savakar could guess, he had nothing but admiration for the Muslim policy. The average Muslim voters knew that there were two electorates. And they took particular care in returning only those who would prove worse in dealing with the Hindus. In at least two provinces they had actually what could be termed as Muslim Raj.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Prime Minister of Bengal was openly a Muslim Leaguer. He very often delivered muslimised speeches and was trying whenever he could do telling openly that he was establishing a Muslim Raj in the province. He would provide 60 per cent of services for the Muslims and would try no matter whether it was justifiable or not in improving the Calcutta Municipal Act in his own light. The speaker could not but admire him and his boldness. On the other hand they had in the Punjab another Muslim who did not conceal in making it known that should the occasion come he with his Punjabee soldiers composed of Muslims would play the part of Nadir Shah. All this he said not from his imagination but from the translation of an article written in eulogising the Prime Minister of the Punjab. His second request to them was that politics must be seen through the perspective of Hindu and Muslim politics. They were not against Hindu-Muslim unity, real and hearty unity and were ready to keep doors open for that purpose. But so long that day did not come they must see their Hindu politics through their Hindu eyes. When the constitution was communal no candidate could stand on any other ticket but communal. When however they get themselves returned and did not safeguard the Hindu interests they only committed treachery and could be termed hypocrits. He could not understand the attitude of the Congress in regard to the communal award which was neither acceptance nor rejection. The Hindu Mahasabha he maintained was the only national organisation because of its uncompromising attitude in not accepting a communal award.

Concluding Mr. Savarkar very frankly dealt with the scheduled castes problems in the province of Bengal and wondered why should the caste Hindus think that the 30 votes granted to them should be treated as "lost." After all this creation of upper and lower caste Hindus, the problem of untouchability was due to the fault of the Hindus. There might be differences in private life and mode of living but in the public life it must be borne in mind by every Hindu whether he was a Sanatanist or a liberal that no difference was to exist.

Once the Hindus, said Mr. Savarkar in conclusion, organised themselves and took care that only Hindu candidates who would jealously safeguard Hindu interests were returned to the Council and Assembly, once they had been successful in removing the distrust from the minds of the Namasudras and others, they would be able to effect much improvement in the relationship of the Hindus with other communities. Once the Hindu unity was achieved they could march forward and achieve absolutely political freedom for their motherland (cheers).

Proceedings and Resolutions

COMMUNAL AWARD CONDEMNED

The following are the resolutions passed by the Sabha :—

"The Conference reiterates its uncompromising hostility towards the Communal Award under which the Hindus of Bengal, though a minority community, have received much smaller representation in the legislature than they are entitled to, on population basis and though they constitute the most advanced community in the country and have contributed most to its development through their sufferings, their sacrifice, their patriotism, their education, their spirit and enterprise, and their contributions to the exchequer, have been deprived of their

rightful share in the administration of the Province. This Award, during the short period it has been in operation, has been disastrous in its effect to the Hindus of Bengal.

"The Conference calls upon the Hindus to carry on a relentless fight against the obnoxious measure, devised with a subtle design to check the growth of Indian Nationalism and particularly to penalise the Hindus for their contribution to the struggle for freedom.

"This Conference condemms the Congress and the other Hindu members of the Legislature elected from the Hindu constituencies in Bengal, who far from giving any fight to the award as they were bound to do by their election pledges have, through their activities in the legislatures, only helped to strengthen the grip of that pernicious measure.

"This Conference is of opinion that the Hindu members of the legislature have totally failed to protect the interest of the Hindus even in most vital matters."

Huq Ministry

"This Conference condemns the most reactionary anti-Hindu policy of the present Huq Ministry in Bengal. The Conference records its emphatic protest against the policy of the Ministry to make huge contributions to Mahomedan educational and other institutions out of the public exchequer, by depriving Hindu institutions. This Conference records its emphatic protests against the failure of the Government of Bengal to publish the report of enquiry held by the Magistrate of Dacca into the various serious allegations brought by the women students of Dacca Medical School against the Mahomedan Superintendent of the medical school hostel and also their failure to transfer this man from the post.

"This Conference records its emphatic protest against the various legislative measures Government have under contemplation with a view to establish the domination of the Mahomedans in the Calcutta University and the Corporation of Calcutta and calls upon the Hindus to carry on a country-wide agitation against them.

"This Conference expresses its deep discontent at the inability of the present Ministry to take adequate measures to prevent the Mahomedan hooligans from oppressing the small Hindu minority, breaking images and attacking their processions and committing various other acts of aggression against the Hindus.

"This Conference, in view of the various activities of the Huq Ministry, is firmly of opinion that the religion, culture, education, even life, property and honour of the Hindus are in danger under this Ministry and therefore calls upon all Hindus to offer united resistance and to work wholeheartedly for the removal of this intensely communal ministry.

"Whereas the Huq Ministry expressly lays down that the present Cabinet of Bengal is constituted on Moslem League model and whereas the activities of the present Ministry is detrimental to the essential and vital interests of the Hindus, this conference is strongly of opinion that the Hindu Ministers of the Cabinet should at once tender resignation."

Hindu Sangathan

The resolution on Hindu Sangathan says: "The Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference is of opinion that the work of the Hindu Sangathan viz. awakening the consciousness of solidarity among different sections and sub-sections of the Hindus has become a matter of vital necessity for the existence of the Hindus as a nation specially in Bengal where the united strength and energy of the branch Hindu Sabhas should be concentrated towards this and at this crisis.

"With a view to make the Hindu Sangathan work a real success, this conference resolves: (a) that serious attempt be made to establish a Dharma-sabha or a public temple open to all Hindus at every village in Bengal. (b) That arrangements be made to hold Sarbajanin Pujas specially Durga Puja, Doljatra, Janmastami and Sibaratri and that these be organised by all Hindu Sabhas without fail and that all Hindus irrespective of caste be allowed to participate in these religious functions. (c) That adequate attempts be made to hold prayers, sing hymns, chant religious ballads, convenue Kathakata and Kirtan and readings from the vedas, upanishads, Geeta, Ramayana, Mahabharat, Granthasahib, Tripitak and other religious books regularly. (d) That a sense of pride and glory in being Hindus be awakened in the minds of the Hindus by introducing annual celebrations in memory of our great men, religious reformers and national heroes all over the country. (e) That

proper propaganda be carried on to induce the Hindu to speak of themselves as Hindus only and not by any caste designation. (f) That encouragement be given to the introduction of inter-marriage among all castes and sections and sub-sections of the Hindus. (g) That adequate measures be taken to protect from social repression those Hindus who have contracted inter-marriage. (h) That the remarriage of widows be popularised. (i) That right be given to all Hindus irrespective of castes to enter all temples and places of worships to have *darshan* and to worship the deities. (j) That early marriage be discontinued and steps be taken to make the early marriage act effective. (k) That attempts be made to root out dowry system from the society and that unnecessary expenses incurred in connection with marriage, sradh etc., be curtailed as much as possible. (l) That all branches of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha be instructed to establish gymnasiums in every village of this province to introduce lathi and dagger play and to hold physical tournaments periodically. (m) That steps be taken to remove the drink evil and use of other intoxicants from the Hindu Society. (n) That individually and collectively adequate steps be taken wherever the interests or rights of the Hindus are effected or assailed, that every Hindu should regard it as his foremost and sacred duty to help the Hindus—specially women and children when they fall into difficulties through mischance as the result of any crime of offence committed by others and to come forward to alleviate their sufferings or redress their grievances."

ON SUDDHI

The resolution on Suddhi says :—"This conference is of opinion that the reconversion of the Hindus who have gone over to other faiths and the conversion of non-Hindus into Hinduism are urgently needed in order to make the Hindu society a living and dynamic organism and it firmly calls upon all branches of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha to launch vigorous propaganda in this behalf and to see that the new comers are welcomed in the fold of the Hindu community.

Moved from the chair :—"This conference is of opinion that the progress of women in all spheres of life and their emancipation from all bonds are indispensably needed for the regeneration of the Hindu society and with this end in view resolves : (a) That special efforts be made to remove the Purdah system prevailing amongst the women ; (b) that steps be taken to give proper education to the women and that special arrangements be made to give them such training as would enable them to earn their livelihood ; (c) that opportunities be provided for the physical training of women, (d) that women be encouraged to carry arms in order to defend their honour.

The Bihar Hindu Mahasabha Conference

Eighth Session—Monghyr—26th. March 1939

The Presidential Address

The eighth session of the Bihar Hindu Mahasabha Conference opened at Monghyr on the **26th. March 1939,** under the presidency of Sj. *Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.* In the course of his illuminating address, the President said :—

The Hindu should now consider their present position and what they should do. It was no denying the fact that the nation which lived in glories and struck the world with its achievements now fell in bad times. Disjointed and disunited, they lived on charities of foreigners, in their own motherland. Things could not be worse than that. Much had been done and said and many institutions grew and fell which attempted to revive the fallen nation.

The Indian National Congress once stood to protect India from foreign aggression and treachery and maintain unity among divergent communities ensuring Hindus of absolute freedom. The Congress of old was dead and the skeleton now existed which encouraged perpetration of atrocities and committal of outrages. Congress was manned and managed by Hindus who were no less patriotic, but they now fell in wrong track by complete adherence to Muslim vagaries and inconsistencies in policies. Unity could never be achieved with begging bowl. If unity was achieved out of beggary, it would be spurious and injurious to Hindus. It was a sad commentary on Hindu politics that though

they were in majority in Hindusthan they relied on other small fragments for the country's salvation. If communities failed to accept Hindu sovereignty, let them sever connection and dig their own grave. Hindusthan belonged to Hindus and none other than the Hindus would rule it. If, of course, others such as Parsis or Christians who considered India as their Motherland came and begged of Hindus due to religious and cultural protection, Hindus would not refuse them. No more of self-abregation and self-sacrifices. India was bleeding due to injuries inflicted by foreign sword. Let Hindus combine into one and fight injurious forces.

The Hindu Mahasabha was born not out of spite for others, but to safeguard the legitimate Hindu interests. The Congress called Mahasabha communal, there could be no greater lie. The Mahasabha was neither agitational nor communal. It was as much national as the National Government in Germany. The Hindu Mahasabha movement was not religious and it embraced the entire social, political and economic life of Hindu India. It aimed at complete severence from foreign rule and looked forward to the establishment of absolute political independence. The Hindu Mahasabha did not agree to giving of meaningless concessions to minorities and work with those.

"Can the Congress throttle the Hindu aspirations for political and religious and civic freedom?" enquired Mr. Savarkar. Never, he answered. For long Hindus had lived in the phantom and chimera that out of their goodwill and sacrifices, the Muslims and others would understand that in Hindusthan there was no use for bargaining, but to work and die for the common cause of Motherland. It was neither superstition nor fanaticism that guided the Hindu Mahasabha. The Hindu Mahasabha would refuse any longer to surrender their legitimate rights at the vagaries of the Bihar Ministry which in the name of Nationalism, was doing grave injustices to them by overriding other Congress Ministries by their offer of over-representation in the Services. Such favours and priviliges, he said, could never bring unity. If inhuman toleration and self-negation was nationalism, he asked the Congress to ask the Muslims to observe 'Ekadashi' as was done by the Hindus. If the concessions were allowed to Muslims, ask them to tolerate the Hindu demands from them. The total surrender of Hindu rights to Muslims would liquidate Hinduism. He asked the Hindus not to vote next time for the Congress and thus to drive the last nail to the coffin of Hinduism. He again advised them to send staunch and sturdy Hindu Mahasabhaites to the Legislatures and form Hindu Mahasabha Ministries wherever possible, including strong organisation at the centre. If the communal constitution was to be worked out, let that be done through these lines. "I am proud of being labelled as a communalist as I find under the present circumstances communalism was nationalism," observed Mr. Savarkar. The attempt to pollute Hindi language by the brutal assimilation of Urdu, he said, was an outrage of a great magnitude.

Continuing he said that the blood that ran through the vein of Hindus of different castes and creeds was of the same stock. "Why then, the fight among yourselves? You have the same culture and heritage. Timely Sangathan would cure you of your maladies and build new structure of Hindu India. The soil of Andamans got sanctified with the last remains of myrtars who laid their lives in dream of freedom. Love their memories and get inspired. Thousands of youths who kissed gallows in prisons and tainted hanging ropes in crimson for liberating Hindusthan from foreign rule left example for the Hindus for forgetting differences and work for common cause. You are downright hypocrite, if you profess nationalism and grant all concessions to others, sacrificing the legitimate rights of Hindus. If you condemn Hindus, then condemn others too. Your nervousness and anxieties for pleasing Muslims by offer of a Magna Charta to them show your weak brain and weak heart." 28 crores of Hindus still living under the sun refused to remain loyal to the Congress which in the name of nationalism weakened the entire Hindu nation and drifted towards total extinction of the Hindus. Hindus refused again to remain as helots in their land. The working of the Indian constitution which was absolutely communal in colour and false pretence of preaching nationalism by Congress was tragic. The Muslim League as the exponent of Muslim thought demanded growth of a Muslim nation in India. They demanded Muslim federation. In the Punjab and Bengal they have ushered Muslim rule.

Quoting Mr. Fazlul Huq's achievement of thrusting Urdu culture and the outrageous attempt to strangulate Hindu culture and civilization and similar things perpetrated by Sir Sikandar in the Punjab, Mr. Savarkar said, "Let there be yet timely end to peace missions and let there be an end to treacheries. The Congress Ministry entirely Muslim in the Frontier could not check the crime of abduction of

Hindu girls and arson and loot by the Pathans. The Congress Ministry in the Frontier argued that the free tribes due to sexual and economic hunger looted the Hindus. Why not then they looted the Muslims ? They were tied in a common chord of religion ? The audience was horrified to hear Mr. Savarkar when he narrated how under Congress rule in Frontier Hindu girls abducted by tribes were treated as cattle. One of them escaped. She took shelter in a Muslim house from where she was offered to satiate the sexual lust of the Pathans. (Agitated audience cried 'shame'.) Continuing Mr. Savarkar attacked Pandit Pant of the United Provinces where according to Congress ministerial command during riots Hindu houses had to remain in gloom. No conchshells could be blown. No temple bells could be rung. Music was prohibited and civic and religious rights of the Hindus were torn to pieces. Paying tributes to Mr. Jinnah being the true representative and custodian of Muslim rights, he said that the Hindus needed men like Mr. Jinnah. He said that granting of excessive rights to the Muslims in United Provinces caused numerous riots and such concessions must be for greater interests. The Hindu Mahasabha would undo all wrong perpetrated on India. The Mahasabha did not believe in phantoms but realities. He blamed the Hindus for losing chances by leaving the entire power at the hands of Congress. The Mahasabha would live in amity with the minorities protecting their legitimate rights but they would not be given a farthing more than they deserved. Concluding he asked the Hindus to be watchful and vigilant of internal and external dangers and seize every opportunity to mobilise their forces into one Hindu nation for the inauguration of full-fledged Hindu India. A ray of hope was visible in the gloomy sky of Hindusthan as "being a Maratha I am amidst you with my message of Sangathan. Days would not be too far when the dream of Hindu India would not be a mere dream but a reality".

Resolutions

A plea that the resources of the nation should not be frittered away at this critical juncture, but should be duly concentrated for making an all-round progress in the country was one of the many resolutions passed by the Sabha.

The meeting referred to the "uncertainty, highly discouraging for the new investments", which the present policy of the Bihar Government and the avowed programma of the Congress had created, and expressed the view that it was as much necessary to protect the rights of the tenantry and labour as to safeguard the legitimate interests of the landlords and capitalists.

The meeting further requested the All-India Hindu Mahasabha to place a five-fold programme before the country including the propaganda of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods, steps for relief of unemployment and the assurance of a living wage to labour in all fields of activity.

The meeting characterised as inconsistent with the principles of democracy, the creation of separate electorates and while affirming that complete independence of Bharat Varsha was its goal, assured all anti-imperialist forces in the country of its full co-operation in achieving this object.

The Sabha criticised the policy of the Bihar Government towards Hindus.

The Mahakoshal Provincial Hindu Conference

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The annual session of the Mahakoshal Provincial Hindu Conference opened at Jubbulpore on the **4th. June 1939** in a special pandal. Over ten thousand Hindus attended the conference. Mr. *V. D. Savarkar* presided.

After the speech of the Reception Committee Chairman, the President of the Conference, Mr. *Savarkar*, amid loud cheers, made an extempore speech for nearly two hours. Mr. Savarkar referred to the wonderful awakening among the Hindu masses everywhere. Nationalism, he said, was a virtue, when it was defensive and when it tried to uphold the high ideals of freedom and equality but it was a positive vice when it was aggressive. Similarly, comunalism was in itself neither a virtue nor a vice. But nationalism as preached to-day was a perverse nationalism and was more communal. The Congress, by working the Harijan programme and carrying out the Karachi resolution safeguarding the minorities' culture, language and religion, were unconsciously admitting the basis of communalism. Nationalism had a limit. The work of the Hindu Mahasabha was one of life or death. The Hindus were determined to have their rights and civic liberties

back and if for this they were called communalists they did not care. Referring to the Hindus' hardships in the Congress regime, Mr. Savarkar cited many instances when conch-blowing during marriage, music and dholak had been stopped to satisfy Muslim demands. If this was nationalism, the communalism of the Hindu Mahasabha was a hundred times better. The Congress-Muslim Mass Contact had raised a conflict inside and outside. Referring to Rajkot, Hyderabad and other States, Mr. Savarkar said that the Congress was afraid of Muslim States for fear of Muslim displeasure. Petty Hindu States were tormenter on the pretext of "inner voices." The Hindu Maha Sabha believed in "outer voices." Mr. Savarkar hoped that like the German, American and French nations the twenty eight crores of Hindus would have "Hindu nation in a Hindustan with Vedic Dhrama".

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

Shri Shyam Sundar Bhargava, Chairman of the Reception Committee extended a hearty welcome to the President-elect Veer Savarkar and other Hindu leaders. Veer Savarkar, he said, is one of the few world heroes who have by their undaunted chivalry, burning patriotism, high ideals and unparalleled sacrifices shaped the political social and religious thoughts of their time. Mazzini and Garibaldi sink into nothingness before our National Hero Veer Savarkar. Shree Bhargava next gave a short account of the glorious past of the Gondwana and Jubbulpore, and said with no little regret that the descendents of that mighty Hindu race are so disunited, exploited and sub-divided that to-day we have forgotten and are unable to regain our cultural, religious, political and collective rights. If we can win over our inferiority complex and all sub-divisions become one entity in all respects, then we will not only give a blow to the excesses of our neighbours but will free ourselves from the imperialistic bond. Shri Bhargava dwelt at length on the growing unemployment among the Hindu youths, their deteriorating physique and suggested that they should stand on their own legs and earn their own independent livelihood howsoever humble it my be. He warned that if the services are not given on competition basis the day is not far off when this growing unrest will transform into open rebellion. Criticising the Congress regime the speaker said that this great organisation has lost all confidence of the Hindus by its partiality towards the Hindus. He cited many instances when Congress had shown its cowardice, one sidedness and irresponsibility in the maintenance of law and order. He said, the 24 hour Curfew order on the Hindus at Benares is a glaring instance of the Congress blunders. He appealed to the Hindus to help the Hyderabad Satyagraha with men and money and suggested that the assembly members elected to the C. P. Assembly on Hindu Sabha ticket should be compelled to help the Satyagrahis. He warned the Congress that unless it openly rejects the communal award and shakes off its dubious policy the day is very far when communal unity will become a practical existence. Concluding Shri Bhargava said that we Hindus believe in God Almighty and whether Gandhiji sides us or not we will win in the last if we tread on the path of truth and rights.

Resolutions—2nd. day—Jubbulpur—5th. June 1939

The conference passed as many as eight resolutions. They were :—(1) expressing deep regret over the untimely death of Lala Hardayal and Raja Saheb Saugor, (2) establishment and organisation of Hindu Volunteer Crops all over India to check aggression and injustice. This resolution was moved by Mr. *Ramdas Agrawal*, the Hindu leader of Katni. (3) condemnation of Pakistan movement conceived by Sir Mohammad Iqbal and supported by the All India Muslim League which the Hindus will resist with all their might to prevent Hindustan from dis-integration. The resolution was moved by Pandit *Laxmi Prasad Pathak* and seconded by *Swami Chidanand*, (4) censuring the Provincial Congress Government who could not take any action against the Police department in general and many police officials in particular for not maintaining law and order efficiently impartially and judiciously ; (5) condemning the speech delivered by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and other Muslim reactionaries at Sholapur which was responsible for the communal outbreak. This was moved by Shree *V. D. Savarkar*, (5) drawing the attention of the Provincial Government that the representation of the Muslims in the services is much more than their population demands and urges on the Government that so long as the Muslims are not proportionally represented on the services the recruitments should be reserved for the Hindus alone, (7) condemnation of the restriction imposed on the Hindus by the Congress ministries specially that of Pant ministry in the United

Provinces where temple worship, conch blowing, marriage music were banned at many places during the last Mohurrum festival aud which are enumerated in his secret circular. This resolution was seconded in a stirring and pathetic speech by Pandit *Jyoti Shankar Dixit* of the United Provinces Hindu Mahasabha ; (8) supporting the social reforms, Harijan uplift, Hindu prachar and widow marriage reforms in the Hindu community.

Shree Veer *Savarkar* himself moved another resolution congratulating the Hyderabad students on their bold stand for having the civic rights of singing *Vandemataram* unrestricted. In the course of his speech he said that it was a pity that the Congress which fought valiantly against the British for *Vandemataram* and sacrificed several precious lives at the altar of *Vandemataram* has yielded to the interests of a few and cut the very soul of the National song. He informed the andience among loud applause and deafening cheers that Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha have decided to establish a Vandemataram College at Sholapur with an initial cost of two lacs of rupees which have already been promised. He advised the Hyderabad students that as long as their language, culture and tradition are not honoured and history is mis-represented, such as the Nizam won the battle of Khurda against the Maharattas, they will have to fight and explode the tyranny with their avowed determination. He informed that another batch under the leadership of Shri Ambikar is going to offer Satyagraha in the Nizam territory on June 9 and 10.

Shree *Savarkar* gave his last speech late in the night. His speech was in continuation of what he said the prior night. He said that the Hindus can attain superiorty, power and position within a short period if they are determined to show their strength to the Nizam inspite of all opposition from the Congress and other reactionary bodies. The Hindu Mahasabha supports all the demands of the Hyderabad Hindus and the Hindu Mahasabha is shortly going to own their cause and fight for the achievement of the same. He appealed to the Hindus to help the Hyderabad cause. If another 10,000 Hindus offer Satyagraha in the Nizam's dominion, it will be a matter of days only when the government will have to kneel before the Hindus.

Referring to the question of gaining power he said that the Hindus can get what they want if they stick to one programme for the present. He stated that this programme is not a programme of bayonets. It is the programme of votes which you can easily follow. It is always a question of determined minority that makes the majority in the end rule over the nation. If the Hindus had shown courage Hindu Sangathan Ministry would have been formed and to-day the Hindu Ministers would have attended our conference. It is a pity that the ministries inspite of their being a Hindu-vote ministry are not Hindus. So long as we have no political power these resolutions which we have passed to-day won't carry any weight. The Hindu ministers feel that they are Hindus but they are in the grip of the demon of nationalism. To-day the Hindus grudge for injustice being done to them, but they forget that it is by their own votes that they have to face these hardships.

He appealed to the Hindus for the time being to remove the name of Nationalism and think of communalism only if that be the proper nomenclature for our social, political and economic uplift. Keep your mind unprejudiced and cast your vote in favour of a true Hindu. Frankly and boldly tell nationalist candidates to go to the nationalist community aud ask for its vote. Give your vote to one who promises to protect your religion, culture, language and civic rights. If you adhere to this programme the day is not far off when we willl have our Hindu Sangathanist ministers. They are to safeguard our interests. They are to tell Fazlul Huq and Hyat Khan that if your government are not doing justice to the Hindus our ministers will take retaliatory measures against the Muslims, whether it be a district board, municipality or assemblies, try to capture them by true Hindus. It matters not whether they are Hindu Sabhaites or Jains or Sikhs. If we have our ministries we can open rifle clubs, impart instructions in military sciene to the young Hindus for the maintenance of law and order. Our ultimate policy will be to achieve independence and for that we will try to side that nation in the international struggle who promise us help in the achievement of our goal. We are practical men and we have to do our task by facing realities. We don't believe in Congress and Gandhi's Charkha because we have to fight the industrial nations with machine-made artifices. Concluding he appealed to the Hindus to remember always that we are not exhausted. We Hindus are determined to fight our own cause on our own strength.

The All India Landlords' Conference

First Session—Lucknow—8th. & 9th. April 1939

The All India Landlords' Conference, which is perhaps the first gathering of its kind in the history of India, opened in Kaisarbagh Baradari, Lucknow on the **8th. April 1939** amid glorious scenes. The *Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga* presided. Among those present were the Nawab of Chhatari, Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth, Kunwar Gurnarain, the Maharajas of Mymensingh and Dumraon, the Raja of Jahangirabad, Sir K. L. M. Faruqi, Bhaiya Jagadish Dat Ram Pande, Rai Bahadur Kashi Nath, Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf, the Raja of Pyagpur, Mr. Beni Prasad Tandon, Lala Dwarkanath, Rai Ramcharan Agarwala, Rai Girendra Narain, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Mr. Prasidh Narain Anand and Kunwar Laxmiraj Singh.

The proceedings commenced with reading by the general secretary, *Kunwar Gurnarain* of measages from a number of distinguished landlords from different provinces expressing regret at inability to be present and expressing good wishes for the conference. Kunwar Gurnarain next garlanded the Nawab of Chhatari, chairman of the reception committee, who then read his speech.

Nawab Chattari's Welcome Address

'If the Government really desire the welfare of the tenant and order in the land, the campaign of vilification against the zamindars and inciting tenants against them must stop at once, because any unrest, breach of peace or increase in crime will ultimately recoil on the head of the Government, said Nawab Sir *Mohammad Ahmad Said Khan* of Chattari, chairman of the reception committee.

'The chief cause of all this unsettled and abnormal condition in the rural areas is that there are some people who wish to take the law in their own hands and instead of taking legal action, when they feel aggrieved, rush to the Ministers and seek their direct intervention—which should really be very rare and in special circumstances, he continued.

The Nawab Sahib said that what they saw in modern Lucknow to-day was due to the generosity and public-spiritedness of its zamindars. But very few people realized and fewer still recognized that the art, culture, and poetry owed a good deal to the landed aristocracy. Dealing with the important role the zamindars have played and are still playing he said that they were the real backbone of society and there could not have been, but for their generosity, so many charitable, educational and other useful institutions.

The Nawab of Chhatari said that the greatest of all services the zamindars had rendered was the maintenance of law and order in the rural areas. 'In these days, however, we hear nothing but downright condemnation of landlords, he regretted. It had become a fashion to describe them as parasites, usurpers and a diseased part of the national body which should be got rid of as soon as possible. The Nawab advised the delegates to pool their resources and combine their energies to fight the adverse forces and with their all India organisation they should in future be able to raise their voice effectively. Through this body they would be able to keep in touch with views of the zamindars of various provinces and chalk out a common policy. He warned them to guard against totalitarian and individualistic tendencies. Their constitution must be democratic so that it may create a real interest in every member. He hoped that the all-India organization would give a correct lead and remarked that unless their associations embarked on a constructive programme they would not be able to do any useful work.

He placed three points for the consideration of the conference. Firstly, he said that since unrest was being created among tenants against zamindars, would it not be better for various associations to interest themselves in those zamindars who were having difficulties in their zamindaris and if they found that the tenants were in the wrong they should help the zamindar in whatever way possible? Secondly, the zamindars should take a living interest in all beneficial activities in rural areas, like mass education and rural uplift. Thirdly, with a view to maintain law and order they should organize themselves so that they may be able to give every possible help to the authorities to maintain peace in the rural areas. The anti-zamindar propaganda was the chief cause of the present lack of respect for

law and if the Government were really solicitous of the well-being of the people they should try to restore the position of the zamindars in the areas under their control. Referring to the tenancy legislation in the United Provinces, he said that in their election programme they had made it clear that they would grant fixity of tenure and fair rent to the tenants. They wanted that no enactment should be brought on the Statute Book which was likely to make their position impossible. In spite of their protests, he continued, the bill had been framed in a way that it was likely to give a rich crop of litigation. The attitude of the Government towards the *sir* rights of the zamindars has been very unjust. Zamindars enjoyed these rights for ages and no Government ever challenged these rights. As for the basis of rent, the Government formula for it was still very defective and impracticable. This question is economic and should be dealt as such. Political considerations should not be allowed to play any part in fixing the basis of rent if it was genuinely the intention of the Government to do justice to all the parties concerned. Referring to the realisation of rent, he said that he could not understand why the Government should hesitate to provide a section to eject the tenant immediately if he does not pay his rent. One of the salient features of the tenancy Bill, said the Nawab was that it makes cultivation on large scale impossible. After the last war other countries have encouraged farming on larger scale with modern methods, but in this province no zamindar would in future be allowed to acquire land even on compensation, a policy which in the long run would prove harmful to their national wealth

Nawab Yusuf's Speech

The Nawab of Chhatari having concluded his speech, Nawab *Sir Muhammad Yusuf* proposed that the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga be elected president. In his speech he said that they had gathered because they were passing through a crisis. They found that the Congress Governments were not taking a generous attitude towards landlords. The position of the remaining non-Congress provinces like Bengal was also not satisfactory. The Government should look to the interests of every section and community but he regretted to find that the Governments in various provinces had begun to think in terms of dictatorship. Their attitude was most undemocratic. They were degenerating to autocracy or even communism, socialism, fascism and so forth. That was the general situation. They found general dissatisfaction. They had reached a stage where there would be a class war. All hopes of unity and solidarity and the whole country being welded into a nation had been shattered. In such an atmosphere, Nawab Yusuf added, it was obvious that they must all be united. They must organize and be prepared to raise their voices effectively from every corner of the country to express their grievances and assert their voices against the atrocities that were perpetrated in the name of democracy, in the name of the masses, in the name of peasants. Their quarrel was not with tenants. Whether they took a lesson from Russia, Germany or Italy it was obvious that the economic condition of the people could only be improved by tenants and zamindars, labour and capital working together in cooperation. Nawab Yusuf next paid a tribute to the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga. He said that they could not find a better man to preside. Though young in years he bore a wise head over his shoulders endowed with a large outlook and a keen intelligence. He had got all these qualities which made one a leader. He was the right man to guide their deliberations.

Rai Rajeshwar Bali, seconding the motion, remarked that the services of the house of Darbhanga to the cause of landlords were wellknown and the present Maharajadhiraj had followed the old traditions of the house and it was only meet and proper that when they were meeting to-day at such a critical juncture in their history they should have him as their president to guide their deliberations. The speaker was confident that under his leadership the work of the conference would be successful and under his leadership they would be able to do something which would save landlords. The Maharajadhiraj was then installed amidst applause in the presidential chair under a golden canopy by the Nawab of Chhatari who garlanded him.

Maharaja Darbhanga's Presidential Address

The *Maharaja of Darbhanga* then delivered the following presidential address :—

'I am sure I am expressing the feelings of my own and all of you present here when I say that we are profoundly grateful to the reception committee for all that they have done to convene the conference and make us comfortable. They have

made the best possible endeavour to see that the landholders of almost all the provinces of India are adequately represented in this gathering and to enable us to transact our business methodically. I have no doubt that on the conclusion of the labours of the conference, they will have the satisfaction of having done something which may prove to be a landmark in the history of the landed interests in this country.

I am afraid I cannot describe in words what I feel on being called upon by you to preside over this conference. The trust and confidence which you have decided to repose in me, I greatly value. The responsibilities and obligations you have thrust on me are overwhelming, and believe me when I say that I would have found it impossible to shoulder them, had I not been assured of your unstinted support in the discharge of my duties. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

'On the occasion o the Oudh Zamindars' Conference held here - at Lucknow— in May, 1938, I had indicated that the time was fast approaching when we should have a Federation of All-India Landholders so that we might, whenever necessary, take joint action in matters concerning the entire body of landlords. Since then the idea has been gathering support and I have been receiving numerous enquiries about it. It took some shape in December last when the matter was discussed by some of my friends—all prominent landlords who had come to Darbhanga from various provinces to consider the desirability of convening an All India Conference for planning our action with respect to matters concerning the landholders in general. Under the chairmanship of the Maharaja of Mymensingh, they unanimously decided that a conference of the landholders of all the provinces of India be held at Lucknow to inaugurate the All India Federation of Landholders, and as a result of that decision, we have met here to-day.

It is sometimes argued—and with a good deal of force—that questions affecting land being provincial subjects under the new constitution, it will serve no useful purpose to have an all-India organisation of landholders. This argument, if accepted, cuts at the very root of the idea with which we have assembled here. The generally accepted view of the leading landlords, as expressed to me during the last few months, is that we need an all-India organisation to co-ordinate our activities, to present a united front and to counteract mischiefs that have their origin in organisations of all-India character and, in certain cases, of international character. I admit that so far as laws are concerned, we shall have to go to our provinces for the settlement of the issues. But that is not all. The time has come when the landholders themselves have to change their outlook and determine on a reorientation of their policy and programme of work in view of the changed condition of things, if they are to exist as a class.

The world itself is shaking to-day with the struggles of the forces between the "haves" and "have-nots." Germany, Italy and Japan are making frantic efforts to find an outlet of their population and trade. Great Britain, France, America, not to speak of other world-powers, who are content with what they have, are struggling hard to consolidate their position and keep what they possess. The war clouds are rumbling, weaker States are trembling and no body knows what the world situation will be tomorrow. A man of "Peace," however, tries to adjust things and avert human suffering as far as possible.

Friends, the news of the complications created in the international situation by the invasion of Albania by Italy prompts one to digress for a moment to make it plain to the world that, in the event of the dictators forcing a war on Britain and imperilling the empire within which there is such a vast scope for self-assertion and self-determination and such a great potentiality for collective security, the Indian landlords, notwithstanding their differences with his Majesty's Government on various constitutional matters, will unreservedly place their entire resources, however feeble and inadequate they may be, at the disposal of their Sovereign for the defence of their country and the preservation of the honour of their empire. We are anxiously awaiting the future developments.

We can find a counterpart of this world movement in perhaps almost every country which is not suppressed by dictatorial fiats backed by brute force. Why should the capitalists rule Great Britain, France, or America ? Have the working classes who toil to produce national wealth no place under the sun ? Questions like these very often crop up in their dealing with national problems. Here, again, a man of "Peace" tries to adjust things and avert human suffering as far as possible.

We should not be dismayed if the echo of this world-wide jargon is heard even in India. This is not an industrial country of any importance. It is predominantly an agricultural country and has been for centuries systematised by the introduction

of landlordism. Naturally the eyes of all who want to destroy capitalism have turned first to the landlords. If the present movement is allowed to grow unchecked, it is bound to affect all those who have vested interests. Landlordism is only a buffer—and I should think a strong buffer—in this country for the capitalist class and once that is gone the avowed enemies of this class will in one full swoop take away the rest.

But will the country be happier or more prosperous by the destruction of landlords or other capitalists ? My answer is an emphatic "No", Look at Russia. The communists there who have for nearly two decades been trying to stir up the world class war have reversed their strategy and are now seeking to avoid a world-war. They have had experience of power and have seen politics in a realistic manner so as to appreciate that after all the prophecies of Marxizm may not necessarily come true. The reaction to their doctrine in Germany, Italy, Japan and Spain has probably been their eye-opener.

We must, however, recognise that we cannot stand aloof from the factors governing the tendencies of the new world in which we find ourselves. We shall have to forget that we are just individuals all for ourselves. The wave of democracy is too powerful for that, specially as we are aspiring for national solidarity and national freedom. We must think how best we can fit ourselves in the general scheme of national regeneration which is the most vital problem of the present generation. To-day a bold challenge has been thrown to us ; it is a challenge to our leadership of the rural India. The question which we shall have to ask ourselves is "shall we pick up the gauntlet ?" If our answer be in the negative, it is better for us to go to sleep till death and allow events to take their own course. If in the affirmative, then I would ask you to re-establish your contacts with the villagers, think in terms of their welfare and make them feel that your interest is not antagonistic to theirs.

After all, what do we take from our tenants ? A fraction of the yield which they get from our land. Are we then their exploiters, or their exploiters are those numerous middle men who undervalue their commodity, bind them with shackles of debt and make them their bondsmen in the economic sense. I am afraid, not only our tenants but we ourselves have been victims of this economic exploitation and it is high time that we co-operate with them and attempt to check the enormous drain of our resources.

I always consider that a controversy between a landlord and a tenant is only of a spurious character, and so long as it persists it does incalculable harm to the country in general. I would like the landlords to consider what they get from their tenants and the tenants to consider what proportion of the value of the yield from the land they give to their landlords ? What amount do they spend in law courts ? What amount they respectively pay to the traders ? and such other allied questions. I would also like to tell them to think for themselves whether it is in their interests to come together and be happier or to drift apart and reap the consequences. We must think of agriculture as an industry in which the landowners and the tenants are capitalists charged with their universally recognised duty towards agricultural labour and the result of a fight between them will mean the inevitable collapse of the industry itself. On the other hand, if the landlords and tenants can combine to control the trade, commerce and industry of raw products they will, I am sure, wield tremendous influence in the country side. Is this not an ideal noble enough to strive for ?

Now there is a talk of the nationalisation of the zamindaries. What does that mean ? The State takes the place of landlords. The tenants will have to pay rents to the State and not to the landlord. But will that make any appreciable difference in the average income of the people ? Where will the process of equitable distribution of the fruits of labour end ? What about the lawyers, priests, traders and professional men who live on the people at large. How will the new order of things react on them ? Will not that mean a collapse of the present day economic structure ? Will it not land the country into an uncertain future ? We should pause to consider.

Thus you will see that there is no substance in the oft-repeated cry that landlordism has broken down. In the changed circumstances of the country the outlook of landlordism cannot be the same as before. But with the outlook which I have stressed as necessary we can keep landlordism as a permanent factor in the national regeneration of this great country. The most important and hopeful thing is the nature of the system into which the old landlordism will be transmuting

itself. This development can be hastened by the direct drive of leadership which I have already alluded to.

I am aware of the fact that ever since the inauguration of provincial autonomy agrarian troubles have taken an ugly turn and have spread throughout the country. They are usually aggravated by those irresponsible elements who take delight in fishing in troubled waters. But this cloud too has a silver lining. Most of those who are in power in the Congress organisation which runs the government of seven provinces want adjustment and peace. We may have our differences with them in matters of detail, but so far as the general policy is concerned we cannot have any disagreement. We want adjustment because therein lies our security. We want peace because only then can we develop our strength. For a minority interest like ours it is only desperation that can drive us to fight and I have reasons to believe that so long as the group following the directions of Mahatma Gandhi rules in the Congress and the socialists and communists are kept in check we shall not have to take that extreme step. Nevertheless we feel that many provincial governments are showing very great weakness in dealing with the situation. Forcible possession of zemindar's land, loot, terrorism and murder are matters of almost every day occurrence. These atrocities are misnamed as 'Kisan Satyagraha'. These must be stopped at once if the Government have any pretention to maintain law and order and I urge upon them, specially those who profess truth and non-violence as their creed, to take firm action and check the spirit of lawlessness which is bound to be harmful to the interests of the country. Let me hope that this is only a passing phase and the moment we are able to help our tenants to improve their economic condition these agitators will find their occupation gone. Alongside with it I must also appeal to those who guide the destinies of the Indian National Congress to take immediate steps to prevent any further deterioration of the agrarian situation. I am convinced that an honourable compromise between the contending parties can achieve what legislations carried by majority of votes can not. Goodwill of all sections of the people which is the foundation of a national Government can be obtained by conciliation and not by coercion or suppression. When I say this I am not oblivious of the fact that just as there are the socialists in the Congress organisation who will be satisfied with nothing short of the total abolition of the zemindaries, there are in our organisation too persons who are strongly of opinion that they must continue as before and if needs be, to lay down their lives to protect their rights and privileges. In my opinion this school of thought is as injurious to the interest of the country as the socialists. If allowed a free play either of these will plunge the country in bloody strife, ruin agriculture and hopelessly retard the moral and material progress of the country. If we look at the problem with a view to establish peace in the country and promote its welfare and adjust our differences accordingly, I feel sure that an honourable compromise is not difficult.

Brethren, I have always been stressing the point that we cannot do anything unless we close up our own ranks and develop our strength. I repeat the same today. In order that our voice and action may be effective, we must link together every landlord from one end to another in a single chain. That is the main purpose of our meeting today. We expect our brother landlords to join us not by passing pious resolutions or making speeches but by promoting a spirit of mutual service. Individual attention to the needs and difficulties of landholders by our district organisations, general direction regarding the programme of work by our provincial organisations, and guidance from the All India organisation regarding the policy to be pursued by the landlords are necessary, if we want our organisation to make itself felt. I feel that we should have in each provincial organisation of ours a study section to plan things and find out solution of our day to day problem, a propaganda section to inform all concerned what we are doing and why and a third section to keep close supervision over district organisations which will more of less consist of filed workers. The utility and success of an All-India organisation will largely depend upon the strength of our provincial organisations, and we must leave no stone unturned to see that in the provinces in which there are more organisations of landlords than one, on account of varying local conditions, they should work in complete harmony under the All-India body which we are going to set up.

In my address at Darbhanga, I had drawn the attention of my brother landlords to the mischievous attempts that are being made to divide our ranks by pitting the landlords with small income against those with comparatively larger

income and pointed out that such a dismemberment of our ranks would lead the entire class of landlords to their doom. I admit that they are differently situated, but the fact remains that the one cannot replace the other. Within the landholders' organisation, they have different functions to perform, and it is only by their joint efforts that our organisation can hope to achieve its object. They must supplement each other and each must see that the other is justly and fairly treated and is able to survive the onslaughts made on him. "One for All and All for One" should be our watch-word. I trust that every provincial organisation will pay special attention to this vital question and bring about complete cohesion amongst the various grades of landholders.

Side by side with organising ourselves, we must not lose sight of the fact that the landlords are in a numerical minority in the country and can not exist by themselves. They must in order to play an effective role in the political life of the nation coalesce with such other groups or parties whose aims and objects are in common with ours. But the usefulness and value of such a coalition can be determined only by the measure of the inherent strength which our organisation gathers: and it is for this very reason that I appeal to the landholders to be one in mind and spirit.

'Friends, I have indicated what I consider to be the best line which the landlords should adopt at the present juncture. We must always remember that we are the children of the soil and though differently situated from our brethren belonging to the other classes, have as much duties and obligations towards our mother-country as any body else. All that we have to consider here is how we can help our country to occupy a position of honour in this world. That can be the only justification of our existence. We want our class to exist because we believe that its existence will contribute towards the country's prosperity and thus its destruction would plunge us all into chaos and disorder. We maintain that we have as much right to exist as any other class that is in existence today by reason of the long process of evolution. We have met here to demonstrate that we are not going to recede from the field of action. We are alive to the needs of the situation and we are prepared to play our part honourably and well. Let us now get to the business before us and with heart within and God overhead, determine what we should do and how. May we walk boldly and wisely in the light we have and get what we desire.'

Nawab Farroqi's Speech

Addressing the conference *Nawab Sir K. G. M. Farroqi*, ex-Minister, Bengal, severely condemned 'the mad orgies of rank communalism both among Hindus and Muslims who are spreading the virus of religious fanaticism and class hatred among the unlettered and inflammable masses in the country.' He dwelt at length on the prominent part played by landholders in political, social and industrial organisation of the land. Landholders did not merely collect revenue for dominance of powers but also gave protection to the tenants under their care against revolutions from within and aggressions from without. They were above all bigotry, communalism and narrow sectarianism. Proceeding he said that the manifold rights which the landholders formerly enjoyed in the discharge of their duties to the people under their care were by legislation after legislation taken away until they were now reduced rather to the humble position of mere bailiffs or collectors of rent. He was confident that if the landholders successfully tackled the cultivators' problems, namely, raised their agricultural credit and afforded facilities for marketing their produce in order they might get full value, they could at once effect substantial improvement in their condition and regain their confidence and goodwill and there would be ease in the collection of rent.

He regretted that no advantage had been taken of the offer made by the directors of the Reserve Bank to all soundly managed banks and even to all reliable bankers for acting as their agents for supplying credit to cultivators and advised the audience to follow the lead given by the Viceroy regarding agricultural marketing at the conference of provincial ministers. He hoped that the proposed Indian Agricultural and Commercial Syndicate would save the cultivators from the exploitation of greedy and unscrupulous middlemen, mahajans and sahukars and help small artisans like weavers by supply of materials at the cheapest rates and find a market for them. Concluding, he said that it was time the landholders of India had girded up their loins and organised themselves for the protection and prosperity of themselves and the tenants which alone would enable them to keep abreast of the times.

FORMATION OF COMMITTEES

Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth proposed the formation of a constitution committee representative of the delegates of the different provinces and also of a subjects committee and while the delegates selected representatives for these committees.

Raja Moheshwar Dayal Seth next announced the formation of a committee to draft a constitution for the All-India Landlords' Federation which would be considered on the next day. The committee consists of Raja Basdeo of Kollengode; Mr. C. S. Ranga Aiyar from Madras; Mr. P. D. Powar and Mr. Akhaji from the Central Provinces; Mr. T. S. Karwade and Major Udaya Singh from Bombay; Mr. T. C. Goswami and Sir K. G. M. Farroqi from Bengal; Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf and Raja Bisheswar Dayal Seth from U. P.; Mr. Goswami Shivcharan Das and the hon. Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das from the Punjab; the Raja of Madhupur and the Raja of Sarangi from Orissa and Shah Masood Ahmad and Mr. Kashinath Sinha from Bihar.

Proceedings & Resolutions—2nd. Day—Lucknow—9th. April 1939

COMMITTEE OF UNDERSTANDING

That a representative Committee of twenty-five members be formed with authority to negotiate on behalf of the All-India Landholders' Federation for an understanding with the Indian National Congress and the Provincial Governments regarding the present-day problems affecting the welfare of the landholders and tenants, was the decision arrived at in the open session on the next day, the **9th. April.**

The resolution strengthens the hands of the Chattari group in the U. P. which tried for a compromise with the Congress High Command on the tenancy legislation. Before draft resolutions were taken up for discussion, a number of speeches were delivered at the Conference by representatives of various provinces on the general condition of landlords.

Mr. *T. C. Goswami* (Bengal) said that land-lords to-day were faced with different problems in different provinces but with a common denominator. In Bengal they witnessed a riot of legislation. The Bengal Tenancy legislation did good to none. He described the Moneylenders Bill as "a pernicious legislation which would destroy rural credit." It was essential for them to organise rural credit and enable them to negotiate with some authority with the Government and political parties. He suggested that they should allow provincial organisations as much autonomy as was possible in internal affairs.

Proceeding, Mr. Goswami said that he was not afraid of socialism and communism, but of the activities of those not interested in the welfare of others, and whose only means of existence was to create and foment trouble. He owed unalterable allegiance to the Indian National Congress. Even the Congress itself was against disruptive tendencies. He appealed to the Conference, not in the name of vested interests, but of the common people of India, to do their very best to improve the country, its agriculture and the lot of the agriculturist. The economic prosperity of the country should be the aim of those who claimed to be natural leaders of the people. He advised them not to have a Landlords' Party, but to identify themselves with others, and work for the uplift of the masses.

The *Thakore Saheb of Kervada* (Bombay) said that most zemindars' organisations were dormant, if not dead, but rumours of the Tenancy Bill and the tax on agricultural income, had come as an effective tall twister. The "steam roller" of the Congress Government's legislation was pursuing its pre-determined course, with only a courteous bow "to our bitter cries of anguish and fright."

The Thakore Saheb suggested that the attention of the Governors, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India be drawn to Sections 177, 299 and 300 of the Government of India Act, and to the Instructions in which the interests of the zemindars, who were a minority, were sought to be safeguarded. They should take early steps, the Thakore Saheb said, to prevent the passing of expropriatory and hasty measures. He also proposed sending a memorial and waiting in a deputation on the Viceroy, and if need be on the Secretary of State for India.

Mr. *A. G. Krishna Rao* (Madras) said that the zemindars never wanted to obstruct the progress of the country, and it was wrong to imagine that they believed in stagnation or that they did not want amelioration of the down-trodden. To

lay the blame for the present condition of the masses at the door of the landlords was unjust. It was wrong to suggest that the zemindar would try to crush the tenant for his own benefit. Governments might come and Governments might go, but the zemindars and tenants would have to live together. He regretted hasty legislation passed by the Congress Governments, who were hustled against their own inclinations, because of the demand for the carrying out of their election pledges. He thought, that if the Government came to an agreement with the other interests, the measures would not be of such an expropriatory nature.

Mr. *M. G. Chitnavis* (Nagpur), declared that the landholders were not opposed to the tenants' interests, but must oppose legislation which aimed at their own extermination. He referred to the legislative injustice being done to the zemindars in C. P.

Mr. *Chandreshwara Prasad Singh*, Leader of the Opposition in the Bihar Assembly, said that the changed circumstances had awakened them. He advised the landholders to adopt methods similar to those whereby their forefathers had secured to them their present comforts. He advised his audience to turn the idea out of their minds that the British Government would come to their aid. They should take a full part in the struggle for their rights in conjunction with other parties in the country. They should take the foremost part in the fight for the country's freedom and also fight out the adversary who attacked them.

The conference next proceeded to consider resolutions as *Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth* announced that the delegates of other provinces did not desire to say anything.

18 PENCE RATIO DETRIMENTAL

The hon. Rai Bahadur *Ram Saram Das* of the Punjab moved that the conference was of the opinion that the present rate of 18 pence exchange ratio had proved detrimental to the best interests of India, particularly of the agriculturists, and strongly urged its revision.The mover pointed out that the zamindars realized that the present exchange ratio had done them a great harm. A deputation of landholders had waited on the Viceroy under the leadership of the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga in that connection. He was afraid that in case the ratio was not revised the Government would have to fall on the system of bounties and restrict imports. Even the exporting countries would not be benefited thereby to the extent expected.

Shah Masood Ahmad seconded the resolution.

Mr. *Anand Prasad Sharma* of Mahakoshal moved an amendment suggesting that the linking of the Indian currency with the British currency had also proved detrimental to the interests of India, and desiring that the old ratio of 14 pence should be established.

The amendment was rejected and the main resolution passed.

CHECKING OF COMMUNISM

The *Raja Saheb of Tirwa* moved the following resolution :—

"This conference is of the opinion that the spread of communistic principles is destructive of the peace, prosperity and progress of the country and it resolves to counteract and check such propaganda by all legitimate means, and with that end in view to take and give all possible help and cooperation from and to those who believe in an ordered progress of the country.

Moving the resolution the *Raja of Tirwa* remarked that communism affected the general and social order of a people. They were aware of the conditions in question which had adopted those principles. He desired that they should cooperate with all such bodies which were opposed to communism not because it was against the zamindars but because communism was a menace to the whole society. They should consider that it was their religion to combine in checking such things. It was, therefore, necessary to have a Sangathan of Zamindars. Here the passing of resolutions was not enough.

The Raja of Tirwa in passing referred to the manner in which the U. P. Tenancy Bill was being passed. Every member was not given an opportunity to move amendments but threats were given that it should be passed by April 6. He hoped that on return to their respective provinces the zamindars would take steps to organize fully.

Seconding the resolution Mr. *Birendra Nath Chaudhari* remarked that communism and socialism was a menance to the country's peace. Instead of unity they were threatened with a class war.

Khan Sahib Qamar Ali of Bihar desired that in addition to counteracting communistic principles they should also check one more party which had come into being and the members of which clad in Khadi and Gandhi caps created differences between the zamindars and tenants.

The resolution was supported by Messrs. *Ram Nandan Chaudhry and Anand Prassad Agarwal* and accepted.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFERENCE

The Conference next proceeded with the consideration of the constitution of the All-India Landholders' Federation as drafted by the sub-committee appointed yesterday by the conference.

The *Maharaja of Mymensingh* moved that the constitution drafted by the sub-committee be adopted. Moving the resolution he remarked that the relations between the landlords and tenants were interallied and both were dependent on one another. The potentialities of the order of zamindars were great but owing to lack of unity they had not made themselves felt. The Maharaja next read the draft constitution and moved for its acceptance. He further moved that until the formation of the All-India Federation Committee, mentioned in the constitution, the president be authorized to carry on the work of the federation with the assistance of a provisional committee consisting of persons chosen by the president.

The *Raja Sahib of Kollengode*, seconding the proposal, said that he considered that the move was epoch-making in the history of the landholders of India. They were not meeting there a day too early and he felt that the federation of that kind should have been formed long ago. Even the ruling chiefs found the necessity of a joint action. The Muslim League too had got an all-India association. The Congress wielded influence because it had [redacted] organization of an all-India character. Even workmen had got an all-India association. It was tragic that zamindars should lag behind. It was on that account that their interests were in danger in various provinces. No other community was so affected by legislatures in different provinces as the zamindars and it was only a silver lining in that bad atmosphere that they were brought together for evolving measures for joint action.

Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf, supporting the resolution, explained the general features of the landholders' federation scheme. The main object of the scheme, he said, was to create a federation of various units of zamindars in provinces and districts and organise zamindars on a wider basis so that they could make their existence felt and other political parties could take notice of them. He emphasized that the working committee which the federation would have would not be a dictating body. The units should not entertain any such fear. It would be an autonomous body. The function of the federation would be to tender advice and coordinate the activities of various units. It was obvious that the scheme was drafted within a very short space of time and, therefore, there might be defects in it but on the whole it was a scheme which should be acceptable to the conference.

Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth of Kotra, supporting the resolution, said that the report of the constitution sub-committee was unanimous ; and that he knew that for the first time such a constitution was drafted, rather in hurry, and it might be full of defects, but even then he would strongly recommend that the conference should adopt it, as it was. It was after all a matter of formality that it had been put up before the open conference. Having unanimously appointed the constitution sub-committee and that committee having brought out a draft unanimously, it should be a mere formality for the conference to accept that draft. What was important was not the wordings of the constitution but how to work it. The second point he emphasized was they had to conclude the deliberations of the conference by that evening but if amendments after amendments were moved they might have to sit for days and yet the draft might be incomplete. He, therefore, very strongly recommended that they should accept it, knowing that it was capable of improvement and was full of defects, because that was adopted unanimously by the sub-committee, which had been unanimously appointed by the conference.

According to the draft constitution the association to be formed would be called All-India Landlorders' Federation and its aims and objects would be (a) to promote cooperation between landlords aud tenants and improve the economic condition of the country through the development of agriculture by their united efforts; (b) to secure in every scheme of responsible government adequate and effective safeguards for the landholders of India ; (c) to cooperate even at a sacrifice with all parties to promote prosperty in the countryside and friendly relations between the

various communities ; (d) to promote inter-communal harmony throughout the country and (e) to tender advice and to coordinate the activities of the various units of the Federation in the provinces.

Mr. *Beni Pasad Tandon* (Allahabad) moved an amendment for the substitution of the following as objects of the association :—

(a) To arouse national consciousness among the landlords so that they make take their proper share in the struggle for political and economic freedom of the community and the country ; (b) to promote healthy and closer cooperation between the landlords, tenants and the agricultural labour ; (c) to promote rural development ; (d) to safeguard the rights and interests of the landlords, tenants and other rural communities ; (e) to promote inter-communal harmony throughout the country and (f) to cooperate even at a sacrifice with all parties to promote prosperity in the country-side and friendly relations between the various communities.

Mr. Tandon, moving the amendment, emphasized the need of national consciousness if zamindars wanted promotion of the country's welfare.

Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth appealed to the conference to accept the constitution as it was drafted by the constitution sub committee. He suggested that the president might take the sense of the house thereon or he might himself adopt a measure curtailing the proceedings. He thought that the house ought to agree to passing the constitution without any discussion.

A delegate thought that it was too late for the Raja of Kotra to make that motion as an amendment had already been moved, and when the president asked the house if the amendments (which numbered 15) should be taken up or the constitution should be passed as it was, the same delegate remarked that the delegates had come from long distance to form a landlords' federation and consider its constitution and so they should not be gagged.

The *President* remarked that he did not want to stop anybody from participating in the discussions but he wanted to take the sense of the house on the proposal made by the Raja of Kotra and he proceeded to take votes. The voting appearing to be very close he directed counting which resulted in 84 voting for the Raja of Kotra's motion that the constitution should be passed without considering amendments, 71 voting against it. Mr. *Prasidh Narain Anad* then demanded a division when voting was recorded on the lobby system.

While the votes were being recorded the *Raja of Kotra* declared that he never intended that the amendments should not be considered. What he wanted was that they should not be discussed at the conference for want of time and he amended his motion by adding that the amendments should be referred to the constitution sub-committee of the conference. The division resulted in 175 voting for the Raja of Kotra's motion and 94 against it. Accordingly the constitution drafted by the sub-committee was passed without discussion and the amendments received were referred to the sub-committee.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

The next resolution on the agenda was that the *Mahajadhiraja of Darbhanga* should be elected as president of the All-India Landholders' Federation. During the consideration of this resolution the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga withdrew from the presidential chair and *Raja Bahadur of Kasmanda* took the chair. The resolution was moved by *Nawab Sahib of Chhatari*, who remarked that the Maharajadhiraja's activities in the cause of the landlords were very great and it was in the fitness of things that they should elect him unanimously as the first president of the All-India Landholders' Federation. The resolution was seconded by the hon. Lala Ram Saran Das and supported by Raja Sahib of Kollengode, Nawab Sir K. G. M. Farooqui, the Raja Sahib of Tirwa and the Raja Sahib of Parikud, all of whom paid brilliant tributes to the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga for his signal services to the landlords.

After the resolution was passed the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga returned to the presidential chair.

FEDERATION'S PLEDGE

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer next moved the following resolution :—

'This conference hereby resolves that every member of the All-India Landholders' Federation pledges himself to carry out its resolutions in a spirit of service and sacrifice presenting a united front bearing in mind the prestige and dignity of the order of the landholders without allowing personal feelings to interfere with the discharge of their public duties and responsibilities.'

In the course of his spirited speech in which the Congress Government came under a good deal of bitter criticism, Mr. Ranga Iyer said that they found in that great country a great political upheaval. They also found that powerful organizations had come into existence and they found that they became powerful only through service and sacrifice. Service and sacrifice, as was pointed out by the president in his address, was not a monopoly and must not be a monopoly of one particular group in that country. The time had come, the speaker said, that the landlords must keep abreast with the current movements of all the types. There was in that country a powerful party which wanted to upset the order of things. Socialism was the only way of making rich people poor and not of making poor people rich. Here he referred to the Baradari incident and the assault on Sir J. P. Srivastava and condemend the attitude of the Premier of the Congress Government in that connection. Mr. Ranga Iyer wanted the landlords to be united because the Congerss, he said, was playing the dirty game of divide and rule. He did not want the Congress Governments to walk into the footsteps of despots and he added if it walked into the footsteps of despots it was for the landlords to unfurl the flag of democracy. The landholders must unite in the presence of a common enemy which today happened to be their own brethren. Mr. Ranga Iyer added that they did not want India to become a outhouse of Russia. India must be Hindusthan and standing upon her own personality and character, she could offer a most successful fight to the new despotic forces.

The resolution was passed after it was seconded by Mr. *D. K. Lahiri Chaudhari* and supported by *Thakur Sheomangal Singh.*

AGRARIAN SETTLEMENT

Major Raja Durga Narayan Singh of Tirwa moved the following resolution :—

"This conference resolves that the All-India Landholders' Federation Committee shall appoint a sub-committee of 17 members with powers to coopt 10 members from the Province concerned with the president of the Working Committee as its Chairman to examine all questions affecting the landlords of the province and to take such action to settle them as it deems necessary."

Moving the resolution the *Raja Sahib of Tirwa* said that the proposed sub-committee could visit provinces and, if necessary, even districts, to make enquiries, negotiate with Government and take other steps for the settlement of the problems which would be the subject of enquiries. The zamindars did not want to deny to the tenants their legitimate rights. The tenants' condition was not what it was about 40 years ago. Reforms were needed but they did not want reforms which would lead to litigations between zamindars and tenants and yield benefit to a third party. He asserted that the tenancy legislation of his province was such that it would involve the zemindars and tenants in a class war and litigation.

Lt.-Col. Kumar Shamsher Bahadur Singh seconded the resolution.

Mr. Bisheshwar Prasad Varma moved an amendment suggesting the insertion in the resolution of a proviso—'Provided that adequate representation be given in the sub-committee to the zamindars paying less than Rs. 5,000 as land revenue.' He remarked that there was a misunderstanding between small and big zamindars and, therefore, there should be a provision for an adequate representation of the former without which there was the fear of only big zamindars being included in the sub-committee. Mr. *Anand Prasad Agarwal*, seconding the resolution, remarked that the smaller zamindars were faced with the greatest difficulties and, therefore, their presence in such a sub-committee was essential. The *Raja of Tirwa*, the mover, accepted the amendment. *Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth of Kotra* opposed the resolution. He said that the resolution was not so simple as it appeared to be. They must understand fully its significance before making up their mind. What it meant was that the All-India Federation, formed that day, should appoint a committee which should decide the fate of the landlords of a particular province. As a concrete illustration he referred to the tenancy legislation of the United Provinces. He said that if the resolution under discussion took a definite shape, it would mean that the committee to be appointed under it would be empowered not only to negotiate but to come into a settlement about the tenancy matters with the Congress Government. 'Are we to impose on the zamindar community a settlement without taking their opinion ?' he asked. He submitted that no central constitution would interfere with provincial units in matters concerning a province. They must leave to provincial organizations to

decide about provincial matters. Provincial matters should not be decided by outsiders. He remarked that he had not been able to understand most of the provisions of the Tenancy Bill ; even the Revenue Minister, if asked in a court of law, would not be able to explain 60 per cent. of the provisions of that Bill. Therefore how can people from outside understand it ?' The Raja Sahib of Kotra asserted that he very strongly opposed that resolution. 'The resolution is silly and that it does not require attention of any of you and it ought to be rejected.'

On a delegate's inquiry the *Raja of Kotra* replied that he bad no objection to an 'examination' and he would not object to the resolution if the clause giving the sub-committee power to 'settle' questions was omitted. Accordingly the delegate in question asked the *Raja of Tirwa* to delete the portion giving the sub-committee power to 'settle'. The Raja, however, did not accept the suggestion.

The Raja Sahib of Tirwa replying, said that it was his misfortune that even at that late hour better counsel did not prevail. He hoped that his learned friend, the Raja Sahib of Kotra would not misunderstand him when he said that today their Tenancy Bill was 100 times worse than what it was originally. It would take two or three months before the proposed sub-committee would begin to function and by that time the U. P. Tenancy Bill might be returned by the Upper House or might be passed by it or God only could know what would happen to it. The Raja of Kotra, therefore, should not apprehend that the sub-committee would at once enter into a settlement with the Government on the tenancy legislation. The speaker remarked that it was also unnecessary for the Raja of Kotra to entertain any apprehension as he had got a resolution passed at the British Indian Association by a majority of votes that there should be no compromise with the Government.

The Raja of Kotra—On a point of order, that is wrong ; we were not againt negotiations or compromise but we objected to arbitration.

The Raja of Tirwa, continuing, said that he would leave it to the conference to judge if the resolution wanted arbitration or it gave power to the landlord champions of India to take action to settle questions. It did not ask the Congress people to arbitrate to any extent. He emphasized that it was futile to apprehend that the Federation Committee would at once jump at Lucknow and would take up the U. P. Tenancy Bill enquiry and negotiate with the Congress Government. The resolution, he added, was quite innocent and it only suggested a measure to remedy the grievances of the all-India landlords. Whenever trouble arose in any of the provinces, the committee could tour throughout the province and try to redress the grievances of the landlords.

The resolution was put to vote and declared carried by a majority of votes.

UNDERSTANDING WITH CONGRESS

Another resolution, which aroused a great deal of controversy, was the following moved by *Mr. Jibendra Kishore Acharya Chaudhari* :—

"This conference resolves that a representative committee of 25 members be formed with authority to negotiate on behalf of the All-Indian Landholders' Federation for an understanding with the Indian National Congress and the Provincial Governments regarding the present day problems affecting the welfare of landlords and tenants."

In a short speech moving the resolution Mr. *Chaudhari* remarked that in every province tenancy legislations were curtailing the rights and privileges of the landlords and he hoped that their Federation would be a strong body. He added that the question of the representation of smaller zamindars in the proposed committee would be taken seriously into consideration.

Rai Bahadur Guru Sewak Upadhya seconding the resolution said that they should try to negotiate and settle on terms of equality. It would be futile to say that their conditions were the same as 25 or 40 years back. They should not keep on sleeping in peace as before. They had to change their methods. They lagged behind other bodies and there was no harm in admitting their shortcomings. There was also no harm in admitting that the Indian National Congress was at present the biggest political organigation. It was for them to consider how to take advantage of such conditions. Wrong things were said in Congress circles about the treatment of zamindars with tenants and therefore it was necessary to bring that to the notice of the Indian National Congress. The Maharajadhiraja Darbhanga had found a way for a settlement in Behar. If the method of negotiations was not adopted he did not understand what other method could be adopted. The zamindars could not have been able to negotiate effectively when they were weak

but the question of weakness should go when they organized an all-India Federation of the landlords.

Mr. T. N. Sinha moved an amendment suggesting that the proposed committee should have power to coopt ten members from the province concerned. This amendment was later accepted by the mover.

Mr. R. N. Rastogi, who declared himself to be entirely in agreement with the spirit of the resolution, moved an amendment that in every province there should be committees of provincial units whose function would be to negotiate for settlements on questions that might arise, with the Provincial Governments. He was afraid that the original resolution would not serve the purpose for which it was intended, for most of the members of that type of committee would be ignorant of the rural problems of different provinces.

Rai Hari Prasad Lal opposed the resolution suggesting negotiations with the Congress. He criticised the Behar compromise. He asserted that the zamindars' rights and privileges were being butchered. He added that the zamindars of Behar had come to the conference in the hope that the All-India Federation would give a lead in the organization of their province but they were going back disappointed. They were not prepared for such a weakness as was implied in the resolution. They must organize themselves first.

Mr. J. K. Chowdhry said that they had adopted the constitution of the All-India Landlords' Federation just then and one of the object of the Federation was to cooperate even at a sacrifice with all parties to promote prosperity in the countryside and friendly relations between the various communities.' How then could they oppose the proposal about negotiations? he asked. The Congress, he added, was the greatest political party, highly organized. It was the only party which could deliver goods and solve propositions to the satisfaction of all.

Shah Masood Ahmad of Behar made a very vehement speech in opposing the resolution. He disclosed that the resolution under discussion had been passed in the meeting of the subjects committee by a narrow margin. The appointment of a committee to negotiate for a compromise was a novel procedure which, he asserted, had no precedent. When there were negotiations between the Congress and the Muslim League, there was first a talk between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, neither of whom had a mandate from the Congress or the Muslim League to negotiate. Therefore the constitutional position would be that some individuals might initiate, if they liked some negotiations and if they made any progress then the matter could be brought before the Federation.

Continuing Shah Masood Ahmad criticised the Congress-Landlords' negotiations and compromise in Behar. He thought that sometimes confidential instructions were issued by the Government which were contrary to the terms of compromise. When the Governor gave assent to the Tenancy Legislation of Behar, the clause which was in the interest of zamindars was kept pending. Was that justice? he asked. It was a peculiar procedure of sanctioning only half the Bill and withholding assent to the part which benefited another party. The Finance Minister declared in the Council that they had practically finished the zamindari system. The Speaker asserted that the Congress Government was not doing anything for the zamindars. The condition of the zamindars of Behar was pitiable and he appealed to those, who entertained any doubts about it, to pay a visit to Behar and to see the zamindars' plight with their own eyes. He did not blame the zaminder leaders for the compromise. They had entered into it honestly but he thought that they did not understand that the compromise would reduce them to such a pitiable condition. He advised the other provinces not to negotiate with Congress for a settlement. It would be a great blunder to start negotiations. In conclusion he suggested that they should try to get the Government of India Act amended so as to secure larger representation of the zamindars in the Legislatures and to get the number of the members of the Upper Houses tripled. They should also make it clear that if justice was not done to them they would resort to the same methods with which the kisans had threatened the British Government and on which account the British Government had yielded. 'We shall say that if the Government does not protect the minorities we shall boycott British goods.'

Mr. Chandreshwar Prasad Narain Singh mainly replied to the criticisms levelled in connection with the Behar compromise. He had also a hand in the settlement. In the work of settlement the Congressmen were as desirous of successful compromise as the landlords. At one time a stage was reached when breakdown appeared to be imminent and then Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wired

to him (speaker) and the Prime Minister saying that the breakdown of the negotiations would not be proper. He came from Calcutta and gave advice, which he considered to be proper, and made the Congress accept the landlords' terms. In the face of such facts he did not think that they could blame the Congress and accuse them of going back upon the terms of compromise. There were a few terms which were to be brought into practice after watching the condition of the province and he informed the conference that it was in connection with that work that Maharajadhiraja was going to Patna on April 11 to confer with Babu Rajendra Prasad. In this country danger was from socialism and not from the Congress. He advised the landlords to work with a spirit of unity. There were some things in the Congress with which he did not agree and that was why he was not with the Gandhi group. When the landlords had established their strong body, its work should be to draw the Congress also to the right path.

The resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority amid applause.

It being a very late hour of the evening three other resolutions were passed without speeches. One of them, which was moved by Mr. *Anand Prasad Agarwal* and seconded by Rai Bahadur *Bhagwati Saran Singh*, protested against the imposition of agricultural tax in Bihar, the other, moved by *Rajah Sahib of Kollengode* and supported by Mr. *B. N. Chakravarti Chaudhari* and Mr. *J. Krishna Rao*, protested against the present policy of Legislative interference in matters connected with religion and the third, moved by Mr. *Ram Nandan Chaudhari* and *Shah Masood Ahmad* suggested that any measure affecting the rights and interests of the zamindars should receive sanction of a major section of the zamindars before they became law. The consideralion of the resolution being over the president, the *Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga* thanked the delegates for their co-operation in the conduct of the proceeding of the conference so successfully.

The All India Kisan Conference

Annual Session—Gaya—9th. & 10th. April 1939

Secretary's Report

The annual session of the All India Kisan Conference commenced at Gaya on the 9th. April 1939 under the presidency of *Acharja Narendra Dev*, where nearly a lakh of kisans attended. "Bande-Mataram" and Urdu song "My flag is in my hand to-day" were sung. A unique feature of the conference was that sister organisations were adequately represented. Several wellknown leaders of working class and Kisan organisations from various parts of the country spoke at length on their struggles.

It may be noted that in the real sense of the term the Kisan Sabha held its annual session on an All-India scale in Bihar to-day for the first time, Lucknow session and Faizpur gathering were but poor shows and the Comilla session ended in a split because of the autocratic supremacy of the non-Kisans. In this session Bihar, of course, sent the largest number of delegates and Bengal's claim came next. From Bengal, more than 70 Kisan representatives and leaders joined on behalf of all district organisations. Orissa, in spite of being a purely agricultural country and having a number of Kisan organisations, was very poorly represented.

Prof. *N. G. Ranga*, Secretary, presented the accounts and through the annual report it was unfolded how phenomenal and wide awakening has taken place among the Indian peasantry, which was pulsating with new life and vigour. The report presented a bird's-eye view of the Kisan movement in the provinces and narrated how boldly the Kisans underwent persecution with special reference to Barhaya Tal and Reora Satyagraha. It deplored the growing tendency of the Congress towards constitutionalism and the atmosphere of growing content with the opportunities of reconstruction through legislation and rural uplift. The report maintained that the Congress had lost the true perspective of things and was losing sight of the goal for absolute independence and was contended with patch works on the constitution, which fettered India in bondage. It deplored the fighting attitude of the Congress against the Kisan Sabha. If the Kisan Sabha and its workers did not continue their struggles and helped, the national emancipation movement would have, by this time, been in complete stagnation.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

In the course of his presidential address *Acharya Narendra Dev* said :—

"Legislation is being undertaken to afford some measure of relief to the impoverished peasantry by the various Governments in the provinces. The measures are not adequate to meet the immediate needs of the situation. Much more is possible within the framework of the present act and perhaps much more will be done in due course of time. But it is regrettable that agrarian reform in all its aspects is being delayed for no good reason. The process is slow and though the Congress Governments do enjoy the backing of the masses there is in evidence in certain provinces a desire for compromise and a feeling of hesitation to go fast for fear of the vested interests. Though the measures hitherto taken are only in the nature of palliatives and do not foreshadow any radical change in the social basis of the landowning classes, yet a hue and cry has been raised by the landed aristocracy as if changes of revolutionary dimensions were being incorporated in the statute. The economic situation is so desperate that drastic measures are needed to bring real relief to the masses. All that the Congress Governments are doing to-day is only to ease a few of the more iniquitous burdens that the peasant is made to bear to-day, but his condition is miserable and that after a brief respite the remaining burdens will again prove irksome and heavy and he will make an insistent and imperative demand to be relieved of them as well. It is no doubt true that whatever may happen the peasantry is not again going to look up to the land-owning class as its natural leader. The political influence of this class is surely on the wane although its social basis may not have been wiped out. It would be difficult to restore it. It seems that the storm of opposition that is being raised to-day to the introduction of agrarian reforms is due to the fear for the future and the realisation of the fact that the present measures only mark the beginning of a new era of such successive changes in the agrarian organisations as are sure to undermine their position of eminence and shatter their social basis completely.

"They are out of their wits but I am sure that if they had wielded political power to-day they would have been compelled by mass pressure to take almost similar measures, of course with great reluctance. No amount of manoeuvering and rural development work would have succeeded in deceiving the masses nor would it have been possible to keep the rising tide of peasant militancy under check. The overwhelming poverty of the masses was clamouring for action, and they would have taken to extra legal remedies if law had not come to their rescue.

"Congress Government, it is admitted, are labouring under a handicap, for the present Act does not afford them sufficient scope for initiating revolutionary measures. But it was certainly expected of them that they would exhaust all the possibilities of the constitution in order to bring the greatest measures of relief to the masses. The still more disquieting fact of the present situation is that many of our ministers look upon kisan organisations and their workers with an eye of suspicion and distrust. The word of a Kisan worker is generally disbelieved. He is taken to be a stranger and his visit is seldom welcome. It is also distressing that criticism even by Congressmen is not relished. Even friendly criticism is resented and is sometimes unreasonably taken as an index of a hostile attitude.

"Government, which is responsible to the people, should instead of resenting criticism invite it. It should not wait for taking action till a demand becomes insistent and specific action is threatened to enforce these demands. I fervently desire that Congress Ministries be enshrined in the hearts of our people.

"Our Ministries should therefore be more responsible to the demands of the masses and listen to their grievances through their accredited representatives with patience and sympathy. The peasant movement should not be looked askance. If abuses which are pointed are remedied and gross inequities are redressed, there will hardly be an occasion for peasants to have recourse to direct action. Adequate legislative measures should be taken to give protection to tenants against village usurers and village Banias. The question of rural indebtedness should be carefully examined and if rural debts cannot be wiped out completely the burden should be considerably eased. Special attention will have at the same time to be paid to the provision of capital and cheap credit facilities to the farmers. Suitable laws should be enacted for the marketing of agricultural produce so that middleman's profit be eliminated. Very close attention should be paid to the promotion of subsidiary industries and measures be taken for comprehensive land improvement. Government support and encouragement should be given to the farmers and active agrarian policy should be followed.

"The question is often asked where is the need for the Kisan organization when the Congress membership predominantly consists of peasants and the Congress has in its agrarian programme of Faizpur and the Economic Rights resolution of Karachi incorporated many of the demands of the peasants in its programme. The single answer is that the Congress being a multi-class organization the peasant is not able fully to assert himself in the national organization. His attitude towards other classes is not very free but is constrained and he finds himself lost in a mixed gathering. In order therefore to enable him to give up his hesitancy and to assume a more independent attitude it is necessary to give him preliminary training in an organization of his own class.

"Besides, the Congress being an national organization, is not in a position to accept the basic demands of the peasants or for the matter of that any other demands unless pressed hard by circumstances. The dire poverty of the Indian masses has, it is true, from very early days, engaged the attention of the leaders of Indian public opinion but they treated it as a political grievance to be attributed mainly to the heavy drain on India and not something which was inherent in the economic structure of the country and which could be removed only by revolutionary changes in that structure. The Kisan organisation is therefore necessary to exert revolutionary pressure on the Congress to adopt more and more the demands of the peasants. Such pressure has been applied to the past with good results and to-day the Congress is pledged to fight for the interest of the peasants. And how can the Congress act otherwise when it claims to represent the nation and when, as we know, the huge exploited mass of the peasants does constitute the nation. The Congress, therefore, if it wants to serve the National interest, must seek to abolish the basis of all colonial and feudalistic exploitation.

"As the level attained by the Congress organisation is uneven in different provinces and as several committees are controlled by Zaminder elements the resolutions of the Congress cannot be implemented and remain in practice a dead letter. In such places peasants will not receive the assistance from the Congress Committee to which they are entitled and their grievances will go unredressed for want of advocacy. It is exactly in such places that the existence of the Kisan Sabha will be mostly needed to carry on their day to day struggle. Since the advent of Congress Ministries in eight provinces it has become a part of normal activities of the Congress to receive petitions from the peasants and to help them in securing redress of their grievances but even to-day cases are not wanting when an individual committee does not interest itself in the matter for the simple reason that it was controlled by Zamindars who are not true to the Congress programme and who even use their position for frustrating the peasants' rights and claims on the organization. Again, we do not know whether this special interest which is being evinced to-day by Congress Committees in the day to day questions of the peasants will be kept up at the present level even after the Congress is out of power.

Acharya Narendra Dev thought "if the necessity for a separate organization of the peasants is established it is necessary to emphasize the imperative duty for the Kisan Sabhas to enter into friendly relations with the local Congress organizations and to carry on their activities in co-operation with them as far as possible. The assistance rendered by the Congress Committee will not only be of great value to them, especially at the present juncture but will also accelerate the progress of making the Congress Kisan minded. It is a matter of experience that since the Congress has been placed in power by the support of the peasants and since special responsibilities have developed upon it for looking to the interests of the peasants it has become more and more Kisan minded. The process is, however, not yet complete, and it will be some time before it is so. But if after importunating their help it is not forthcoming the Kisan Sabha will have no option except to move independently in the matter. There should be however no desire to enter into rivalry with the Congress. The desire to gain predominance over the Congress should be checked. We must remember that the two organizations are complementary to each other. Each is strengthened by the support of the other. We are bound to make grievous mistakes if we do not constantly keep in view the complementary character of the two organizations. The Kisan Sabhas are primarily to be organized to secure the economic rights of the peasants and to conduct their day to day economic struggles. But the colonial exploitation from which the peasant suffers cannot be ended without achieving complete independence and as he cannot enjoy political

freedom without political power so long as India is in bondage it is necessary that the peasant should strive for national freedom in co-operation with other classes. The Congress is a symbol of national freedom and is the platform of anti-imperialist struggle. The peasant therefore has to be taught to love and claim the Congress as his own organization. A stepmotherly behaviour towards it will not do. If the economic struggle is to be linked up with the national struggle in order to give social contents to the national liberation movement it is only just and proper that the two organizations should be interlocked in permanent union.

Referring to other difficulties in their way the president regretted that in certain parts of the country where the bulk of the landowners were not of the same religion as the mass of peasants Kisan organisation had assumed a communal character. Such organisations had come into existence chiefly because the Congress organisations of the province grossly neglected the interests of the peasants. The communal disharmony prevailing at present made even co-operation between the two parties sometimes impossible, to say nothing of the merger of the two organisations. Though the agrarian movement might have received impetus from this fact in such regions yet it could not be considered as a healthy movement from the view point of the national struggle. The present movement could not afford to be split up on communal lines. Multiplicity of peasant organisations would also add to the confusion. The present position could be altered not by exhibition of anger or impatience but the workers should try to win the confidence and support of the peasants by selfless hard work and the more they identified themselves with the peasant masses the more they would succeed in the task. But to achieve this end they should also try to create cadres of workers belonging to the same religious community. Workers should also try to negotiate merger with the leaders of the communal peasant organisations. The Congress also should shed its narrow outlook and devote its attention to peasant work in the province.

Proceeding he said that there was phenomenal awakening in the country-side and they could reap a nice harvest if only they know how to make the best use of opportunities. The workers should receive political education. The relation-ship that should subsist between the Kisan Sabha and the Congress should be well-impressed upon their minds. The necessity and significance of the peasant movenment, the role of the peasantry in the Anti-imperialist struggle and the role of the Congress should be things on which the workers should be enlight-tened. The organisation should be strictly supervised and controlled. Strict discipline should be maintained in the ranks. Organisational expansion should be accompanied by steps to arouse proper functioning and discipline. Peaceful character of the movement should be emphasised and peasant problems of every province should be carefully studied and suitable literature produced in Indian languages for the Ideological Training of the workers.

Referring to the controversy that has centred round the question of the official emblem of the peasant organisation, Acharyaji said that some contended that as the Congress organisation was pre-eminently a Kisan organisation the flag should be the flag of the Kisan Sabha. The position of the Sabha is that the Red Flag being the flag of the exploited and the symbol of class solidarity of the peasants with the workers it should be the official flag of the organisation. Both agree that disrespect should not be shown to the other flag. It was a vital matter both for the future of the peasant movement and the national liberation movement and could not be treated lightly. It was the Russian Revolution that helped the masses to take the centre of the world stage and as such peasants all the world over owed deep dept of gratitude to the Red Flag. The Red Flag was also respected because it was the flag of the exploited and the down-trodden. It also bore an international character and was the symbol of fraternisation of peasants and workers.

But they could not have a negative attitude towards the national flag. Their feelings for it should be those of positive love and respect and should equally com-mand their loyalty. It was in the interest of the Kisans themselves that they should turn the Congress into a genuine people's organisation and if that be so, they will have to give their unswerving loyalty to the national flag.

Another consideration in support of the adoption of the national flag is that the Congress has more and more come to represent the economic urge of the masses. The Congress is evolving and a rich social content was being put into the political concepts of the movement. He, therefore, respectfully requested the conference to

"The International situation is rapidly deteriorating and the world is rushing head-long towards a crisis. The system of collective security has completely broken down. Pledges are being violated. The so-called democracies of Western Europe are betraying democracy. Great Britain is a special offender in this respect. It has deliberately added fascist powers and has by its weak-kneed policy helped Nazi Germany in extinguishing the freedom of small independent states. The world is passing through a moral crisis and the moment seems to be ripe when India should consciously prepare herself for the final struggle. The time has come when we should take the initiative in our own hands and initiate a nation-wide struggle to gain our national objective. We have so far been sitting on the fence awaiting the introduction of the Federal Scheme which the Congress is pledged to oppose. But this attitude of mind helps a policy of drift, dangerous for a fighting organisation. We, therefore, welcome the decision of the Congress at Tripuri which puts an end to this policy of drift and calls upon all parts of the Congress organisations, Congress Governments and the people generally to prepare the country for a nation-wide struggle. This momentous decision of the Congress was, however, taken in an atmosphere surcharged with personal bitterness and animosity and other matters much less consequential seemed to dominate the scene for the moment which ultimately succeeded in over-shadowing the one central decision of Tripuri.

Resolutions—Second Day—Gaya—10th. April 1939

The following resolutions were adopted at the second day's sitting of the Conference :—

NATIONAL DEMAND

"The past year has witnessed a phenomenal awakening and growth of organisational strength of the Kisans of India. Not only have they taken a much greater part than ever before in the general democratic movement in the country, but they have also awakened to a consciousness of their position as a class desperately trying to exist in the face of ruthless feudal-cum-imperialist exploitation. Their class organisations have therefore multiplied and their struggle against this exploitation has risen to higher levels as is witnessed by the numerous partial struggles throughout the country. This awakening and the experience of this struggle has brought a new political consciousness to them. They have realised the nature of the forces they are fighting against and the true remedies of their poverty and exploitation. Their vision is no longer limited by their natural isolations and location. They have realised that imperialism which lives for and thrives on their exploitation in many visible and invisible forms must go and that it must go principally by their action taken in alliance with other anti-imperialist forces in the country. They have also realised that partly as a hang over from the feudal past of the country and partly due to the deliberate attempts of imperialism there is a native system of exploitation which has enslaved and impoverished them and which too must go. They have therefore come to the conclusion that the logical end of their day to day struggle must be a mighty attack on the removal of imperialism itself and an agrarian revolution which will give them land, remove all intermediary exploiters between them and the State and free them from the burden of debt and secure to them the full enjoyment of the fruits of their labour.

RELIEF TO PEASANTRY

"Secondly, the past year has been a year of small reliefs to the peasantry secured to them from the Provincial Governments. The crying inadequacy of these reliefs, the great obstacles created by the vested interests that have to be encountered in securing them, the patent incapacity of Provincial Autonomy to solve any of the basic agrarian problems have fully exposed the hollowness of Provincial Autonomy and have strengthened the conviction of the peasants that the present slave constitution must go and be replaced by one that is framed by the people themselves. The Sabha thus is proud to declare that to-day the determination of the Kisans of India to free themselves from the feudal-cum-imperialist exploitation and their preparedness to do so are greater than ever before.

"The Sabha is glad to note that there are other powerful forces and factors in the country and outside that are rapidly leading not only the peasants but the Indian people as a whole towards these and similar ends. First of all is the great rise in the power and influence of the Indian National Congress, the biggest political organisation of the Indian people, the power of which too is largely drawn from the power of the Kisans of the country. The Congress has

declared at its last session in unequivocal terms that its organisations and the country generally must immediately begin preparations for launching a nation-wide struggle for the establishment of an independent democratic state. The Sabha while pledging its fullest support in this struggle and in the preparation for it hopes that the Congress executive or the forthcoming meeting of the A. I. C. C. shall take steps to give effect to that declaration and take the contemplated preparation in hand. The Sabha feels that particular efforts should be made to build up that united front between the Congress and the Kisan Sabha which has been the aim of the Sabha in order that the forces of national disunity which at bottom are the expression of upper class interest do not impair the essential unity of the entire Indian people fighting against imperialism that must be expressed in action through the Congress.

NEED FOR ORGANISATION

"The organisation of the industrial workers, the powerful allies of the Kisans and their struggle have reached higher level that ever before. Unity in the Trade Union movement has been achieved and the political consciousness of the workers has grown. The Sabha wishes that closer links between the workers and peasant organisations and movements should be forged and directs the A. I. K. C. to take the necessary steps for it.

"One-third of the Indian masses have hitherto slumbered in the enforced backwardness of the native States. Recent months have witnessed an extraordinary awakening among them due to the impact of the democratic movement in the country and latterly of the peasant movement, and the awakening among the Kisans. The struggle of the States' people is also largely a struggle of the Kisans not only for the civil or political rights and libert es but also for economic emancipation. There is in addition to all these a general awakening in the country and youths, students, women and others are all on the move of organising, struggling, their faces set in the common diretion, i. e. independent democratic Swaraj.

"All this is happening in the midst of a grave world crisis. The world hovers on the brink of a calamitous holocaust. British Imperialism, shaken to its root, fully gripped by this crisis is, one the one hand, steadily carrying on war preparations in India and taking war measures such as, army recruitment act, the recent attack on Provincial Autonomy to ensure greater control for the centre in war emergencies and on the other, trying to consolidate by small concessions some of the forces that arraign against it. At the same time it has reiterated its determination to impose on the country the universally condemned Federation. It continues to help and abate the reactionary and disruptive feudal and communal forces.

"In view therefore of this international and national situation the Sabha affirms that the time has come when the united forces of the country embraces the Congress, the States peoples, peasants and workers of the organisations and the people generally should take a forward step and launch an attack on the slave constitution on the Imperialist domination itself for complete national independence and a democratic State of the Indian people leading ultimately to the realisalion of a Kisan-Mazdoor Raj.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

"The Sabha therefore calls its constituent units to take in hand the following programme of action—(1) Popularisation of necessity of the coming nation-wide struggle and of fighting uncompromisingly againt Federation.

(2) Intensification and integration of the political struggles of the peasants.

(3) Establishing of united front between the Congress, the A. I. K. S. the A. I. T. U. C. and other anti-Imperialistic organisations.

(4) Insisting upon acceptance and implementing by the Provincial Governments of the immediate demands of the Kisan Sabha and implementing of the election manifesto by the Congress Ministry.

(5) Liquidation of forces of communal disruption through common struggle of the masses for their economic and political demands and through fighting for scrupulous observances of minority rights.

(6) Organisation of a strong Kisan Volunteer Corps.

(7) Solidarity demonstration and active help to the State's people.

"The Sabha directs that all the delegates at this session should report on this resolution to their constituents on their return. It further calls upon the Kisan Sabhas and the Kisan workers all over the country to popularise this resolution through meetings and leaflets and other methods of propaganda.

BENGAL MINISTRY

"The party which form the Coalition Government of Bengal, before the general election, promise to the people that if they were in power after the election they would adopt measures for the amelioration of the condition of peasants of the province and remove the disabilities caused by the then existing repressive laws. But since they assumed power they have done little to fulfil those promises.

(2) It is true that they have amended the Tenancy laws and thereby done some good to some tenants but that is far below the mark and hardly touches the poorest classes of tenants and Bhag-Chasis, or Bargadars who needed relief most.

(3) In regard to the insistent demands of the peasants and the Kisan Sabha for reduction of rent, the Government have appointed a Land Revenue Commission to investigate the land problems. This has been looked upon as a dodge to shelve the question for a considerable time while popular demand is that an interim report should be published by the Commission without delay.

(4) So far as agricultural indebtedness is concerned what little measure has been adopted by the Government is of such a nature that it can be taken advantage of by non-agricultural classes rather than give relief to the agricultural debtors who need relief most.

(5) Besides, so far as mass movement and particularly the Kisan movement of the province are concerned, the attitude of the Government of Bengal has been one of constant hostility and this is proved by the repressive measures deliberately taken in connection with peasant agitation in Barisal, Burdwan, 24-Parganas, Hooghly and other distric ts where Kisan workers have been gagged and the Kisans have been subjected to various ways of torture such as assault, arrest, imprisonment, confiscation of Kisans' properties, valued several times the actual dues claimed by the Government in the name of realising their dues.

(6) In view of the above facts this Sabha condemns the action and the attitude of the Government of Bengal and demands full justice to the peasants of the province at least to the extent of redeeming their election pledges.

BIHAR MINISTRY

"Whereas the Congress election manifesto, the agrarian programme of the Faizpur Congress and the demands made on their basis by the Kisans, Kisan Sabhas and some Congress Committees entered into an agreement with the reactionary zemindars, the allies of British Imperialism and the opponents of the Congress in which not only the interest of the Kisans was not kept in view but which has proved detrimental to the prestige of the Congress and has shaken the confidence of the Kisans in it and,

"Whereas their agrarian legislation passed in accordance with the Congress-zamindar agreement is not only inadequate and unprogressive but has failed to give the much-needed reliefs to them and made them suffer daily new difficulties and tortures have allowed their crops and grain rot in the fields and the threshing floors and to crown cases have been started against them and,

"Whereas a dangerous weapon has been given to the Zemindars in the shape of facility to distrain the crops of the Kisans by means of a tenancy law and

"Whereas the law, which the Congress ministry has passed with a view to solve the most vexed problems of the Kisans, viz, the restoration of Bakast lands, has not only proved to be incapable of solving the problem but has made them suffer at the hands of the zemindar on account of the passive attitude of the Ministry and made them helpless in protecting their lands, and

"Whereas on one side the zemindars are depriving the Kisans of their lands, on the other hand the Kisans and Kisan workers are being implicated in criminal cases so much so that men of the standing of Pt. Jadunandan Sharma, Rev. Rahul Sankritain and Pt. Ramnandan Misra have been accused of theft under section 379 I. P. C. and

"Whereas repressive policy is being pursued by the Ministry in order to crush the power of resistance among the Kisans and whereas the Ministry has miserably failed to relieve the Kisans of their heavy and crushing burden of debts and whereas the Zemindars have observed the terms of their agreement with the Congress Ministry,

"The Sabha demands from the Congress authorities in Behar that the Congress Zemindar agreement be put an end to at once, that the Congress Ministry be ordered to put a stop to the high-handedness and tyranny of the Zemindars and that the Congress Ministry shall take immediate steps to solve the Bakast problems and

generally to implement the terms of the Congress election manifesto and the agrarian programme of the Faizpur Congress.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

"This Sabha has always recognised that Agricultural labourers and (agricultural workers) are an integral section of the class of Kisans and that there can be no real progress of Kisans and regeneration of our rural life until and unless the large body of agricultural labourers is assured of security of employment, minimum wages, humane and respectable conditions of life and freedom from all vestiges of feudal serfdom of bondage.

"This Sabha is keenly conscious of the fact that every year more and more landed Kisans are becoming landless and both they and the tenants are driven down into the ranks of agricultural labourers by relentless process of the increasing unprofitability of agriculture, crushing burdens of taxation etc. and therefore it is in the interests of the whole Kisan class itself that the real labourers shall be raised to as high a level as possible. Therefore this Sabha calls upon all Kisan Sabhas to strive their best to achieve immediately among other things at least the following :—(i) Complete cancellation of their debts. (ii) Reservation of all unoccupied but cultivable lands for their co-operative exploitation by agricultural workers. (iii) The establishment of Agricultural wages Boards consisting of representatives of peasants and agricultural labourers to fix minimum wages and other conditions of work. (iv) Extension of the Workmen's Compensation Act to them. (v) A national policy of housing and protected drinking water supply for them. (vi) Penalisation of every kind of illegal exactions, feudal serfdom, forced labour. (vii) Repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act and (either repeal or amendment of) those provisions of the I. P. C. which are frequently and arbitrarily invoked against them by the police.

"Where separate Agricultural Labour Unions have come into existence it is the duty of the P. K. C.'s to try to establish friendly contacts with them and to bring about settlement of any disputes if any, that may break out between peasants and agricultural workers.

"This Sabha exhorts both Kisans and agricultural labourers to realise the great and growing need for their united front as against all the powerful vested interests which have been crushing them both for ages past and also for their fighting shoulder to shoulder against both their class enemies and their ally, the British Imperialism in order to wrest complete freedom from them.

CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT

"The Criminal Tribes Act of the Government of India is in the opinion of the Sabha a thoroughly inhuman measure which is unworthy of any civilised Government and should be immediately repealed by all Provincial Governments which are now under their sway.

"This has been applied against many kisan leaders and workers of Noakhali and Tippera districts of Bengal by the Government of that province who seem to have considered it a novel and effective means of suppressing the growing peasantry movement. Those of the workers who have been brought under the C. T. Act in those two ditricts are :—(Tippera) 1. Krishna Sundar Bhowmic (in Jail) 2. Khetranath Sharma, 3. Jagdish Chandra Das, 4. Suresh Chandra Das, 5. Khalibur Rahman, 6. Aradaullah, 7. Neaz Ali Bepari (aged 65), 3. Ramani Mohan, 9. Abid Ally, 10. Kabi Ahmed, 11. Mofizur Rahman 12. Azizur Rahman 13. Yusuf Ali and 14. Surendra Bhowmic and (Noakhali). 1. Mokhlesur Rahman in jail 2. Nur Islam, 3. Abidullah, 4. Dula Mian, 5. Sultan Ahmad, 6. Ali Hussain, 7 Kali Kumar (aged about 75) 8. Ali Asam Choudhury and 9. Enayat Ullah (aged 80 in jail).

"What is worse is that notices under this Act were served on some of these workers while they were in Jail as political prisoners curiously arrested. The Act was withdrawn from Syed Ahmed Khan of Noakhali after he was elected to the Assembly and long after the members of all the groups in the Assembly insisted on the removal of the ban. The Sabha therefore strongly condemns the action of the Government of Bengal in using the Act for the suppression of the Kisan movement and demands the removal of the ban and the repeal of the Act.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

"This Sabha notes with regret that inspite of the united demand of the people and of the representative organisations of the country, politicals in many of the provinces, particularly in Bengal and in the Punjab, have not yet been released. There has been no terroristic outrage in Bengal and in the Punjab and no

recrudescence of it after the release of the detenues and some convicted political prisoners, as was gloomily prophesied by all apologists of the Government in Bengal and in the Punjab. The Sabha is convinced that terrorism as a political movement is dead. The present situation therefore warrants the release of all prisoners convicted of so-called terroristic acts. The work of the Advisory Committee appointed by the Bengal Government had been unsatisfactory and dilatory, and, as such, the Sabha disapproves of the measures of the Bengal Government. The Sabha also notes that large numbers of kisan workers and labour including workers who were engaged in regular work among the masses have been prosecuted and in different provinces, viz, the Punjab, Bihar and Madras are not yet being released in spite of the demand of the people.

"The Sabha therefore urges all the provincial Governments to give effect to the will of the people by releasing all the political prisoners prosecuted for terroristic offences or for work among the masses without any delay whatsoever.

"This Sabha notes with deep regret that inspite of its strict adherence in all its activities to all peaceful methods, charges of violence have been levelled against its workers and its constituent bodies from time to time. While the Sabha emphasises again the need of strict adherence to peaceful methods, it points as an earnest of its policy it has followed to the numerous instances of peasant struggles in Bihar and elsewhere in which despite grave persecution includiug assaults on women as at Chitauli in Bihar and Kalipattam in Andhra, the peasant fighters have maintained not only a peaceful atmosphere but also strict discipline. Cases are not unknown such as in a recent case in Darbhanga in Bihar, in which responsible peasant workers falsely charged with violence have been acquitted honourably by competent courts. The Sabha feels strongly that this propaganda based on misinformation is motivated by the vested interests whose foundations have been shaken up by the present movement. The Sabha regrets that it is not realised that such baseless charges result only in the weakening of the unity of the Indian people in their fight against oppression. The Sabha therefore appeals to all who are working to desist from such propaganda and co-operate with it in developing the struggle of 35 per cent of the people of India into a mighty and disciplined force that is bound to be the strongest factor in the victory of the Indian people over exploitation and slavery.

Abolition of Zemindari System

"The Sabha reiterates the resolution, passed at its Comilla session that the Zamindari system which has proved to be such an economic waste and which has brought about the ruin of millions of peasants must be abolished without paying any compensation to the Zemindars and other intermediate landlords.

"The Sabha is glad to note that the opinion that the land belongs to the cultivator and the Zemindar is only a collector of rent is increasingly gaining ground. The Madras Zemindari Enquiry Committee has declared the Kisans' proprietory right over the land, forests, irrigation sources and village commons and the Premier of Madras has admitted that the Zemindar was a public servant who could be dismissed without paying any compensation. In Bengal, the land revenue commission has been appointed to inquire, among other things, the question of land proprietorship. By abolishing 'salami' and the right of pre-emption, the Bengal Government has already restricted the proprietory right of the Zemindars and the logical conclusion of their course, even from the legal standpoint, is the ultimate denial of the Zemindar's proprietorship. The Sabha places on record its appreciation of the work of the Andhra Ryots Association and Bengal Kisan Sabha which prepared and submitted memoranda to the Prakasam's Committee and Floud Commission respectively. It was also on the initiative of the B. P. K. S., that a conference of representatives of all progressive political organisations of Bengal including the Krishak Praja Samiti, B. P. T. U. C. and B. P. C. S. P. and some prominent Congress men adopted a resolution of abolition of Zemindari system without compensation.

"The Sabha is pleased to note that the Kisan workers in response to the resolution of the Comilla session carried on intensive propaganda during the last year for the popularisation of the demand for abolition of Zemindari without compensation to the landlords. The Sabha therefore asks all the provincial and local committees to concentrate their activities on further intensifying the movement for the abolition of Zemindari system and restoring full rights in land to the actual cultivators of the soil.

The Bengal Provincial Political Conference

36th. Sesison—Jalpaiguri—4th. & 5th. February 1939

The Welcome Address

The thirtysixth session of the Bengal Provicial Political Conference was held at Jalpaiguri on the **4th. February 1939**, under the presidency of Sj. *Sarat Chandra Bose*. Sj. *Charu Chandra Sanyal* in the course of his welcome address said :— The introduction of Provincial Autonomy was responsible for the sudden and excessive growth of communalism which brought in its wake a parochial outlook and provincial jealousies. In analysing the various causes which hindered the welding of the different peoples inhabiting the great sub-continent into a homogeneous whole, Mr. Sanyal recounted the recent happenings in the Provinces administered by the Congress and non-Congress Ministries. He said that "the party squabbles in the Central Provinces, firing by police on labourers in Bombay, application of the much condemned regulations in Madras to suppress the anti-Hindi agitation, threats on the life of the Premier of Sind and the spread of communal differences in the Punjab and Bengal bespoke of ruffled tempers and indicated a disturbed atmosphere which were not all conducive to the growth of India as a nation which had been the aspiration and goal of the people." "The scramble for the sweets of office, the unduly self-assertive and selfish attitude of the landlords and businessmen which were giving rise to labour agitation and Kisan movements could not but weaken a much divided people," he continued. Mr. Sanyal welcomed the re-election of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose at this critical juncture and hoped that under his guidance the Congress would be able to tackle many of them and ensure smooth and harmonious working of the Congress programme. Turning to the situation that obtained in Bengal, Mr. Sanyal regretted that political differences and discussions were weakening the organisation and leading many a valued worker astray. He appealed to all to discard the partisan spirit which engendered differences and disputes and work in unison for the attainment of the common goal.

The Presidential Address

In the course of his presidential address, Sj. *Sarat Chandra Bose* stressed on some of the salient points as, greater unity in Congress camp, uncompromising opposition to Federation, intensification of the struggle for "Purna Swaraj", reorientation of Congress foreign policy, immediate redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis, release of all political prisoners in Bengal and communal unity. He deprecated narrow provincialism and appealed to the people to think in terms of the Indian nation. The Federation of India was the supreme ideal for which every Indian should strive, but the Federation which the British Government was trying to foist upon India was only a mockery of Federation. It had been devised by British imperialists for the perpetuation of the slavery of India. It was, therefore, the duty of the nation to oppose its inauguration tooth and nail.

Thanking the delegates and members of the Reception Committee for the honour they have done him by electing him President of the Conference, Sj. Bose thought that at the present stage of the national struggle, India should make a declaraton of her fundamental demands before the world, presumably on the line of American Declaration of Independence. In this connection, he pleaded for the reorientation of the Congress foreign policy and advised keeping closer touch with the institutions and people who stood for the liberation of humanity. "We should let those people and nations, who are sympathetic with our national ideals and aspirations, know how we could mutually help each other."

Sj. Bose spoke at a considerable lengh on the proposed Federation. He said India stood for complete Independence. She wanted Federation, a federation of all component independent Indian states and provinces and not a federation of the type which the British imperialists were trying to impose upon her. In this connection he referred to the recent declaration of the Viceroy and said that the Federation was sure to be imposed upon the nation very soon, unless there was an organised attempt on the part of the whole nation to thwart its inauguration. In this supreme hour of the national crisis, the Congress, the mouthpiece of the whole nation, should sink its internal differences and present a united front to the imperialistic and reactionary

forces. Though the Congress had rejected the federal scheme in the most unmistakable and unambiguous language, he regretted that there were some even among Congressmen who had not been able to make up their mind about the real issue.

Reviewing the world situation, he said that if a world war broke out, it would offer a good opportunity to India to win her independence. But he doubted whether in her present political situation, she would be able to take full advantage of that opportunity. The clash between the totalitarian states and the so-called democracies, he explained, was a clash between the old imperialism and the new. The former wanted to oust the latter from the field and grab it for themselves. Therefore, neither the former nor the latter could come to the help of India as such ; she would have to shape her own destiny. For this she would have to depend upon her own strength which mainly came from her own teeming millions, from her workers, peasants, agriculturists and labourers. The Congress should, therefore, place in the forefront of its programme, the education of the masses in Congress ideology with a view to bringing them in line with our struggle for emancipation. Proceeding, Sj. Bose declared his belief in the inevitability of industrialisation of India, which was not inconsistent with the spirit of the times. India offered an extensive scope for industrialisation, like the United States of America and Soviet Russia, on account of her variety and wealth of natural resources. There had been a great advance in industrialisation during the last twenty years. There was, however, an evil element in this unplanned progress, which it would not be possible for the opponents of industrialisation to control. Thus, for absence of a plan, the industries of the country were dependent for their progress on individual enterprise and were tending more and more to be controlled by a particular set of capitalists. If this tendency, for which the conservatism of the capitalists as a class was responsible, were to persist unchecked, it would be an evil thing for the country. The only remedy to this evil, in the opinion of the speaker, was the State introduction and control of industry. A grave responsibility in this regard lay on the Central and Provincial Governments in the country.

Proceeding, Sj. Bose emphatically declared that to-day there was no dispute in the Congress about the policy. The differences of opinion that existed were about the Congress programme and were unimportant. This, in the speaker's opinion, was only natural, for so long as we had not achieved freedoom there could be no scope for differences. Congress would have to present a united front for a considerable time to come, otherwise our efforts for freedom might even be frustrated altogether. Turning to the individual problems of Bengal, Sj. *Bose* referred to the necessity of her marching in co-operation with other provinces. Some there were, he said, who thought that no unity between Bengal and the rest of India could be possible before the superiority and leadership of Bengal were acknowledged. The speaker hoped that in the interests of national unity, the more extreme provincial demands should be withdrawn. In his opinion one such demand was the use of the Bengali language as the national language of India. This was an idle dream for it should be realised that inspite of local variations, Hindi was the common language of the whole of Northern India. To displace this language and introduce Bengali in its place, the speaker held, was not a practicable proposition. Another consideration was that no language could be adopted as a political language by reason of its literary wealth. The currency of a language was due to social and political reasons. If, therefore, Bengali was not adopted as the national language of India, it was no reason for shame or resentment in Bengal. Sj. *Bose* warmly supported the demand for the inclusion in Bengal of all Bengali-speaking areas now included in the provinces of Bihar and Assam and declared that the Congress should actively support this demand. There could be no true federation without this being done. He also said that all the provinces should be distributed on a linguistic basis. Bihar, for example, should be separated from Chota Nagpur and should be joined with the Hindi-speaking portion of Central Provinces.

The second demand of Bengal, the speaker proceeded, was for the protection of the social, political and economic rights of Bengalees outside Bengal. He thought much of the problem would be solved if the provinces were re-organised on a linguistic basis. In his opinion, the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress regarding recruitment to Government services in Bihar was a just one. He also mentioned that we in Bengal would follow the policy pursued by Bihar or the Central Provinces with regard to recruitment of Bengalees in the services in these provinces. Turning to the complex internal problems of Bengal, Sj. Bose enumera ted some of the more important ones, which were :—(1) removal of the poverty of the

Bengali agriculturist and labourer, (2) provision of a living for the 'Bhadralok' class, (3) unity among the Hindus and Muslims, (4) spread of primary education, (5) improvement of rural areas, (6) bringing all the classes in Bengal to the same level of education and economic solvency and (7) release of political prisoners. These were intricate problems, he said, and could be taken up for solution only when the Government of the province was in the hands of those having the will and the capacity to tackle them. Unfortunately for Bengal, her governance was now in the hands of people who did not believe in any radical reform of her social and economic conditions and who, by their activities, had been blocking her path to progress. In the course of a survey of the work of the Bengal ministry during the past two years, Sj. Bose said that there was only one item to their credit, even according to them. This was the amended Tenancy Act, the benefits of which to the agriculturists were, from the first, questioned by the Congress Party and the working of which had fully justified their doubts. On the side of debit, Sj. Bose referred to the Ministry's opposition to measures proposed by their antagonists at the Bengal legislature, which included, among others, the fixing of a minimum price for jute, the purchase of the rights of landholders, introduction of extensive free medical relief, free primary education and prohibition. Not only that, they had also helped and assisted the capitalists and foreigners in all possible ways, as was proved by their support of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation and the promulgation of the Jute Ordinance for the convenience of Jute Mill owners.

But the gravest charge against the ministry, said Sj. Bose, was that they had been trying to keep alive the spirit of communalism in the province by all means and methods. They were trying to create communal differences where such differences did not exist. Only a few days ago, a bill for the amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act had been published, which aimed at introducing a communal electorate in the Calcutta Corporation. The speaker declared that if the framers of the Bill persisted in their attempts to carry it out in practice, they would face unsurmountable opposition from all true Bengalis—Hindus and Muslims alike. They might have that iniquitous measure passed in the legislature on account of their numerical superiority there, but it was bound to be strenuously opposed by all reasonable men.

This was not all. Even within their own community they favoured the higher classes and within the higher classes, a particular coterie. This characteristic was becoming more and more evident in the matter of appointments to services. When during last August a motion of no-confidence against the Ministry was moved in the Assembly, a member mentioned certain names which had amazed everybody by reason of the frequency with which the names of relations of a certain Minister cropped up. Sj. Bose requested the delegates to go through the statement issued by the Public Services Commission in this connection.

Turning next to the agitation for the release of political prisoners, Sj. Bose said that when the ministry had taken control after the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, it was expected that the detenus and political prisoners would be released, but they paid no attention to it. When the Congress took up the movement for their release they had a difficult situation to face. The repression during the period between 1930 and 1932 had so depressed the public that they were even afraid to mention the political prisoners, not speak of trying to secure their release. It took time to remove this feeling of depression, but the agitation gained full strength since April, 1937. Congressmen did not, and could not admit of any difference between detenus and convicted political prisoners. It was from the conviction that it was morally wrong to keep them in detention after the active campaign for freedom had been suspended that Mahatma Gandhi came to Bengal to confer with the Bengal Ministry regarding their release. As a result, the detenus had been released. But Mahatmaji's advice regarding the release of convicted prisoners had not been fully accepted and nearly 150 workers were still in jail. He wished the comrades behind the prison bar to know that the Congress would spare no pains to secure their release. This was the reason that induced two Congress members of the Assembly to work on the official Advisory Committee in connection with the political prisoners' problem. Though some would say that such participation was bad in principle, the speaker had agreed to be on the Committee in the thought that the release of these comrades was a task in which it was the duty of every Bengali to help.

Referring to the shortfall of all attempts to solve the manifold problems facing Bengal, Sj. Bose said that the only way to success of these attempts was

to bring the governance of Bengal into the hands of Congress-minded Bengalis—it did not matter whether they were Hindus or Muslims.

In this connection, he observed that a change in the Ministry in Bengal, however desirable it might be, could not be brought about by the efforts or strategy of a few persons. It was possible, by influencing a few members, to force a victory, but its effects were not likely to be lasting. A Ministry which had no common policy and programme could not do real good to the country. If it was intended to establish a Ministry with a new policy, it was necessary to make organised efforts outside the legislature.

The first step in such efforts should be, continued Sj. Bose, to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. It would be no exaggeration to say that this was the gravest issue in Bengal. Communalists were busy preaching that Bengal Hindus would never be able to concede to the Muslims their rights. It was up to the Hindus to give the lie to this propaganda. As unfortunately, differences with Muslims had been created in the province, it was up to the Hindus to make a little sacrifice and remove the cause of misunderstanding. The result of refusal to do this would not be good even from the view-point of communal Hindu interests.

Discussing the reasons of communal differences, Sj. Bose referred to the small percentage of Muslims in Government services and the poverty and indebtedness of the agriculturists who formed a major part of the Muslim community in the province and observed that these had undoubtedly contributed to the misunderstanding with the Hindus. Our clear duty was to meet the reasonable economic demands of the Muslims as soon as possible. It was from this idea that the speaker, in his capacity as a leader of the Congress party in the Assembly, had proposed a Conference of representatives of all communities to settle the communal ratio in services. This proposition had been garbled and it was being said by some that the Congress Party had accepted the proposal for giving 60 per cent of the services to Muslims. This was not true. What Sj. Bose had actually said was that the Congress Party was in favour of recruitment by open competition through the agency of the Public Service Commission, but suggested that out of the successful candidates a fixed percentage of candidates of Hindu, Muslim and other communities was to be appointed.

It was true, however, Sj. Bose admitted that the Congress party advocated the appointment of a larger number of qualified Muslim candidates in Government service. To object to this would be foolish communalism. The Bengali middle class could not live solely on services. This was as true of Hindus as of Muslims, the problem of securing a living being equally difficult for both. It would not be fair to favour Hindus at the expense of Muslims. In the long run, both would be compelled to seek other occupations to earn a living. Referring to the oppressions of the landlords and 'Mahajans', Sj. Bose said that in the event of a class strife developing in Bengal, the Congress would side with the needy and the oppressed. He believed that if the economic demands were met, the so-called cultural grounds of difference would hardly matter. Concluding, Sj. Bose appealed to the youth of the province to forget all narrow sectarianism and small interests and to develop a wide outlook that would help the cause of freedom.

Resolutions—Second Day—Jalpaiguri—5th. February 1939

THE NATIONAL DEMAND

The second day's proceedings of the Conference was resumed on the next day, the **5th. February**. A resolution condoling the deaths of Kemal Ataturk, Moulana Saukat Ali, Dr. Sir Brojendra Nath Seal, Principal Girish Bose, Sj. Himangshu Bose, Sj. Nirmal Das, Mr. Khasnabis, Seikh Zamiruddin and other political workers who died during the last year and those who died in the Andamans and other detention camps was moved from the Chair. The resolution was carried all standing.

A resolution which was expected to be placed before the Tripuri session of the Congress on behalf of the Bengal Congress was moved by Sj. *Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty* and was supported by Sj. *Bankim Mukherji*. This resolution was based on the resolution defining the national demands made at the Maldah Conference. The resolution on the National Demand runs :—

"This Conference recommends to the Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress the following resolution for its adoption :

"Self-determination for all peoples is now the universally accepted principle in modern world. During the last few decades, this principle was applied in

part or whole in the different countries of the world, but India has been excluded from the sphere of its operation.

"In the year 1919 and subsequent thereto on the plea of this principle of self-determination the maps of Europe and Asia were re-made and new frontiers were demarcated. India with her hoary civilisation, her distinctive culture, tradition, history and her fundamental unity was pre-eminently a fit case for the application of this principle.

"The people of India now feel that they have been denied this too long. They must demand their birthright forthwith. The Government of India Act, 1935, which was enacted by the British Parliament, is a negation of this principle. It not only does not provide for the transference of power to the Indian people, but is also designed and calculated to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism on India.

"As such it was rejected by the Indian National Congress at its Lucknow session in April, 1936. Since then, various developments are taking place. The provincial part of the said constitution was inaugurated on April 1, 1937 and demands are now being made on the side of the British Government to impose the Federal part of it. The Congress repeatedly declared in the most clear and unequivocal terms its attitude of uncompromising opposition to the Federal Scheme.

"We have reached a stage in our history when it is not enough merely to declare our rejection of the Government of India Act, 1935. It is time for the Indian people to demand in the most unmistakable manner a constitution of their own making.

"To this end the Congress calls upon the British Government to concede the principle of self-determination to India and recognise in its entirety the constitution based on self-determination which the Congress will submit in accordance with the popular will. This constitution shall be embodied in a treaty between India and Great Britain which will define the future relations before the two countries. The treaty will be drawn up by representatives of the Congress and the British Government and shall be ratified by the Congress on the one side and the British Parliament on the other. In the event, however, of negotiations between representatives of the Congress and British Government breaking down, the Congress will be free to take such measures as it considers desirable with a view to making India's demand for self-determination irresistible.

"A period of six months should be fixed within which the British Government would be expected to give a categorical reply to India's national demand. In the event of the reply being unsatisfactory and inadequate, or no reply being received at all, the Congress will take such steps or resort to such sanction as it considers necessary in order to enforce the national demand. In the meantime, during this period of six months, all Congress organisations in the country will be called upon to take necessary steps in Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary spheres for preparing the Indian people for the coming struggle."

Sj. *Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty* in moving the resolution said that when the Independence resolution was adopted by the Congress seven years ago, it opened a new chapter in the country's struggle for freedom. The coming struggle regarding Federation was going to be another turning point. The recent Congress Presidential election showed the trend of public opinion in the country. There would be, he stressed, no compromise on this question.

Miss *Leela Nag*, in seconding the resolution, said that when England and her allies waged the last War, it was said that they were fighting for self-determination. Indians took them at their words and helped them as much as possible, but they all knew what rewards Indians got for all they did.

Continuing she said that mere negative programme would not carry them far ; what was wanted was a positive plan of action which would make England accept India's demands. What would be their plan of action would be decided at the Tripuri Congress and in order that they might carry their struggle to a successful issue, a plan of action they must prepare from now.

Mr. *Mohiuddin Khan* of Rangpur in supporting the resolution stressed the need for organisation throughout the country in order to win in the coming struggle. Sj. *Bankim Mukherjee* said that it was an ultimatum to the British Government to meet their demands. They must create such a sanction behind these demands as would make it impossible for the British Government to refuse. They must all get ready for the coming fight and when the call came, men and women must all get ready to plunge into it, irrrespective of all considerations, personal or otherwise. The resolution was passed unanimously.

RELEASE OF POLITICALS

Sj. *Pratul Ganguly*, an ex-State prisoner, moved a resolution condemning the unsympathetic attitude of the Bengal Government in not agreeing to the terms of of Mahatma Gandhi and Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and not unconditionally releasing the political prisoners. The resolution asked the people to carry on agitation throughout the country and the member of the Assembly in the coming session to demand the release of these prisoners. If the Ministry did not agree, there must be strong pressure inside the legislature and agitation throughout the country demanding the resignation of the Ministry. The resolution asked all progressive associations in the country to co-operate with the Provincial Congress Committee in this matter. The resolution was seconded by Sm. *Hemaprova Mazumdar* and supported by Sj. *Somnath Lahiri*. The resolution was passed unanimously.

ZEMINDARS TO GO

Dr. *Charu Ch. Banerjee* mover a resolution calling upon all progressive associations to co-operate with district, sub-divisional and primary Congress Committees in placing before the Land Revenue Commission the needs, grievances and demands of the peasants of Bengal in an adequate manner. Dr. Baneriee moved the following resolution on the Land Revenue Comission :—

"With a view to present in proper form the demands and grievances of the oppressed and impoverished peasants of Bengal before the Land Revenue Commission, this Conference calls upon all progressive organisations in the Province to co-operate with District, Sub-divisional and Primary Congress Committees in launching upon a countrywide campaign.

"In order to relieve the peasants and remove their grievances this Conference also urges abolition of Permanent Settlement and all Zemindari systems in the Province after having paid reasonable compensations to parties concerned."

Mr. *Hashem Ali Beg* supported the resolution which was carried unanimously.

JUTE ORDINANCE

Dr. *Sibnath Banerjee* moved a resolution condemning the policy of the Bengal Government in not fixing the price of jute and passing the Jute Ordinance whereby twenty thousand people lost job and three lakhs suffered loss in income.

The resolution demanded that those who had suffered by the Jute Ordinance should be compensated and also demanded that the price of jute be fixed at Rs. 10 per maund and arrangement for sale be made on co-operative basis. The resolution expressed the opinion that the 40 hours week arrangement would mean more unemployment for workers. Mr *Abdul Malek* seconded the resolution which was passed unanimously.

EXCLUDED AREAS

Sj. *Brojendra Bose Choudhury* moved a resolution urging that excluded and backward areas in Darjeeling, Hill Chittagong and Mymensingh districts be brought under the same system of Government as was obtained under the reformed constitution in Bengal. The resolution, seconded by *Mangal Singh Lama*, *Pratiman Singh Lama* and *Janbir Sabkota*, was passed unanimously.

ASSAM CABINET

Sj. *Chittaranjan Das* moved a resolution congratulating the Congress Coalition Government in Assam which was formed frustrating the Hookenhull-Saadulla conspiracy. It congratulated the Assam Cabinet on their releasing all political prisoners in the Province and on their accepting a salary of Rs. 500 each.

The resolution requested the Congress Ministry to implement the pledge given in the Congress election manifesto and to fulfil as far as possible the demands of the people of Sylhet and Cachar as formulated by the Assam Workers' Co-ordination Committee. The resolution further requested the Assam Ministry to withdraw the Gurkha soldiers stationed in Bhutipara area and ease the tense situation. The resolution was supported by Maulvi *Safruddin Ahmed* and carried unanimously.

Sj. *Pratap Chandra Mazumdar* of Hilli moved a resolution, urging abolition Chandina system of tenancy which was seconded by Sj. *Suresh Das Gupta* of Bogra and carried.

Mr. *Abdul Hyat Khan*, addressing the Conference, expressed the opinion that if the proposed reservation of seats for Muslims to Congress organisations were given effect to, they would be accepting the harmful principle which they had so long been opposing.

Mr. *C. Gibbons*, the Anglo-Indian Congress leader, dressed in Khaddar sherwani, addressing the gathering, said that the Anglo-Indian community was now being convinced that its interest lay with the progress of Mother India rather than with that of England. He asked for toleration of the slowness of the progress of the Congress movement among the Anglo-Indian community and believed that if not to-day but, by to-morrow they would be in the first line of defence in safeguarding India's interest by becoming the rank and file of the Congress.

Sj. Subhas Bose's Speech

Rastrapati *Subhas Chandra Bose*, addressing the Conference, said that it had been very successful from every point of view. He drew the attention of the delegates to the resolution on Federation and national demand adopted at the Conference, which, he thought, was most important.

He remarked that had the Conference passed only this resolution and nothing else, he would still say that they had duly discharged their duties.

"We want Swaraj for every community and creed", added Sj. Bose. He emphasised the need of unity in the fight for freedom. He surveyed the political situation in India with reference to the International Affairs. To-day, he said, "Imperialism understands that it is on its last legs. If not to-day, in the near future, it will collapse." Referring to International Affairs, Sj. Bose said that the British prestige and glory that they heard of so much in the past were to be found no more. "It goes abegging", he said, "to Berlin and Rome, to Hitler and Mussolini, for solving her problem. We must seize opportunities and rise to a united body to claim Independence," Continuing, the Congress President said that India was not prepared to-day to accept foreign domination because she had come to realise her strength, both individually and collectively.

British Government could not say that India was being ruled to-day according to their dictates, whereas Congress could say that Congress had achieved that amount of strength which was equal to any ruling power. Every European felt to-day that Congress in the near future would rule over India. If we demand our rights can they in any way stop us ?" he asked.

Referring to the political awakening that had come to the people in the Indian States, Sj. Bose said that the flame of unrest noticeable in the States to-day would spread to the remotest parts of India and would spread also the world over. He could realise the growing influence and strength of the Congress even in the States.

Sj. Subhas Bose expressed jubilation and said that for the first time in the history of the Congress, the members of the Anglo-Indian community are interesting themselves in the Congress movement enrolling themselves as Congress members. The British imperialism in India rested on unstinted support it received from the communities like those of the Anglo-Indians, the Gurkhas, the Punjabis and of the Sikhs. The last community was no longer regarded safe for the maintenance of the British imperialism in India. The enthusiasm and interest shown by the Nepalese in attending the Jalpaiguri Conference both as delegates and volunteers showed that the Nepalese were no longer to be lulled into ignoring India's demand. Similar was the growing attitude of the Anglo-Indian community.

He was told that the British Government was going to recruit 40,000 Gurkhas in the army. This, he was told, was because the British Government could no longer pin their faith in certain sections of the Punjabis who were as restive as any other community for upholding the national prestige. If these communities were not anxious to lend their support to the British imperialism its end could not be in far distance. Sj. Bose critically analysed both the international and the national situation and said that every Britisher in India was well aware that the days of the British imperialism in India were numbered and the country was moving rapidly to the Congress fold and the Congress administration was nothing if it was not an administration of the people and by the people's representatives. Their resolution embodying the national demand and the Federation unmistakably showed what they wanted and how they wanted to move in order to realise what the resolution expected to achieve. Sj. Bose hoped that every Congress worker would prepare himself or herself according to the ideal set by the Congress.

After the adoption of the resolutions moved from the Chair regarding the payment of quota to the B. P. C. C., urging the Congressmen to learn Hindusthani and the necessity for changing the rules regarding the Provincial Conference and the withdrawal of ban on the Communist party the Conference concluded.

British India & Indian States

JANUARY—JUNE 1939

The Chamber of Princes

Annual Session—New Delhi—13th. & 14th. March 1939

The annual session of the Chamber of Princes met at New Delhi on the 13th March 1939 under the presidentship of *His Excellency the Viceroy.* In the body c the hall sat Their Highnesses, members of the Chamber, with their gorgeous flow ing turbans, while behind them were the Heir-Apparent. Above the galleries, sa Prime Ministers and other officials of States.

Over fifty Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present. Their Ministers and othe officials were accommodated in a special gallery, while the visitors' gallerie were packed.

Viceroy's Opening Address

Opening the session, His Excelency said: "Your Highnesses, I am very gla to welcome you again to-day and to say how great a pleasure it is to me to hav this opportunity of seeing you and of presiding over your deliberations.

Since we last met, the Chamber has to mourn the loss of many distinguishe Rulers—His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, His Highness the Raja of Sawant wadi, His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior), His Highness the Maharaj of Patiala, His Highness the Maharaja of Kishengarh, His Highness the Maharaj of Baroda, all of them members of the Chamber, the Maharaja of Sonepur, the Raj of Gangpur, the ex-Raja of Mudhol and the ex-Thakore Saheb of Dhrol. I ar sure that it will be the wish of all Your Highnesses that we should place on re cord our deep sympathy with the families of the Rulers whose names I have men tioned, and that we should wish all happiness and prosperity to their successors.

"I might perhaps mention among those who are no longer with us the name of two Princes in particular—His Highness the late Maharaja of Patiala, who ha for some ten years achieved the distinction of being made a Lieutenant General an an A. D. C. to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor; and His Highness th late Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. Although his Highness the Gaekwar had of lat years been prevented, by the decline in his health, from taking an active part in th proceedings of this Chamber, or from spending as long a time as he could hav wished in his most important State, he had, as Your Highnesses are all aware, en deared himself to his people by his close attention to their interests, and he ha had the insight, in those circumstances, to select a wise and able Dewan, and t repose full confidence in him.

"Since the last meeting of the Chamber, the Raja of Jawar has been veste with Ruling powers on the termination of his minority, and I have had the pleasur of recognising the successions of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, His High ness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior branch), His Highness the Raja of Sawantwadi the Thakore Saheb of Dhrol, the Raja of Mudhol, His Highness the Maharaja o Baroda, and the Maharaja of Sonepur. I am sure it will be your wish that I shoul welcome all of them who are present to the Chamber to-day.

"Dewan Bahadur Pandit Dharam Narain, Mr. Musahib Ala (Udaipur State and Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, were among the representatives of India at th meetings of the League of Nations held in 1937 and 1938 respectively. Their report will be presented at this session of the Chamber by His Highness the Chancellor.

"In the international crisis which weighed so heavily on us all in the autumn of last year, the most generous offers to place the resources of their States an their own services at the disposal of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor wer received from very many States. Those generous offers constitute yet another proof if such were needed, of the loyalty and devotion of the Princely Order to His Im perial Majesty the King Emperor; and I take this opportunity to express my own most warm appreciation to the Princes in general of those offers, which were, I can assure them, most deeply appreciated.

"When I last had the honour of addressing Your Highnesses, I referred t the steps which I had taken to assist individual Rulers in reaching a decision in regard to a most important matter—their accession to the Federation of India. I has taken longer than I could have hoped to clear the ground and to examine th numerous points, points of varying importance, raised by individual Rulers in on connection or another with the Federal offer. But that work is now completed The points advanced for consideration by the Rulers of the Indian States have without exception, been examined, and the Federal offer, framed in the light of close and objective examination of those points, has now been drawn up an communicated to the States. I do not propose to-day to enlarge on this mos important question. I will only say that the interests of Your Highnesses an

of the Princely Order as a whole and the representations which have reached me, have received the fullest and most sympathetic consideration. I am content now to await the verdict of the Rulers; and I will add only that the decision which has to be taken is one of supreme importance to Your Highnesses, to your dynasties, and to India and that I feel confident that it will be approached with a full sense of the heavy obligation which rests upon you in this matter.

"For myself, closely connected as I have been with the preparation of the Federal scheme, and with the examination and the elucidation of the various points of obscurity or difficulty which have suggested themselves to Your Highnesses in the course of your examination of it, I will say no more to-day than this—that that scheme, to the devising and the acceptance of which members of Your Highnesses' order present here to-day contributed in so material a degree, represents the result of a close and careful examination of this most important question by the best talent of India and of Great Britain. While in the nature of this, it may have flaws and imperfections of its own, no one has yet succeeded in devising a more satisfactory method of dealing with the problems which have confronted Your Highnesses than the scheme of Federation embodied in the Act of 1935.

Administrative Problems

"I am not ignorant that in recent times the Rulers of Indian States have been passing through, in many cases, a period of stress and difficulty. Far be it from me to deny that there have been many cases in which States have been subjected to attacks which were entirely unjustified, attacks in which one has been unable to trace any scrupulous regard for strict accuracy, or any real desire to promote the welfare of the State or of its people. But making all allowance for the fact that attacks of that nature have frequently been made, it is, I am sure, as plain to Your Highnesses as it is to me. that it is more than ever essential in the present conditions and in this changing world in which we live that the authorities of the Indian States should, without exception, make it their constant care to watch for and to remedy any legitimate grievances that may exist in the administrative field. Your Highnesses will agree with me that it is, equally, as clearly in the interests of all Rulers as it is their plain and manifest duty, to ensure by their own close personal interest in the affairs of their State, in the work of their officials, and in the daily life of their subjects, that those subjects have cause for content, that they are not allowed to suffer undue exactions either on behalf of the State itself or at the call of unworthy officials, and that all genuine grievances receive prompt and active consideration. It goes without saying that an effective machinery by which the authorities of the States can satisfy themselves that all such complaints can readily reach the ears of the Durbar is an essential necessity in the present conditions; and Your Highnesses will all agree with me that it is equally essential that the peoples of the States should feel assured that their wants, their difficulties and their representations will receive the fullest attention and the fullest sympathy, whatever may be the motives or the causes underlying criticisms of, or attacks on, the Indian States, the vulnerability of Durbars will obviously be increased if any legitimate grievances are left unredressed for agitation to exploit.

"It is not to be expected even if every care is taken in those respects that the voice of criticism will be stilled. No Government in the world can, in these days of ever increasing publicity, of ever increasing public interest in the conduct of administration and in the disposal of the public revenues, hope for this. But the importance of stating your cases will not have escaped the attention of Your Highnesses, and there can be no more effective method of disposing of unjustified criticism of the administration of a State than publicity designed to set out the true facts. There are many States which publish admirable administration reports, setting out in detail the true condition of affairs in the State, for all to see. Those States, in which this practice has not yet been adopted, would, I suggest, do well to consider the advisability of following the example of their neighbours in this matter.

Reforms in States

"Your Highnesses will have seen the declarations recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government, declarations which I have myself repeated in public utterances, in regard to constitutional changes or developments in the Indian States. Those statements will have made clear the attitude, in this matter, of His Majesty's Government, which is, I may repeat, that the decision as to the constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take, and that no pressure will be brought to bear on him in this respect

by the Paramount Power. Nor will any obstruction be placed in his way by the Paramount Power, should he wish to give effect to constitutional advances consistent with his treaty obligations. The actual form of such constitutional machinery as a Ruler may, in these circumstances, decide to establish in his State must, I readily recognize, vary according to conditions; and it is obvious that full consideration must be given to local circumstances and conditions, and that the variation in those local circumstances and conditions may be reflected in a variation in the form of constitutional machinery to be devised or adopted in the case of a particular State.

"But making the fullest allowance for that fact, Your Highnesses will, I am quite certain, agree with me that the more personal the form of rule, the greater is the need for personal touch. He who would be the father of his people must satisfy himself that all classes of his subjects are given their fair share in the benefits of his rule, and that an undue proportion of the revenue of his State is not reserved for his own expenditure. And the fact that the normal sphere of the activities of a Ruler lies within the four corners of his State calls for no emphasis from me. An absentee Ruler, like an absentee landlord, represents a condition of affairs that has never easily admitted of justification; and that has never been more markedly the case than in the conditions of the present day. That there may, on occasion, be reasons, over which he has no control, which make it necessary for a Ruler to absent himself for a material period from his territory, I, or course, accept. But Your Highnesses, with your long and wide experience, will agree with me that, in such an event, it is essential that the Ruler, so obliged to be absent from the personal direction of affairs in his State, should satisfy himself beyond any question that those to whom he entrusts the government of his State are fully worthy of his confidence.

Paramount Power's Position

As Your Highnesses have lately been assured, the Paramount Power stands ready to support the Princes in the fulfilment of its treaty obligations. That does not, I need not say, for a moment mean that the Princes themselves are not the primary custodians of their ancient and illustrious heritage. How often has it not been impressed on the Princes of India by those who have had their best interests at heart that they should sink their differences and stand shoulder to shoulder for the good of their States and for their own happiness and peace of mind? Can it honestly be said, looking back as we do to-day over any period of years, that much has been achieved in pursuance of that advice? There is no class and no community in the world which does not contain its weaker brethren. But, it is, as Your Highnesses well know, the common tendency of mankind to generalise, and one Ruler who ignores the welfare of his subjects is only too apt to be regarded as an embodiment of all his neighbours. Is it not possible that the more far-sighted Princes should combine to point out to such a Ruler, by means of friendly advice, the error of his ways, so that discredit may not be brought upon the entire Princely order?

"In no case is the need for co-operation and combination more patent, more pronounced, and more immediate than in the case of the smaller States. Those States whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards, have indeed no other practical alternative before them. I would take this opportunity to impress on the Rulers of such States. with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so far as this is practicable. In doing so, they can rely upon receiving all possible assistance and advice from me and from my advisers. But the need is urgent and pressing. It calls for prompt action on the part of those concerned, and it is, in my judgment, vital in the interests of the smaller States themselves that no time whatever should be lost in taking the necessary steps.

"Your Highnesses, I have touched in the few remarks I have had the pleasure of addressing to you to-day on matters of great significance and great consequence to the States and to their Rulers.

"I feel sure that the significance of what I have said will not be lost upon you at a moment such as the present, of crucial importance in the development of the history of India. I do not desire to detain you longer this morning. Let me only again thank you for the opportunity of seeing you, and extend my best good wishes to you for a profitable session and for the successful discharge of the business which lies before us." (Loud applause.)

RESOLUTION ON REORGANIZATION

After H. E. the Viceroy had spoken, *His Highness the Chancellor, The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar* moved a resolution of condolence on the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, former Chancellor of the Chamber, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Kishengarh, the Maharaja of Alwar, the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior) and the Raja of Sawantwadi.

The important resolution regarding the proposed scheme for the reorganisation of the Chamber of Princes was moved by the Chancellor. "It has been regretfully noticed for some time past," said His Highness, "that certain important States have tended to drift away from this Chamber and this has naturally detracted from its importance and utility. It is no use re-examining the reasons for this tendency of apportioning blame for it. The fact, however, could not be denied and it called for the best efforts of all Rulers and friends of the States to assist in bringing all categories of States together on the joint plank of this Chamber." His Highness said that only four States had raised doubts or differences regarding the scheme and these doubts, he was confident, were due to genuine misunderstandings. The detailed communications which he had sent them would, he was sure, help to clear the position.

Seconding the resolution, the *Raja of Bilaspur* said that the Chamber, as it stood to-day, was purely an advisory body and their recommendations were of a purely advisory character. The reorganisation scheme would operate only for four years, whereafter its suitability would be reviewed. It was important to secure unity among the Princes and he requested the Viceroy to accept the scheme and put it into immediate operation.

His Highness the *Raja of Mandi*, supporting the resolution, affirmed that, speaking as one belonging to the category of smaller States, he considered it as unfounded and based on misunderstandings the apprehensions of certain quarter that the present proposals would affect the sovereignty of some of the States.

The *Maharaja of Tripura* welcomed the representation given by the reorganisation scheme to the Eastern States and expressed the hope that these proposals would enable the Princely Order to attain that unity which was essential to it.

An amendment, embodying an agreed settlement of the grouping of the six States of Jind, Nabha, Kapurthala, Khairpur, Benares and Idar, was moved by His Highness the *Maharaja of Patiala*. His Highness explained that apart from the fact that relatively speaking, the number of seats at present allotted to the Punjab States did not ensure for them, both in the regional group and collectively, their due representation on the Standing Committee envisaged in the new scheme, the amendment sought merely to implement the decision arrived at the informal conference held in Bombay in November. His Highness added that he did not seek to modify the reorganisation proposals which had his wholehearted approval, constituting as they did a supreme effort on the part of the members of the Princely Order to evolve an equitable formula. The resolution and the amendment were put to the House and unanimously adopted.

His Highness the *Maharaja of Bikaner* moved a vote of "hearty thanks to the Chancellor for his splendid and untiring work for the Chamber." In his zeal, remarked His Highness wilh humour, the Chancellor had summoned them to meet at all sorts of places and in all climates and had kept them at work till unspeakable hours. The Chamber would, he said, gratefully acknowledge the Chancellor's labours. His Excellency then adjourned the meeting.

Second Day—New Delhi—4th. March 1939

The Princes Chamber held a short sitting this morning and then adjourned *sine die*. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

H. H. the Chancellor submitted the reports of Dewan Bahadur Pandit Dharam Narain and Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti regarding their work as representatives of India at the meetings of the League of Nations at Geneva in 1937 and 1938, and said that he wished to place on record the Chamber's appreciation of the able work of these two gentlemen. On the motion of the Chancellor, the resolution regarding mail robbery rules was adopted. As a result of the reorganisation scheme adopted by the Chamber yesterday, there was no election this year of a Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor and Standing Committee.

CHANCELLOR EXPLAINS PRINCES' ATTITUDE

The most important business of the day was *His Highness the Chancellor's* address to the Viceroy, thanking His Excellency for presiding over their

deliberations and replying to the speech which His Excelleney made yesterday.

"We desire at the outset to express our gratitude for the welcome which you have so kindly extended to us," said His Highness "and to thank Your Excellency for the courtesy with which you have listened to us and presided over our deliberations."

Referring to the offers made by the Princes during the September crisis to place the resources of their States and their own services at the disposal of His Majesty, the Chancellor said, "These offers were made in no conventional or bargaining spirit. They meant to us the fulfilment of our obligations to the Crown, which are our sacred heritage and which we, on our part, are determined to maintain." "Your Excellency," continued the Chancellor, "made a reference to the revised draft of the Instrument of Accession and to the vexed question of Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. Your Excellency would not expect within a month or so of the receipt by us of the revised draft of the Instrument of Accession and the connected papers, with all the intricate, legal and other questions involved, any definite indication of our views at this stage. Moreover, as expected, the States have been allowed a period of six months within which to give their replies and the final decision in this matter must, as Your Excellency has said, rest with the individual Rulers concerned. We can, however, assure Your Excellency that we fully appreciate the importance of our verdict in this matter to ourselves, to our dynasties and to India and are approaching it with a full sense of the responsibility which rests upon us.

"In the examination of this question at this last stage of negotiations, it is our duty, Your Excellency will doubtless appreciate, to apply ourselves dispassionately to the question as to how far, under the revised Draft of the Instrument and the Government of India Act of 1935 and any further amendments to that Act, with the effect, in actual working, of the safeguards for the protection of the legitimate rights of the States embodied therein, it will be possible for us and our successors, in the fast changing circumstances of the country, effectively to discharge our triple obligation to the Crown, to our States and to India.

"Moreover, we have to examine carefully and to ensure that the power of the State to develop their natural resources remains unaffected, and that the financial implications of the scheme leave us sufficient margin to balance our budgets and to provide funds for the growing and legitimate need of improvements in, and raising the standard of, our administrations and in developing beneficent activities. Thereafter, we shall not hesitate to express freely and frankly what we may decide. Your Excellency has referred to the need of certain administrative Reforms in the States. We fully endorse the view that improvements in the administrations of States should emanate from the Rulers concerned wherever they may be needed. We recommend this course, not as a political expediency but as a sacred duty resting on us as Rulers. We have more than once given sympathetic consideration to the various aspects of this question and recognise that our greatest asset is the happiness and contentment of our peoples, and that no possible effort towards this end should be spared by us in ensuring the progress and prosperity of our loyal and devoted subjects. There is a clear distinction, however, between matters relating to improvement in administration and the question of Constitutional Reforms in the States. We claim that the decision with regard to the form and extent of Constitutional Reforms in the States must rest solely with the individual Rulers concerned.

"The Indian Princes are not averse to progress in their States with due regard to local conditions and resources, and the record of development of the beneficent activities in their States is the best proof of their *bona fides*. We deny, however, the right of any party from outside to dictate to us or to coerce us in the matter of Constitutional Reforms within our States. Such short-sighted attempts cannot but retard the pace of evolution in the States, disturb the traditional good relations between the Rulers and their subjects and create an atmosphere of estrangement between the various regions of this country, which is fraught with serious consequences to all concerned. We have been reassured by the declarations recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government and repeated by Your Excellency, making it clear that 'the decision as to the Constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take and that no pressure will be brought to bear on him in this respect by the Paramount Power.'

"We are equally grateful for the assurance in Your Excellency's address which will be generally welcomed by the States, that 'the Paramount Power stands ready to support the Princes in the fulfilment of its treaty obligations.' We feel confident that no reasonable person or organisation which stands for the sanctity of pledges would expect of the Crown not to implement its pledges to the Princes both in letter and in spirit.

"Your Excellency, we realise, second to none, the importance, at the present juncture, of protecting the good name of the whole Princely Order. It is our aim to help to bring about a state of affairs in which criticism may find no justifiable ground for censure, for we realise that our usefulness to our subjects as well as to India and the Empire is directly dependent upon the ability of each and every State to discharge the responsibilities which rest upon it.

"Your Excellency will, however, appreciate that there is no greater impediment to good government in a State than the weakening of its Ruler's authority. Yet such a weakening must inevitably result, if unjustified attacks are openly made against the established Governments of the States and even doubt is thrown upon the scope of the Ruler's sovereignty. We can assure Your Excellency that the various suggestions of administrative Reforms, where they are needed and to which you have referred in the course of your address, are very helpful and have been receiving the anxious consideration of the Governments of the States.

"Moreover, while we do not object to fair and bonafide criticism, it is incontrovertible that in many cases, as Your Excellency has remarked in your address, we have been subjected to attacks which were entirely unjustified, attacks in which one has been unable to trace any scrupulous regard for strict accuracy, or any real desire to promote the welfare of the State or of its people.' It is, therefore, not unnatural that the States should expect due protection against such attacks. In some of these attacks, it has been insinuated that the Princes are conspiring in a body with the Paramount Power to resort to a deliberate campaign of repression and reaction in the States. Your Excellency and Your Highnesses know that it is a baseless insinuation which we unequivocally repudiate. On the other hand, we can emphatically declare that God willing, the Indian Princes shall not be found wanting in any reasonable contribution which they may be called upon to make in the discharge of their obligations to the Crown and towards the ordered progress of their States and their motherland.

"Your Excellency also referred in your address to the need for the smaller States, with limited resources, to cooperate and combine in matters of administration so far as it may be practicable. This question needs careful consideration from all the viewpoints involved, and relying on Your Excellency's knowledge and respect for the traditions of the Indian States, and for the pledges given to the States —big and small—in successive authoritative pronouncements, guaranteeing their internal autonomy and integrity, we take it as understood that Your Excellency's suggestion is intended to encourage cooperation, on a voluntary basis and to the extent that the States find it practicable, having due regard to local conditions, in certain services of administration, provided that the integrity and sovereignty of the States concerned is not impaired. In order to encourage cooperative grouping on the aforesaid basis, it is essential that the combination should be entirely voluntary and not rigidly limited to the geographical boundaries of a group, so that it may inspire mutual confidence and trust which alone can ensure smooth working.

"Your Excellency has also been pleased to emphasise the need for unity amongst our Order. We gratefully appreciate the sincerity of that advice and fully endrose it ourselves. In this connection, it is a matter of genuine gratification that generally the Princes of India—big and small—stand united to-day behind the reorganisation proposals which have been adopted by this Chamber and blessed by Your Excellency. We feel confident that this step will help us to stand united as a team in the discharge of our obligations to the Crown, to India and to the States".

Review of Chamber's Work

The following is the statement presented by *H. H. the Chancellor* reviewing the work done by the Chamber of Princes during the last two years :—

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—The duty of presenting this review of work since the last Chamber session should ordinarily have devolved on our late lamented and popular Chancellor, His Highness the late Maharaja Sahib of Patiala, but his sad and premature demise deprived us of his charming and courageous leadership at a time when he was most needed. In February, 1938,

His late Highness called us to an informal meeting of the Standing Committee at Delhi, but at the last moment he was himself unavoidably detained owing to indisposition and he charged me to conduct those meetings on his behalf. Soon, thereafter, that great and historic personality passed away, and it left me no option but to carry on within my limitations, the duties of the Chancellor.

Before reviewing the work done since the last Chamber session, it is my painful duty to refer to the great loss which the Empire, India and the States have suffered through the tragic and untimely demise of His Excellency the late Lord Brabourne. During the brief period that he was the Viceroy and President of our Chamber, in Your Excellency's absence on leave, he gave proof of his sympathy and goodwill for the States. The Brabourne Stadium in Bombay will remain a fitting tribute to his interest in sport in India and for his many qualities and his charming personality he shall be remembered by his many friends in this country. We shall be grateful if Your Excellency would be pleased to convey our deepest sympathies to Lady Brabourne in her great loss.

No formal session of the Chamber of Princes could be held in the year 1938. I have, therefore, to make a statement to-day regarding the work done during the last two years, namely for 1937 and 1938.

The period under review was marked by much spade work by the various committees. The following Committees met during the year 1937 and 1938 :—the Military Officers Committee, the Railway Experts Committee, the Standing Committee of Ministers, the Special Committee of Ministers on the question of retrocession of jurisdiction over railway lands, the Special Committee of Ministers on the question of settlement of boundary disputes, the Reorganisation Committee, the Criteria Committee, the Special Committee of Ministers on the question of appointment of shares in the proceeds of the surcharge on petrol of Indian States, the Finance Committee to define the financial powers of the Chancellor and the Standing Committee, the Special Committee appointed to scrutinise the financial position of the Chamber Fund and the Special Committee of Ministers to examine the Indian Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill, 1938.

In these meetings, various matters of long-standing importance were examined and brought to a stage nearer settlement. Moreover, four informal meetings of the Standing Committee were held in February, June, November and December of 1938 and one formal meeting of the Standing Committee was also held in December last.

I shall now recapitulate the progress made during these two years with regard to certain important matters :

(a) The question of attachment of British liaison officers to Indian States forces units in the event of civil disturbances in the States has been satisfactorily settled and the amendments proposed by the Standing Committee to the relevant memorandum of the Government of India have been adopted.

(b) The old pending question of the restrictions imposed by the Government of India on the manufacture and export of salt by Durbars was also examined. This examination showed that no restrictions existed which were contrary to the stipulations of a treaty or agreement with the concerned States and that most of the States had no grievance on the subject. The question was, therefore, dropped.

(c) The question was also taken up, that whereas attested copies of judicial documents granted by a court in British India were admitted in evidence in State courts, attested copies granted by Indian States' courts were not so accepted by courts in British India, unless they were countersigned by the Political Officer concerned, notwithstanding the fact that the Indian Evidence Act had been adopted by almost all the States. The Political Secretary has intimated that authorisation under Section 79 of the Indian Evidence Act, which had already been granted in suitable cases would appear to meet the object in view. This information was accordingly circularised to all the States.

(d) The question of riparian rights of Indian States, which had been pending settlement for a number of years, received further consideration, and it was decided that as Section 130 to 134 of the Government of India Act, 1935, dealing exclusively with water disputes offered a reasonable compromise, it was not necessary to proceed with the matter any further. This question was accordingly dropped.

(e) A satisfactory settlement was also reached over the question of extradition fo criminals between the Indian States and British India of which the details were notified to the States through a circular on the subject issued in July, 1938.

(f) The question of appointment of the shares of Indian States in the proceeds of the surcharge on petrol was originally decided after negotiations between

the Government of India and the Chamber of Princes. Complaints were, however, received from a large number of States, against the revised formula of distributions of surcharge among the Indian States, whose petrol consumption during the year was below one lakh gallons. The matter was carefully examined and it appeared that certain difficulties suggested by the States concerned were really genuine and deserved to be removed. The matter was accordingly taken up at the last formal meeting of the Standing Committee, when the Political Secretary intimated that the suggestions made would be examined with the help of the Government of India Department concerned. Let us hope that a satisfactory solution of the difficulties of the States will be found as early as possible.

(g) The extradition arrangements between the States and Burma, after its separation from India, were settled on the basis of *status quo*, through an Order-in-Council under the Fugitive Offenders Acts of 1881 and 1915.

(h) The question of the reorganisation of the Indian States Forces was thoroughly examined by a Committee of Ministers under the resourceful chairmanship of Nawab Samad Yar Jung, Army Secretary to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad. The report of this Committee was later considered by the Standing Committee. In the meantime, the Chatfield Committee came to India to consider the Indian Defence Reorganisation Plan, and to investigate into the military and financial aspects of the problem of Indian Defence.

We were invited to meet the Chatfield Committee in order to apprise them of the general viewpoint of the States on matters within the terms of reference of the Committee, The Standing Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of Their Highnesses of Bikaner, Patiala and myself to meet the Chatfield Committee. We met them in January last and frankly urged the States' point of view. The Chairman and members of the Committee seemed to appreciate fully the importance of the States in any scheme of Indian Defence and sympathetically listened to all we had to tell them. Let us hope that the recommendations of this Committee will soon help to place the defence services of India and the States on a proper footing.

(i) A reservation was made in 1936, excluding the States from the international obligations undertaken under the Slavery Convention. Enquiries made from the States, however, went to show that no slavery existed in Indian States and that the position in regard to forced labour did not compare unfavourably with that of British India. The reservation of 1926 was accordingly eliminated.

(j) The position as regards retrocession of jurisdiction over railway lands, together with allied matters, was also pursued further. Some of the pending questions have satisfactorily been settled and relevant notifications and circulars have already been issued to the States. A few important questions are still under active negotiations and it is hoped that they will, before long, be settled with due regard to the reasonable viewpoint of the States.

(k) The important question of the reorganisation of the Chamber of Princes, so as to make it fully representative of the big and small States was also taken up; and it is gratifying to note that the proposed scheme was adopted, without any dissentient, by a very representative conference of Rulers and representatives of States held in Bombay in November, 1938.

I shall refer to the scheme in detail when the draft resolutions regarding the proposed reorganisation of the Chamber of Princes come up for consideration.

The Standing Committee resolved to commemorate the eminent services of Their late Highnesses the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, by putting up their portraits or busts in the hall of the Chamber of Princes. In this connection, Their Highnesses of Sachin, Mandi. Bilaspur and Dungarpur issued a joint appeal inviting a donation of Rs. 200 each from the members and representative members to meet the cost of these memorials. As expected, the response to this appeal has been very encouraging and within a couple of months, a sum of Rs. 9,200 has already been received from the various States. We are grateful to Your Excellency for approving the proposal to set up busts of Their late Highnesses, which was our preference also, and we shall be further grateful if Your Excellency will be pleased to issue the necessary directions for the structural changes necessary for this purpose. I feel confident that the proposal will meet with unanimous approval.

The proposed enlargement of the Chamber of Princes, through the inclusion of new members in their own right, who are entitled to it on well-defined tests, has also reached the final stages of negotiations. In the review of work at the last Chamber session by His Highness the then Chancellor it was pointed out with

regard to this question, that the Government of India were awaiting unanimous expression of opinion from the Princes. We have fortunately succeeded in making recommendations at our Bombay Conference without any dissentients.

We hope and request that a sympathetic and satisfactory settlement of this long pending problem may now be made as early as possible. Last but not the least, this period has involved very heavy flow of correspondence, in which advice sought had to be given to various States on many pressing problems.

This concludes the review of the main work done during these two years. The results achieved are the fruits of joint effort on which I wish to offer my grateful thanks to Your Excellency as our President and to my colleagues of the Standing Committee. I am also obliged to my friend, the Hon. Sir Bertrand Glancy, his Joint Secretary and to his Department for their valuable assistance and advice. Moreover, I wish to record my genuine appreciation of the Standing Committee of Ministers, of the various other Special Committees and of the Chancellor's Secretary and his staff who have all made substantial contributions towards achieving these results.

Joint Conference of Princes & Ministers

The importance of the joint action on the part of the Princely Order both in regard to Federation and constitutional and other reforms in the States, was stressed by His Highness the *Jam Saheb of Nawanagar*, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, presiding at a joint conference of Indian Princes, representatives of certain Rulers and States' Ministers at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay on the **10th. June 1939.**

The conference was attended by 50 Princes, about 50 representatives of States authorized to represent their Rulers and about ten other Ministers and secretaries. A message from His Exalted Highness the Nizam wishing success to the meeting was read at the conference.

After His Highness the Chancellor had spoken, Their Highnesses of Bikaner. Dewas (Junior Branch), and Panna addressed the conference. Sir Akbar Hydari, Mr. Madhav Rao of Mysore, Mr. Zaidi of Rampur and Mr. Zutshi of Rewa expressed their views with regard to the general and political aspects of the revised draft of the Instrument of Acccession.

In his speech *His Highness the Chancellor* said: "The representative nature of our gathering is a clear proof that we are fully alive to the importance of the issues which await our decision. We meet at a critical time. The main item for our consideration is the revised draft of the Instrument of Accession and connected papers. For years our representatives have collaborated with the representatives of His Majesty's Government and of British India to evolve a satisfactory scheme for an All-India Federation. Throughout those discussions we made it clear that our willingness to consider entering such a scheme would depend on the effective inclusion, in the final picture, of the essential safeguards and conditions which we have consistently urged.

"The final picture of the federal scheme under the Government of India Act, 1935 is now before us and within the next two months we are called upon to signify our willingness to accede or not to accede to Federation on the basis offered under the revised draft of the Instrument of Accession. The importance of our decision in this matter to the States, to India and to the Empire cannot be overemphasized, and therefore any decision that we may reach here must be based on the fullest possible appreciation of our grave responsibility in the matter.

"The examination of the revised draft of the Instrument of Accession and connected papers was in the first instance, referred to the Hydari Committee. This committee included on it some of the most experienced and trusted Ministers of the States and it had the privilege of having a distinguished chairman in that veteran statesman, the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, whom I am glad to welcome here in our midst. I feel confident that you will all join me in expressing our grateful appreciation of the signal service which this committee has rendered to the States, to India and to the Empire by its constructive, courageous and far-sighted report on this very delicate question.

"An important conference of Ministers met recently in Gwalior under the chairmanship of Sirdar C. S. Angre to examine the revised draft instrument and they forwarded their report to me, as the Chancellor, for circulation to States so that it may be recognised that the Chamber is the tribune of all States, big and

small, whatever their regions or views. The Gwalior Report has been a helpful contribution, for which our appreciation is due to the chairman and members of this conference. It is gratifying to note that on the main issues involved, the Hydari Committee and the Gwalior Conference, shorn of the pudding of confusing and changeable legal opinions, have independently reached almost identical conclusions.

"You will be glad to learn that yesterday afternoon the Princes assembled in Bombay met among themselves and came to the unanimous conclusion that they regard a generally agreed line of action amongst the States essential to the efficacy of any decision which may be reached by this conference.

"It should be the endeavour of this conference to bring the States to a common formula with regard to their line of reply, so that the future policy assures the integrity of units, the unity of India and the ordered progress of the country as a self-governing and autonomous Dominion of the British Commonwealth.

"I would be failing in my duty at this conference, if I did not refer to certain important questions which are of general interests to the States. The first point to which I *wish* to refer is the question of internal reforms in the States.

"It is gratifying to note that the Rulers and Governments of various States have already announced constructive reforms and programmes of beneficient activities for their States, while in various other cases, the proposed reforms are actively receiving the consideration of the States' authorities concerned, with due regard to local conditions and resources. It is obvious that no genuine well-wisher of the States can reasonably advocate any exact pattern of constitutional or administrative reforms or a uniform pace of progress for one and all the States. The course of human events cannot very well be shaped to an exact model of the articles manufactured in a factory. I can, however, state with confidence and authority that God willing, the Indian Rulers will not be found wanting in any reasonable and generous contribution which they may be called upon to make towards the ordered progress of the States, and of their motherland.

"In this connexion, though the question of reforms within individual States rests primarily with the Rulers and Governments of the States concerned, the Rulers in their meeting yesterday have unanimously desired to recommend to the individual States the desirability of testing their administrations, where needed, with the following basic tests :—

(A) That special efforts should be made to have (I) clear and codified laws ensuring a reign of law for the States ; (II) judiciary properly manned by qualified law graduates or by persons with recognized judicial training and integrity : and (III) efficient and adequate police force supervised by competent officers with effective modern arms and equipment.

(B) That, unless already done, there should be a clear demarcation between the personal expenditure of the Ruler and the State expenditure, and the former should be fixed on a reasonable basis as resolved by the Chamber of Princes.

(C) That five or ten years programme on a clear cut plan should be prepared for the beneficent activities in the States, such as education, medical relief, agriculture, health, road development, etc.

(D) That the States Government should keep in close touch with the latest ameliorative legislation in British India and the Indian States, which may be suitable to their local conditions, such as indebtedness relief and give it prompt consideration.

(E) That the advisability may be considered of issuing a standing order within our States to the effect that any bonafide complaint supported on personal knowledge by certain prescribed number of disinterested local State subjects of good repute resident in the area concerned alleging corruption or undue harassment against any State official, shall be duly inquired into.

"Let it not be understood, however, that I regard the criticisms generally levelled with regard to the aforesaid points, against the States administrations often without adequate enquiries as justified. On the other hand, I emphatically support the remarks of His Excellency the Viceroy in his opening address at the last Chamber session to the effect that it can not be denied 'there have been many cases in which the States have been subjected to attacks which were entirely unfounded' Nevertheless, a Ruler, according to our traditions, is great not by what he gives, with due regard to the genius of his people, and no false notion of prestige need dissuade us from removing the legitimate grievances of any of our people, and from making our fullest possible contribution to maintain the reign of law and ordered progress within our States.

"It must, however, be recognized by all true friends of the States that there is no greater impediment to good Government and reign of law in a State than the weakening of its Ruler's authority; and furthermore, that in the sphere of reforms, prudence and farsight often enjoin even on the most enthusiastic and liberal administrator the duty of paying due regard to local conditions and resources.

"Your Highnesses and gentlemen, the organization which deserves our consideration is that of subversive movements organized by a section of British Indians against certain States. This recent unfortunate and unwise tendency, if allowed to develop, must inevitably result in engendering bitterness and hostility, and prove detrimental to the unity and ordered progress of India. I have no desire to be involved in purely British India questions or controversies, but I feel that Mr. Gandhi's recent statement recommending suspension of mass civil disobedience in the States and the recent public utterances of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan emphasizing the need of respecting the integrity of the States, are steps in the right direction which, if acted upon in a genuine spirit, should assist in improving the relations of States and British India, which must be the desire of every patriotic Indian.

"In this connexion, the responsibility of the Paramount Power is particularly great, and the eyes of the States, and of law-abiding sections of British India are critically set on Simla, to see how far they would permit the territories of States, guaranteed under solemn pledges of the British Crown, to be invaded by subversive elements from British India."

Referring to the question of cooperative grouping of States for certain administrative purposes, the Jam Saheb after stating that the matter had already been discussed said, "As the question is of an All-India importance, the Standing Committee of Princes have appointed a special committee of Rulers, with majority of those primarily concerned with this question, in order to see how far the various proposals now made are reconcilable with the sovereignty and the autonomy of the States concerned in accordance with the position taken up by the Princes in their reply to His Excellency the Viceroy's opening address to the last Chamber session."

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference was held for three days and concluded on the **12th. June** after passing a resolution virtually rejecting the present Federal scheme as envisaged in the revised draft Instrument of Accession, circulated among the Princes a few months ago. The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the Conference :—

"The Conference of Princes and Ministers assembled at Bombay, having considered the revised draft Instrument of Accession and connected papers resolves that the terms, on the basis of which accession is offered, are fundamentally unsatisfactory in the directions indicated in the report of the Hydari Committee of Ministers and confirmed by the recommendations of the Gwalior Conference and are therefore unacceptable.

"At the same time, the Conference records its belief that it could not be the intention of His Majesty's Government to close the door 'on an All-India Federation.'"

The Hydari Committee Report

The Hydari Committee on Federation which met in Bombay in April 1939 under the chairmanship of Sir *Akbar Hydari*, Prime Minister, Hyderabad State, came to the conclusion that the terms of the draft Instrument of Accession were unsatisfactory from the point of view of treaty rights, rights of internal administration and the economic rights of the States. The Committee suggested modifications in the draft on these three points,

The Committee in its report reiterated its conviction that "there is in fact no alternative ideal for India except that of an All-India Federation, provided it ensures all the essential safeguards advocated by the Committee and offers effective assurance of continued autonomy and integrity of the States."

The report added : "The Committee comes to the unanimous conclusion that the draft Instrument of Accession and other drafts circulated on the basis of which accession is offered are fundamentally unsatisfactory in the directions noted by it. The Committee finds it difficult to believe that it is the intention either of His Majesty's Government or the Government of India to close the door on Federation If the vital matters, to which the Committee has drawn attention, can be satisfactorily adjusted, the Committee is of the opinion that there would then exist a satisfactory basis on which accession could be concluded by individual States with due regard to the particular interests of each."

Referring to the general clauses of the Instrument of Accession, the Hydari Committee points out that while in the former draft instruments, there was a limitation on the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation in the State, that limitation has now been omitted in the revised drafts. The Committee emphasizes that the limitation referred to correctly stated the position hitherto understood by His Majesty's Government and the States and that as a matter of form, it was correct and was based on a relevant section of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Committee states that in the course of its discussions, it was pointed out that some States strongly favoured the further inclusion in the instrument of the two clauses dealing with the separation of pa amountcy from the Federal sphere and *vice versa*.

With regard to the question of defence, the Committee is of the opinion that the position has not been made as clear as it should have been in such a vital matter. The Committee does not feel entirely satisfied that this obligation of the crown to the States and relationship regarding paramountcy will remain unaffected by accession without appropriate limitation.

Dealing with customs, the Committee considers that any limitation on the power to alter the existing rate cannot be accepted by the States concerned, while the amendments now proposed are a reversal of past decisions of a vital character and had been proposed without giving the States likely to be effected even an opportunity of stating their objections thereto.

As regards railways, the Committee states that despite the improvement effected in the present position through the provision of the Railway Tribunal, the suggestion of unqualified accession to that item in the Federal list goes far beyond anything which the States have ever contemplated.

Under the item "Excise duties" the Committee states that in the matter of finance, its views are well-known. It was pointed out that the date fixed, namely March 31, 1937, for deciding whether a State should be allowed to retain any item of excise revenue must operate harshly upon its financial resources. That date should be the date of the inauguration of Federation and if and when the distribution of excise duty among the federating units takes place by federal legislation, the States concerned shall not receive less than what at the advent of Federation, they will be entitled to.

The Committee considers that the proposed administration agreement falls far short of what had been contemplated throughout the discussions. The present draft does not ensure that administration of federal laws will be reserved to the States.

The Committee views with great concern the proposed amendments to entries relating to customs and the proposal to insert a new action in the Government of India Act.

Referring to treaty righ s, the committee states that at present a treaty right cannot be extinguished by the unilateral action of one party. It feels that it will be a very serious change in the status of treaty rights, if, through accession, they are to be so extinguished, and the fact that the Governor-General in his individual judgment will determine whether it is proper in the circumstances that the Federal Legislature should be permitted to do so is not a sufficient safeguard.

The Committee also feels that States which have important treaty rights, relating to matters to which they had been asked to accede and not being rights which they are prepared to waive on accession, might find great difficulty in acceding on the basis at present offered. The Committee anticipates that in many cases it will not be found to be the intention of the Crown Representative that treaty rights should be waived, and it ought not to be difficult to devise by amendment, if necessary, of the provisions of the Act, at a moment when many amendments, some of them of substance, are being introduced by His Majesty's Government, a suitable method of suitably safeguarding such rights.

A Survey of Reforms in the States

Following is a survey of the events in the Indian States in the year 1938 issued by *Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramyya*, President of the All-India States' People's Conference and members of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress :—

The wide gulf that has for over a century separted the Indian States is being rapidly bridged up. It may not take long for the two ends to meet and the bridge declared open for traffic. Then India shall have become one and indivisible. As the year 1938 closes, it is but meet that we should rapidly survey our achievements during the past twelve months notably during the past few weeks, during which the labours of the year have become single-pointed and begun to bear fruit.

The *Jamsaheb of Nawanagar* has recently granted revenue relief to his subjects to the tune of three lakhs and has made Nawanagar Municipality into a public body. It is stated that the popular discontent has not nevertheless subsided and that the agitation continues to be in existence in one form or other.

In *Dhrangadhra*, the State has declared the Municipality a pubic body. Yet we are told that there is discontent amongst the people on the ground that the body is not invested with all the powers due to it, in the day-to-day work.

The movement in *Rajkot* stands as the most outstanding movement in the States in recent years. For the intensity of feeling within the State as well as the extensive support that the movement secured from outside, for the virtual identification of the Congress with the movement, for the orderliness and discipline with which the movement has been conducted based upon the twin principles of Truth and Non-violence, for the effective support of Mahatma Gandhi in bringing the movement to a close through the dynamic leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai, there is nothing to compare with the recent events in the Rajkot State. The Rajkot State has a revenue of only six lakhs, while Bhavnagar's revenue approaches 3 crore, and that of Nawanagar's ranges about seventy lakhs. Yet Rajkot is made the headquarters of the Kathiawar States and therefore it leads them all. That is the reason the Rajkot movement has been assigned the great importance which has been associated with it these several weeks. The country's thanks are due to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel for this victory.

A Conference of the peoples of the States of Cutch, Rajpipla and Bhavnagar and Nawanagar is about to be held at an early date and we learn that the Nawab of Junagadh seems to have consented to give to the people of his State a voice in the administration of the State.

The *Rajpipla* Ruler appears to be interested in rural uplift activities and has sent his Dewan to see for himself some of them. He has been pleased to recognise the Praja Seva Mandal and sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 2,000 to the public library. His Highness is interesting himself in the Wardha scheme of education and has announced that six State schools for boys and girls will be given over to the Seva Mandal for the proposed experiment.

The Rajkot struggle has influenced the *Palitana* people, who hold the first session of the State's Peoples' Conference on the 7th January, 1939, in the Palitana Durbar hall. Some revenue reforms seem to have been introduced by the Raja Saheb in three Mahalas of his State and the rebate that has been given in land revenue assessment in cash to all Mahalas in the Palitana, aggregate to one lakh of a total of 1,80,000 of rupees.

In the small State of *Hindol* certain concessions have been granted by the Raja Saheb in response to the petitions from the people of the State abolishing bethi, basad, megan (forced gifts given at the time of royal ceremonies) and granting full civil liberties and facilities for the people of the State to get wood without extra tax from the forest for fuel and for building purposes and for making agricultural implements. The Raja has announced the abolition of taxes on salt and kerosene. Besides the Raja Saheb has consented to reconsider the various forest laws, and grazing fees, bethi and other taxes.

The *Ramdurg* Durbar has announced responsible government for the people of the State. It was stated that it was the policy of the State to establish responsible government in the State for the benefit of the subjects and for the greater association of the people with the administration of the State. The announcement will soon be followed up by the formulation of a constitution for responsible government and the appointment of a popular Minister.

Kolhapur is the leading State in South Maharashtra. When Kolhapur moves, it may be expected that the rest of the States of Southern Maharashtra will make a move. Some time ago a beginning was made in the direction of representative government by the introduction of local self-governing bodies and the grant of eight lakhs of rupees for the same. Now the Prime Minister has been directed to report upon the best manner in which such additional associations of the people of the State with its administration can be brought about. To this end the Maharaja has started a Legislative Assembly with reference to the entire principality. There is no doubt that the reforms will not go beyond the Minto-Morley reforms judging from the character of the announcement and the checks and balances with which they have been hedged.

The State Congress agitation has cropped up in *Rajnandgaon* State in a vigorous form in the Central India. Before the Satyagraha was started in right earnest, the Durbar has made an announcement indicating its decision to start advisory councils for each of the seven parganas called Praja Sabhas with two-thirds membership elected and the rest to be nominated by the Durbar as well as the President. This scheme of reforms is considered by the people to be extremely unsatisfactory. The absence of a Central Assembly based on elected representatives of the subjects at the Centre is ground enough for a complaint by the State Congress people to whom the scheme is obviously unacceptable, and Mahatmaji is being consulted by Mr. Ruikar on the subject.

In *Mewar* which is an ancient State, the discontent of the poople has been intensified by the fact that the Government of India has transferred a portion of the British Indian territory of Ajmere-Merwara in spite of the opposition of the inhabitants of the area concerned. The satyagraha campaign at Udaipur and Nabhadwar covered nearly 111 prisoners.

In the midst of this confusion and chaos throughout, it is gladdening to note some cosmos is being evolved in the various States in India. The quiet and unostentatious manner in which the Raja Saheb of *Aundh* has celebrated his seventieth birthday by announcing the conferment of responsible government upon his subjects comes as a great relief.

While large States like Hyderabad, Udaipur, and Bikaner have made themselves well known for the restriction of civil liberties which have been imposed upon the people of the State, it is a matter for congratulation that the Holkar of *Indore* has, in response to the public demand, admitted his subjects to a greater measure of civil liberties, by removing the restrictions upon holding public meetings within the Indore municipal boundaries.

Benares, it may be remembered, was only a zamindari till 25 years ago when it was made a State. The report of the Committee appointed by the Maharaja of Benares in March 1938 to investigate the question of creating a Legislative Council for the State has been submitted to His Highness by the Chief Secretary of the State. The report is signed by four out of the five members. The remaining member, Mr. Harishankar Dube, proposes to submit a separate report shortly.

It is a matter for gratification that the State Congress of *Travancore* has withdrawn that portion of the memorandum relating to personal matters and it is to be hoped that likewise it may suspend the civil disobedience movement in response to Mahatmaji's directions. The whole burden of direction of the movement in its further stages will then naturally fall on Mahatmaji himself. Judging from the events in Travancore, namely, the deputation of the Nairs for the reform of the voting system and reorganisation of the management, as well as representation of Dewasom, it looks as though the State is preparing itself for the inevitable next step in the polity of the State.

Finally, the *Hyderabad* State Congress is to be congratulated on the prompt and decisive manner in which it has carried out the behests of Mahatmaji. There is a destiny that truly shapes our ends and Mahatmji stands at Shegaon as the one adviser of the whole of India in matters not only relating to provinces but also to the States. He has been now drawn into the fray, for Mahatmaji is always the first person to recognise movements based upon self-help. Those who have been accustomed to his ways during the last 18 years in regard to political affairs of British India so called would find nothing strange in his stopping the satyagraha movement in Hyderabad, so far as it it is concerned with the political aspect of the matter. The affairs of Hyderabad have been unfortunately complicated by the incoming of the Hindu Civil Liberties' Union on the one hand, which

might easily have dropped the prefix Hindu and joined the movement for political reform and the Arya Samaj activities. The latter body has real grievances relating to rights of worship and congregations. But of all moments that it should have chosen this moment for staging its battle can only be regretted from this one stand-point, namely, that it has come as a complication in the political movement which itself is being dubbed as communal organisation. Its association with the satyagraha movement would not enable the latter movement to outlive the bad name that was given to it before it was hanged. We are, however, glad to learn that the Aryan leaders are meeting Gandhiji. Four hundred men have gone to jail under the banner of the Hyderabad State Congress cheerfully and wholeheartedly. The fact that the list of prisoners included the names of men like Sri Kashinath Rao Vaidya speaks volumes of the dignity and sense of responsibility which have been brought to bear upon the movement. For, it is well known that Kasinathraoji was a member of the Iyenger Committee on Reforms. The cessation of the movement in Hyderabad is calculated to strengthen the political crop in that State, just as the transplantation of paddy seedlings would considerably help the yield of a bumper crop of paddy.

Affairs in *Kashmir* have reached a lull but cannot continue so for long. Baroda is likely to be the storm centre ere long. Mysore is still in the throes of delivery and an expectant world is awaiting the new birth with bated breath. The States in the Punjab have gone through the mill notably Kalsia. Patiala has come under a new regime and while broad visioned speeches are being delivered by the Ruler, we are yet to hear of a tangible scheme of political reform in this State. Bikaner continues to be as backward as ever before. Alwar, Gwalior and Nabha are under British Administration and there is no excuse for these States lagging behind those subject to absolute and personal rule of a prince. Jeypore has just emerged from an internecine quarrel and must now turn its attention to the civic liberties and political rights of its own people. Jodhpur is under the Dewanship of Col. Field and the externment orders against friends like Jainarain Vyas have to be rescinded.

In the Punjab, Malerkotla and Bhawalpur have seen their worst days and the Princes have to toe the line with their progressive compeers if the disturbances of two years ago have had any lesson for them. In the Bhulkan States of the Punjab, leaving alone Nabha and Patiala, there remains the third State of Kapurthala and the Maharaja has just announced his decision to appoint without delay a Committee to report on the qustion of reconstituting the State Assembly established in 1916 but not summoned for many years and it is gratifying to hear the Maharaja say that although his people have for long been accustomed to and remained contented with a benevolent personal form of government, yet modern political tendencies cannot be ignored.

Cochin's example of Diarchy has been followed by the enlightened Prince of Sangli who has evolved a fine scheme of partial responsibility in respect of which Sj. Shanker Rao Deo states that though it involves Diarchy, yet the obnoxious features of dual rule of which the British are one of the two parties may not be noticeable in a scheme worked out in a State.

A Communique has been issued by the Jodhpur State authorities introducing Village Panchayats and a Central Advisory Board and District Boards while in Jaipur the changes have not advanced any futher.

Even in Dhenkanal a constitution has been promised with effect from the next financial year. One does not know what is brewing in Talcher.

The All-India States' People's Conference

Annual Session—Ludhiana—15th. & 16th. February 1939

Presidential Address

The compound of the Kundan Wood Factory was filled to capacity when the open session of the All-India States' People's Conference commenced at Ludhiana on the **15th. February 1939.** After the singing of the 'Bande Mataram' song by a batch of girls, the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee was read. Thereafter, Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, ascending the rostrum, delivered his address *extempore* in Hindustani. Following is the full text of Mr. Nehru's address :—

Year after year this Conference of the people of the Indian States has met in session and discussed the problems of the States. Year after year it has raised its voice in condemnation of the autocracy and misrule, the corruption and the degradation that has prevailed in many of these States. The labours of this Conference, and far more so of the National Congress have borne fruit, and to-day there is a mighty awakening among the people of the States. When in after years, the history of India comes to be written, the year 1938 will stand out as the year of this awakening. The historian of that distant future will not wonder at this awakening ; but he will marvel that the millions who inhabit the Indian States submitted for generations to intolerable and appalling conditions, and that a system of government which had long vanished in other parts of the world still continued in India.

The year 1938 has become history and we stand on the threshold of 1939. The movement for freedom gathers pace and the whole of India looks with sympathy and understanding on this great struggle in the States. At this vital moment you have summoned me to this Conference and I have gladly come at your bidding. I come to you not only because I am intensely interested in the freedom of the people of the States, but as the bearer of the goodwill of the rest of India and as a pledge of our solidarity.

Congress Husbanding Energy

Many people have, in past years, criticised the attitude of the National Congress towards the States and heated argument has taken place about intervention and non-intervention. That criticism and argument have perished with the yesterday that has gone and are meaningless to-day. Yet it is worthwhile to consider briefly the development of Congress policy in regard to the States. I have not always approved of all the expressions of this policy or liked the emphasis on certain aspects of the problem. But I am convinced that this fundamental policy was correct one under the circumstances, and, indeed, subsequent events have justified it completely. A policy, aiming at vital change or revolution, must keep in touch with reality and the conditions that prevail. As these conditions change, that policy changes. Brave words and gestures or strongly-worded resolutions, out of touch with objective conditions do not bring about that pregnant atmosphere out of which revolutionary change is born Nor can that condition be created artificially or mass movements launched unless the masses themselves are ready and prepared. The Congress realised this and knew of the unpreparedness of the people in the States ; it husbanded its energy in the struggle outside, well realising that this was the most effective method of influencing the States' people and making them ready for their own struggle.

No Question of Intervention

The Haripura resolution was a landmark in the evolution of Congress policy and it enunciated this clear language. The integrity and unity of India was an essential part of the independence we worked for, and the same full measure of political, social and economic freedom was to come to the States as to the rest of India. There could be no compromise on this, and the Congress declared afresh in favour of full Responsible Government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the States. Further, it declared to be its right and privilege to work for the attainment of these objectives in the States. There was no question of non-intervention ; the

Congress, as representing the will of the Indian people, recognises no bars which limit its freedom of activity in any matter pertaining to India and her people. It is its right and privilege and its duty to intervene in any such matter whenever the interests of India demand it. Not to do so would be to deny its own function and to betray the cause which it seeks to represent.

But it is for the Congress and the people of India to determine when and where they will intervene and what policy they must pursue, so that their intervention might be effective and fruitful of results. The limitation, if any, is of its own making, or is caused by external circumstances which it is wise enough to recognise. No outside authority can limit the function of the Congress, just as no power or authority can set bounds to the aspirations or advancement of the Indian people.

The Congress knew well that the backwardness of the States hindered our national progress and that there could be no freedom for India unless the States ceased to be what they were. The Congress was eager to bring about this essential and vital change, and yet it knew that the change could only come about from below, when the people of the States grew self-reliant and organised and capable of shouldering the burden of their struggle. It emphasised this. Not to have done so would have been to mislead and encourage vain delusion, and delay the building up in the States themselves of organisations which would represent the strength and will of the people.

ONE MIGHTY STRUGGLE

The wisdom of the Congress stands amply justified to-day when we see the developments that have taken place since Haripura. All the States are astir and in many of them powerful mass movements are functioning. The people of the States are rapidly coming into line with the rest of India; they are no longer a burden and a dead-weight keeping us back. They are setting the pace for India to-day and our national politics are dominated by their struggle. The time has come, therefore, for the integration of these various struggles in the States *inter se* and with the major struggle against British Imperialism. There are no longer many different struggles going on for independence; there is only one mighty struggle for India's freedom, though its aspects may vary and though its battle-grounds may be many. As Gandhiji has said, the struggle for liberty, whenever it takes place, is a struggle for all-India.

It is in the fitness of things that at this moment of vital crisis for the States, India's leader, ever thinking of her freedom and jealous of her honour, should step out and in his ringing voice of old, that we remember so well, give faith and courage to our people. Gandhiji's lead has finally settled all the old arguments that obscured the issue, and that issue stands out now clear and definite.

OUT OF DATE SYSTEM

There are about six hundred States in India—big ones and small ones and tiny ones, which one cannot even place on the map. They differ greatly among themselves and some have advanced industrially and educationally, and some have had competent Rulers or Ministers. The majority of them, however, are sinks of reaction and incompetence and unrestrained autocratic power, sometimes exercised by vicious and degraded individuals. But whether the Ruler happens to be good or bad, or his Ministers competent or incompetent, the evil lies in the system. This system has vanished from the rest of the world and, left to itself, it would have vanished from India also long ago. But in spite of its manifest decay and stagnation, it has been propped up and artificially maintained by British Imperialism. Offspring of the British power in India, suckled by Imperialism, for its own purposes, it has survived till to-day, though mighty revolutions have shaken the world and changed it, empires have collapsed and crowds of Princes and petty Rulers have faded away. That system has no inherent importance or strength, it is the strength of British Imperialism that counts. For us in India, that system has in reality been one of the faces of imperialism. Therefore, when conflict comes, we must recognise who our opponent is.

THOSE TREATIES

We are told now of the so-called independence of the State and of their treaties with the Paramount Power, which are sacrosanct and inviolable and apparently must go on for ever and ever. We have recently seen what happens to international treaties and the most sacred of covenants when they do not suit the

purposes of imperialism. We have seen there treaties torn up, friends and allies basely deserted and betrayed and the pledged word broken by England and France. Democracy and freedom were the sufferers and so it did not matter. But when reaction and autocracy and imperialism stand to lose, it does matter, and treaties, however moth-eaten and harmful to the people they might be, have to be preserved. It is a monstrous imposition to be asked to put up with these treaties of a century and a quarter ago, in the making of which the people had no voice or say. It is fantastic to expect the people to keep on their chains of slavery, imposed upon them by force and fraud, and to submit to a system which crushes the life-blood out of them. We recognise no such treaties and we shall in no event accept them. The only final authority and paramount power that we recognise is the will of the people, and the only thing that counts ultimately is the good of the people.

INDEPENDENCE OF STATES

A new theory of the independence of the States has been advanced in recent years, and it has been advanced by the very Power that holds them in an iron grip and keeps them in subjection. Neither history nor constitutional law give any justification for this, and if we examine the origins of these States, most of their Rulers would be reduced to the status of feudal barons. But we need not trouble ourselves with legal research, as the practice and facts are plain enough. This practice has been for the British Power to dominate these States completely and its slighest gesture is a command to them, which they disobey at their peril. The Political Department of the Government of India pulls the strings and the puppets dance to its tune; the local Resident is the master of the situation; and latterly the practice has grown of British officials being imposed as Ministers of the Rulers of the States. If this is independence, then it will be interesting to learn how it differs from the most abject subjection. There is no independence in the States, and there is going to be none, for it is hardly possible geographically and it is entirely opposed to the conception of a united free India. It is conceivable and desirable in the case of the larger State for them to have a great deal of autonomy within the framework of an Indian Federation. But they will have to remain integral parts of India and the major matters of common concern must be controlled by a democratic Federal Centre. Internally, they will have Responsible Government.

AUNDH RULER'S EXAMPLE

It is clear that the problem of the States would be easy of solution if the conflict was confined to the people and the Ruler. Many of the Rulers, left to themselves, would ultimately line themselves with the people and if they hesitated to do so, the pressure from below would soon induce them to change their minds. Not to do so would imperil their position and the only alternative would be complete removal. The Congress and the various Praja Mandals have so far made every effort to induce the Rulers to side with their people and establish Responsible Government. They must realise that for them not to agree to do so will not stop the coming of freedom to their people; their opposition will only place an insurmountable barrier between them and their people, and an arrangement between the two will then become exceedingly difficult. The map of the world has changed many times during the last hundred years; empires have ceased to be and new countries have arisen. Even now, before our very eyes, we see this map changing. It requires no prophet to say with confidence that the Indian States system is doomed even as the British Empire, which has so long protected it, is doomed. It is the path of prudence as well as of wisdom for the Rulers to line themselves with their people and share with them in the new freedom, and instead of being despotic and disliked Rulers, with a precarious tenure, to be proud and equal citizens of a great commonwealth. A few of the Rulers of the States have realised this and have taken some steps in the right direction. One of them, the Raja of Aundh, the Chief of a small State, has distinguished himself by his wisdom in granting Responsible Government to his people, and in doing so with grace and good-will.

INTERVENTION OF CONGRESS

But, unhappily, most of them stick to their old ways and show no signs of change. They demonstrate afresh the lesson of history that when a class has fulfilled its purpose and the world has no need of it, it decays and loses wisdom and all capacity. It cannot adapt itself to changing conditions. In a vain attempt to hold on to what is fading away, it loses even what little it might have retained.

The British ruling classes have had a long and brilliant career and throughout the Nineteenth Century and after, they dominated the world. Yet to-day we see them nerveless, witless, incapable of consecutive thought or action, and in a frantic attempt to hold on to some vested interests, ruining their great position in the world and shattering the proud edifice of their Empire. It is even so with classes that have fulfilled their function and outlined their utility. If the British ruling classes are manifestly failing, in spite of their prestige and tradition and training, what shall we say of our Indian Princes, who for generations past have grown up in decadence and irresponsibility? The problems of Government require something more than a knowledge of how to manage polo-ponies, or recognise the breeds of dogs, or have the skill to kill large numbers of inoffensive animals.

But even if the Rulers of the States were willing, their willingness would not take them far. For the master of their immediate destiny is the agent of the British Government and they dare not offend him. We have seen in the case of Rajkot, how a Ruler, who was inclined to come to terms with his people was threatened with deposition, and how later he was made to break his words under pressure from British agents. Thus the conflict in the States is only incidentally with the Rulers. In effect, it is with British Imperialism. That is the issue, clear and definite. And that is why the interference of the British Power in the States against the people has a special significance. We see this on an increasing scale, not only by the Political Department of the Government of India and its many agents and Residents, but through its armed forces, as in Orissa. This interference in order to crush the popular movement is no longer going to be tolerated by us. The National Congress will certainly intervene with full vigour if the Government of India intervene to crush the people. Our methods are different; they are peaceful, but they have been shown in the past to be effective.

Gandhi's Warning

Gandhiji has repeatedly warned the British Government and its agents in India of the far-reaching consequences of this conflict. It is manifestly imposible for the conflict to be confined to particular States and for the Congress, at the same time, to carry on Provincial Administrations, involving a measure of co-operation with the British authorities. If there is this major conflict then its effects will spread to the remotest corners of India, and the question will no longer be a limited one of this State or that, but of the complete elimination of British Power.

Choice before the People

What is the nature of the conflict to-day? This must be clearly understood. It varies slightly from State to State, but the demand everywhere is for full responsible government. Yet the conflict is not at present to enforce that demand, but to establish the right of organising people for that demand. When this right is denied and civil liberties are crushed, no way is left open to the people to carry on what are called constitutional methods of agitation. Their choise then is either to submit and give up all political and even public activity, and to suffer a degradation on the spirit and a continuation of the tyranny that oppresses them, or to resort to direct action. This direct action, according to our code, is perfectly peaceful Satyagraha and a refusal to submit to violence and evil, whatever the consequences. The immediate issue to-day is, thus, one of civil liberties in most of the States, though the objective everywhere is responsible government. In Jaipur the issue is in a sense still more limited, for the State Government objects to the Praja Mandal organising famine relief.

Members of the British Government, in justifying their international policy, tell us frequently of their love of peace and their horror of the methods of force and violence in the solution of international or national problems. In the name of peace and appeasement, they have helped and encouraged international blackmail and gangsterism of the worst type and done moral injury to democracy and freedom in Europe. By their policy they have enthroned the rule of unabashed violence in Europe and been parties to the greatest tragedy of our time—the defeat of the Republic of Spain, which has fought so magnificently and so long against overwhelming odds. Yet these statesmen of Britain talk of the virtues of peaceful settlement and of the wickedness of force and violence. These pious sentiments are applied by them in Europe so that the forces of reaction and violence might have a free field and an ample opportunity to crush freedom.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

What do we see in India and especially in the States? All attempts by us at peaceful propaganda, peaceful organisation, peaceful settlement are met by the brutal violence of the State authorities, backed by the armed might and political influence of the British Power. Thus, where changes are sought, howsoever legitimately and peacefully, in the direction of democracy and freedom. all such attempts must be put down ruthlessly and with violence. But where changes are desired by Fascism and Imperialism in their own interests and in order to crush Democracy and freedom, then violence and force are allowed full play, and the policy of peace is only meant to obstruct and hinder those who want to preserve their liberties. Does any one still hold that tyranny and autocracy and corrupt administration must continue in the States? Does any one deny that all these must go and give place to free institutions? If. so, how is this change to be brought about normally unless full opportunities are given for peaceful organisation and the development of an intelligent and self-reliant public opinion? The full establishment of civil liberties is an essential preliminary to any progress. It is an insult to India to ask her to tolerate in the States' ordinance rule and the suppression of organisations and the prevention of public gatherings and methods, usually associated with the gangster. Are the States to remain vast prisons, where the human spirit is sought to be extinguished and the resource of the people are to be used for the pageantry and luxury of courts, while the masses starve and remain illiterate and backward? Are the Middle Ages to continue in India under the protection of British Imperialism?

INDIAN STATE'S PRORLEMS

In an important State in Rajputana, even typewriters are discouraged and there is an ordinance dealing with them and requiring their registration. In Kashmir, a monstrous ordinance, framed on the lines of the ordinance promulgated for the Bunna rebellion some years ago, is the permanent law of the State. In the premier State of Hyderabad, civil liberty has long been non-existent and latterly accounts of brutal ill-treatment of peaceful satyagrahis have seen the light of day. The recent expulsion of hundreds of students from the Osmania University for the offence of singing "Bande Mataram" privately is an astounding instance of the reactionary mentality which prevails in the governing circles of Hyderabad. In Travancore, the memory of the outrages of last summer is still fresh in our minds. But I do not wish to make a list of these States and their misdeeds, nor do I wish to discuss the problems of individual States, If I attempted to do so, this address of mine would never end. Here, where we meet, the Punjab States lie close to us and many of them have long had an unsavoury reputation. Their tale of misgovernment, if we heard it fully, would fill our times. But, apart from the difficulties of time and space, I would prefer that you concentrated your attention on the wider problem which embraces all the States, which is in effect the Indian States problem, rather than lose ourselves in the maze of each separate problem. We must see the wood and not get lost in the trees. We must realise, and we must make others realise, that it is no longer possible to deal piecemeal with this great problem, for the freedom of India is one and indivisible.

RAJKOT AND JAIPUR

But some States are in the forefront to-day in the struggle and they must be referred to. Some are peculiarly situated and require consideration. Rajkot and Jaipur occupy the stage to-day and both of them raise issues of all-India importance. Many of our comrades are there engaged in the heat of the struggle, and have been unable to join us in this Conference because of that more important engagement. Rajkot has many lessons to teach us. After some months of conflict, it seemed that the people had won and we rejoiced. We saw how effectively the technique of our struggle and the peaceful and heroic attitude of the people brought success to us. But we had rejoiced too soon, and the plighted word of the Ruler was broken and the struggle had to begin afresh. All India knows how this happened and how British authority by pressure and threats came in the way of a settlement. From this we learn that we must never be misled by temporary success, we can never be sure of the triumph of our cause, till achievement has come. Promises and assurances will not be kept, for the real power does not rest with those who make the promise. It rests with British Imperialism. In Jaipur there is an English official who, though appointed Prime Minister by the Maharaja, is the real ruler of the State and rules on behalf of, and probably under the instructions of, the Political Department of

the Government of India. No one imagines that the youthful Maharaja has any important say in vital matters. No one supposes that the English Prime Minister could function as such for a day without the goodwill and support of the Government of India. The slightest disapproval of his policy by the Political Department would result in the immediate change of that policy or in his removal from his office.

British Intervention in Orissa States

In Orissa, the regrettable murder of the British Agent, Major Bazalgette, has led, as such acts, even when committed in a moment of folly always lead, to unfortunate consequences. The people of the Orissa States are backward and have to suffer for their lack of understanding of our basic principles. This act is a warning to us to conduct our movement in such a manner that the people realise its significance and adhere strictly to its policy of non-violence. For them to forget this is to injure their own cause. The reaction of the British Power to the tragedy of Ranpur was significant. Armed forces were brought from distant parts of India and a large concentration of troops in Orissa proclaimed the might of the Paramount Power. What were these troops supposed to do? There was no rebellion, no violent aggression. The starving peasantry fled at their approach and the State of Ranpur became an uninhabited wilderness. It is said that some trouble was feared from the backward jungle tribes the Gonds. Was the British Army in such numbers required to face the bows and arrows of these poor backward countrymen of ours? But the Gonds have done nothing and will not do anything aggressive unless they are goaded by intolerable misery. They have to be met gently and their grievances removed. But the way of imperialism is different. It was not the possibility of any action by Gonds that brought the armed hosts to Orissa. The troops came to overawe the peasantry of the States and to strengthen the Rulers in opposing their demands. They were utilised to suppress the movement for freedom. This was an intervention of the most flagrant kind on behalf of the Paramount Power on the side of tyranny and corrupt administrations. Every one knows that some of the States in Orissa are the worst and most degraded of their kind in India.

Quite apart from Ranpur and long before the murder of Major Bazalgette, there, tyrannical administrations of Dhenkanal and Talcher had oppressed their people to such an extent that a great exodus had taken place from these States. From twenty to thirty thousand persons had crossed the boundaries of the States and entered the Province of Orissa. A demand came from the Rulers for the extradition from the Province to the States of the leaders of this exodus, so that they might be made to suffer for their opposition to the State administration. This demand was supported by the British authority. It was a demand, which no Congress Ministry could agree to without losing honour and betraying our comrades in the States and being false to our principles. We do not wish to shield any one who is guilty. We are perfectly prepared for a full enquiry. But the enquiry that is needed is an enquiry into offences and maladministration and oppression of the Dhenkanal and Talcher State Governments. It is these State authorities that should be tried for the sorrow and misery that they have brought on their people.

The Major States

The Governments of the major States have been apt pupils in some ways of British Imperialism. Among other things they have learnt the art of utilising communal differences to check popular movements. In Travancore, a powerful people's movement is opposed and sought to be discredited on the plea that it is a communal movement, consisting mainly of Christians; in Kashmir, the popular movement is called communal because it is largely Muslim in composition; in Hyderabad, it is said to be communal because it is predominantly Hindu. The demands put forward on behalf of these several movements might be, as they indeed are, wholly national with no communal tinge or bias in them but some excuse has to be found to discredit and oppose them and the plea of communalism is a useful one.

Hyderabad and Kashmir are the two premier States in India and we might have hoped that they would set an example to the other States by introducting free institutions and Responsible Government. Unhappily both are exceedingly backward, politically and socially. Hyderabad is a predominantly Hindu State with a Muslim ruling class; Kashmir is predominantly a Muslim State with a Hindu

ruling class. Both thus present the same type of problems and both have the same background of extreme poverty among the masses, illiteracy, industrial backwardness and undeveloped resources. In painful contrast with this general poverty and wretchedness, the Rulers of both are probably the two richest individuals in India. Kashmir is slightly more advanced politically as it has a kind of Legislative Assembly, but this has little power, and the ordinances that obtain there are monstrous in their severity. In Hyderabad. we have probably the lowest level of civil liberty in India, and latterly attention has been drawn to the prohibition of even certain religious ceremonies. This low level in Hyderabad is not the reaction to any aggressive movement but has been for long the normal state of affairs.

CHARGE OF COMMUNALISM

It is distressing that in these two great States such conditions should prevail. It was natural that in both of them popular movements should grow up and spread to the masses. This took place in Kashmir first and later in Hyderabad. It was inevitable that such movements should affect the great majority of the population—the Muslims in Kashmir and the Hindus in Hyderabad. If, under the circumstances, they showed a certain communal tinge to begin with, it was not surprising. Even so they did not cease to be popular movements representing the urge of the masses and their objective was a national one, which would bring relief and progress to all. To condemn them as communal movements was to blind one-self deliberately to the facts, and for the minority groups in either State to lend colour to this condemnation was to injure their own cause. For this meant that the minority was opposed to freedom and progress and clung in to some petty special privileges which it was thought that the present regime gave it.

As a matter of fact the two movements progressively developed on national lines, and in Kashmir, I am glad to say, a number of wise and far-seeing Hindus and Sikhs threw their weight on the side of the popular movement and supported the 'National Demand' which asked for Responsible Government. I am sure that in Hyderabad many far-seeing Muslims will do like-wise. The leaders of these movements in both the States realise the extreme importance of steering clear of communalism and have tried to do so. They must not weaken at any moment in this, or else they will injure their cause. The minorities must also realise that it is inevitable that Responsible Government will come to the States, and freedom will bring rich gifts for them as much as for the others. To oppose this struggle of the people or to be passive spectators in it is to prove unworthy of and false to the future that beckons to us all. Because Hyderabad and Kashmir have essentially the same problem, though it has a different complexion in each, it should not be difficult to consider the two together and to offer the same solution, in so far as minority rights are concerned. That solution should be in keeping with the broad principles laid down by the Congress and must fit in with Responsible Government.

HYDERABAD SATYAGRAHA SUSPENSION

In Hyderabad a peculiar situation arose some time back which resulted in producing a certain confusion in the public mind. The State Congress was declared an illegal organisation although its activity was the perfectly peaceful and constitutional one of enrolling members and strengthening its organisation. But the State has been nurtured in the traditions of the mediaeval age and even this was objected to and stopped. The State Congress thereupon justifiably refused to agree to this ban and attempted to carry on their activities. This involved peaceful Satyagraha and hundreds suffered under it. About the same time or a little later, a religious organisation and a communal organisation also started some kind of Satyagraha. In the case of the religious organisation the reason was the banning by the State authorities of certain religious ceremonies and forms of worship which are commonly practised all over India. It is astonishing that the authorities should have taken this step, which strikes at the root of religious liberty in India and goes counter to the professed principles of every one. It was natural that this should cause resentment. But it was unfortunate that Satyagraha should have been started on this basis at that time. This confused the issue and gave an excuse to the State authorities to put the demand for political freedom in the background. After careful consideration of all the aspects of the situation, the State Congress was advised to suspend its Satyagraha so that the political issue might not be mixed up with communal and religious ones. The State Congress thereupon suspended their satyagraha. In spite of this, the Hyderabad authorities had not the wisdom or the grace to release the Satyagrahi prisoners or to remove their extra-ordinary ban

on the organisation. Unfortunately the communal and religious Satyagraha was continued by the other organisations and the communal aspect of the question became intensified and conflicts took place in the distant parts of India. Those responsible for it paid little heed to the consequence of their action, nor did they realise that a popular movement is an organic growth from below and cannot be artificially imposed from above. As a result of this, the political movement for freedom has received a setback and the communal issue dominates the scene.

In Kashmir also, the civil disobedience campaign was suspended last year to give a chance to the State authorities to retrace their steps and remedy some of the evils they had done. But they lack wisdom and grace also and in spite of this suspension, hundreds of civil disobedience prisoners, including the leader of the movement, Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, continued in prison, and the infamous ordinance known as Notification 19-L, as well as the Seditious Meeting Act of 1914, still functions.

It is obvious that both in Kashmir and Hyderabad, existing conditions cannot be put up with and if the State authorities continue to act in the manner they have so far done, a resumption of civil disobedience will become inevitable.

A Great Cause

None of us wants conflict, but in this dissolving age conflict surrounds us at every step and the world rattles back to chaos and the rule of brutal violence. None of us wants this chaos in India, for that is no prelude to freedom. Yet while we recognise that our strength grows, the forces of disruption and disintegration, of communalism and provincialism, of irresponsibility and narrow-mindedness also grow. We have to remember that British Imperialism, though weakening at its centre, is still a formidable opponent, and freedom will have to be purchased by many a struggle. Neither we nor any one else in the world can view the future light-heartedly, for the present is full of sorrow and disaster, and the immediate future of the world is wrapped in gloom. Yet in India there are gleams of hope though dark clouds assail us. And the brightest of these rays comes from the newly awakened people of the States. We, who presume to shoulder the burden of their struggle, have a heavy responsibility and it will require all our courage and our wisdom to discharge that faithfully. Strong language will not help us ; it is often a sign of weakness and a substitute for action. It is action that is demanded to-day, wise and effective action, which takes us speedily to our goal, controls the forces of disruption, and builds up the united India of our dreams. Petty gains and advantages may lure us from time to time, but if they come in the way of the larger objective, they must be rejected and swept away. In the excitement of the moment we may feel inclined to forget our principles ; if we surrender to this inclination, we do so at our peril. Our cause is a great one, so must our means be above reproach. We play for high stakes, let us be worthy of them. Great causes and little men go ill together.

Constituent Assembly of All-India People

The freedom of the people of the States is a big enough thing, yet it is part of the larger freedom of India, and till we gain that larger freedom, it is struggle for us. If the Federation is imposed upon us, we shall fight it and sweep it away. Wherever the British Power intervenes against the people in the States, we shall have to face it. The time approaches when the final solution has to come—a Constituent Assembly of all the Indian people, framing the constitution of a free and democratic India. The States' People's Conference has done good work in the past but this has been only a fraction of the work it might have done, It must turn to the efficient organisation of all its activities, so that it might become a clearing house for all that pertains to the States, and a source of help and inspiration to all our comrades in the struggle. It must help in building up Praja Mandals or people's organisations in the States. It must take care to steer clear of all communalism, and it must, above all, remember, and make others remember, that non-violence is the basis of this struggle.

It is our great good fortune that in this struggle we have the backing of the National Congress and the support of its leaders. Most cheering of all is the thought that we have Gandhiji to guide and inspire us.

Resolutions—Second Day—Ludhiana—16th. February 1939

Rajkot, Jaipur and Kashmir figured prominently in to-day's speeches at the open session of the Conference which, despite a persistent sandstorm, attracted a

larger gathering than yesterday. Most of the resolutions which emerged from the Subjects Committee were disposed of to-day, leaving the Hyderabad resolution and another on civil liberties for to-morrow's session.

Prominent leaders were present, including Dr. Kitchlew and several Punjab M. L. A's, while among those who moved, and spoke on important resolutions were Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Chudgar, Dr. Lohia, Mr. Sirajul Hassan, Mr. Jailalji Kilam, and Mr. Saangdar Das.

Messages, wishing the Conference success, were received from Mr. Shanker Rao Deo, Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon, Mr. S. Satyamurthi, the hon. Mrs. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit and Srimati Kamaladevi.

Apart from a dozen delegates from Hyderabad (Deccan) who were participating in the States' People's Conference, other Muslim leaders from the same State who arrived in Ludhiana to participate in the proceedings as Hyderabad delegates were not allowed by the President to join the deliberations, as they were not *bona fide* delegates. He, however, permitted them to place their case before the Conference as independent members. To this, they declined to agree and withdrew.

The Conference congratulated the people of Rajkot "on their struggle and condemned the breach by the Thakore Saheb of his agreement with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel". The conference wished success to the people of Rajkot in their attempt to achieve Responsible Government in the State and condemned "the unwarranted interference by the Paramount Power in the internal afiairs of States" and warned the Paramount Power of "the grave consequences".

Two other resolutions, passed by the Conference, protested against the arrest of Maneklal Varma, Leader of the Praja Mandal in Deoli, by the Mewar police in the jurisdicton of Ajmer-Merwara, and against the ban placed on Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's entry into Jaipur and congratulated Seth Jamnalal Bajaj on his vindication "of the civil liberties of the people of Jaipur".

The resolution on Travancore affairs, as passed by the Working Committee at Delhi, was adopted without any change.

Proposing the Rajkot resolution, Dr. *Pattabhi Sitaramayya* drew attention to the significance of the Rajkot agitation, which was enhanced by the arrest of Srimati Kasturibai Gandhi, and declared that what was happening in Rajkot to-day would happen in some other State to-morrow.

Supporting the resolution, Mr. *Chudgar* described the course of negotiations between Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Sir Patrick Cadell and felt that the Paramount Power was now measuring swords with the Congress indirectly through the States for testing its strength to reject the Federation.

Dr. *Lohia* proposed the Jaipur resolution, which, in the modified form, protested against the lines of administration in the States and the ban on Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's entry, appreciated the resolve of the Praja Mandal for conducting Satyagraha till it obtained civil liberty.

This resolution was adopted with one dissentient.

The Conference adopted, all standing, a condolence resolution on the death of various State workers, including Messrs. Mani Shanker Trivedi, General Secretary of the All-India States' People's Conference, Manilal Kothari, a pioneer worker, A. V. Patwardhan, Provincial Secretary for Maharashtra, and others.

Mr. *Sirajul Hassan* dealt with the various grievances of the Kashmir subjects. Mr. *Jailalji Khilam*, supporting the resolution on the subject, explained the national demands put forward by his National Party to the Government and urged the need for responsible Government to the State.

The Conference passed a resolution appreciating the political awakening in the various States all over India and the efforts of all public workers in those States to rouse in the masses a sense of their political and economic rights, urged those workers to organise constructive work such as khadi, prohibition, communal unity and the establishment of mass contact.

By another resolution, the Conference congratulated the Raja Saheb of Aundh, who recently had introduced Reforms in hit State, and urged the other smaller States in the country to follow suit.

Resolutions—Third Day—Ludhiana—17th. February 1939

The opinion that the Satyagraha campaign in Hyderabad was inopportune was expressed at the Conference, which concluded to-day after passing a number of resolutions relating to the various States.

The resolution on Hyderabad was adopted, incorporating Mr. Munshi Ahmed in's amendment, stating that the Conference was of the opinion that the Satyagraha Hyderabad, started with the object of getting religious disabilities removed, was opportune as it tended to have communal repercussions and gave a pretext to the ate to suppress the movement for Responsible Government under cover of mmunalism.

Speaking on the resolution, Maulvi Mahomed Sayyed and Mr. Govind Rao scribed at length the state of affairs in the Hyderabad State and the efforts of the ate Congress to bring about reforms in the State administration.

Speakers from several States ventilated their grievances in the course of dis-ssion on the omnibus resolution, relating to the Punjab States. The resolution plored the backward conditions prevailing in the Punjab States, condemned the epression" there and the restrictions imposed on the people's activities and appealed the people to organise themselves for the vindication of their rights. The Con-rence further held that the personnel and terms of reference of the committees pointed by the States of Patiala and Kapurthala were unsatisfactory and inade-iate and urged that in order to make the reform schemes acceptable, they should framed by committees having adequate representation from the local Praja andals.

Proposing the resolution on treaties, Mr, Chudgar quoted from a number of cuments and said that they proved that some of them only provided for mutual nsultation.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru announced the personnel the Standing Committee and declared that, now that they had the Committee, ey would be able to carry on their activities with added vigour. He appealed for ıancial assistance so as to make the organisation self-supporting.

Educational Progress in India

JANUARY—JUNE 1939

The Indian Science Congress

Twentysixth Session—Lahore—2nd. January 1939

Presidential Address

The twentysixth session of the Indian Science Congress met at Lahore on the **2nd. January 1939** under the presidentship of *Dr. J. C. Ghosh* of Dacca. In the course of his address, Prof. Ghosh said :

"Eleven years ago, Professor Simonsen was called to this office, and in the course of his address, he suggested that the chemists of India should study more intensively the wealth of natural materials that lay at their doors, and devote less time to the study of problems of only theoretical interest. In the decade that has passed since Professor Simonsen made this eloquent appeal, the organic chemists of India have made many important contributions to our knowledge in this field."

After referring to the work of Indian scientists in various branches of chemistry, Prof. Ghosh proceeded :—

"I must confess that the section of physics and mathematics has to its credit more far-reaching discoveries than the section of chemistry. I need only mention the Raman Effect, the Saha theory of thermal ionization in stellar systems and the Bose Statistics. I should like to stress here one great obstacle to progress, which the chemists of India have not yet been able to remove. Chemists are apt to describe themselves as the most painstaking of all animals—not even the ass excepted. It is more true of their science than that of any other, that innumerable experiments must be performed, innumerable facts observed, catalogued, correlated and classified before an important generalization can be made or the structure of a new conception of the phenomenal world can be raised. But life is short and science is long. Hence it is, that we find that outstanding discoveries in chemistry have in recent years been made in laboratories, where inspiring leadership has been associated with large-scale team work. The paper on the synthesis and constitution of vitamin C appeared from the Birmingham laboratories under the joint authorship of a team of seven workers. Such team-work is, however, yet comparatively unknown in India. It is to be deplored that the idea of close co-operation among the scientific workers has not taken a firm root in the Indian soil. Is it due to the fact, that the traditional religious atmosphere of India teaches a child to be self-centred, to be complete within himself and to work out his own salvation, unaided and in isolation ?

"Then again, I am told, that a tradition has grown up in some institutions, that the senior member of the staff is given credit for senior authorship in a joint publication, independent of any consideration of the share he may have in the planning and execution of the work. This, if true, is unfortunate, for the highest spirit of co-operation, loyalty and devotion can only be evoked in an atmosphere of impartial justice and deepest sympathy and goodwill. Notwithstanding these handicaps, there are pointers to the road of success. In the palmy days when Sir C. V. Raman was Professor in Calcutta one could easily feel that in his laboratory, the researcher had become forgetful of self and mindful only of the work ahead. One also notes with pleasure the observation of Sir John Russel that Professor Mukherjee is fortunate in having secured the help of a band of skilled and devoted workers in his researches on soil colloids. Any casual reader of Indian publications in chemistry will not fail to see that work of considerable value has been done during the last decade. He will observe, however, that it is the individual enterprise in research, rather than a magnificent team work to solve a fundamental problem, which has been up till now, the keynote of our activities. But for greater efforts and higher achievements we should all endeavour to inaugurate an era of co-operation in all our endeavours.

"Within the precincts of this university, it is not necessary that I should have to make a special pleading for the theses that scientific knowledge and industrial activities should be co-ordinated or that our academic laboratories should not be divorced from practical affairs. We have here a flourishing Honours School of technical chemistry ; and the genius of Professor Bhatnagar has provided a bridge of communication between scientists and industrialists. Nowhere is the

beneficial effects of contact between universities and industry better exemplified than in the programme of researches on oil technology, now carried out under the supervision of Professor Bhatnagar, with the aid of funds provided by Messrs. Steel Brothers. In pre-war days, such close intimacy existed in Germany alone with the result that she rapidly outstripped her rivals in industrial enterprise. But a new epoch of industrial research in Europe and America has begun with the end of the Great War. Last year in the Presidential Address of Lord Rutherford we had a very clear exposition of the extensive activities of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in Great Britain. He stated with evident satisfaction that this bold experiment in the co-operative organisation of research, which is unique in the world, had undoubtedly proved a great success.

"The Government of India have, in recent years, done a good deal in promoting researches relating to plant industries. The Royal Commission on Agriculture has ardently looked forward to a state of affairs in which the universities will not only initiate agricultural research but will also undertake schemes of research, the importance of which is brought to their notice by the departments of agriculture. This end has been steadily kept in view by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. We have already referred to the researches of Professors Dhar and Mukherjee. With the aid of funds provided by this council, long-range schemes of research are in progress in the statistical laboratory of Professor Mahalanobis at Calcutta, in the chemical laboratories at Dacca, and in the botanical laboratories of Agra, Madras and Benares. The cotton technological laboratory at Bombay, the Institute of Cotton Breeding at Indore, the Imperial Institute of Sugar Technology at Cawnpore, the cane breeding station at Coimbatore, the jute technological laboratory at Calcutta and the agricultural research laboratory for jute at Dacca are notable examples of the solicitude of the Central Government for meeting the research requirements of valuable money crops. Researches on forest products have been organised in Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun and the Lac Research Institute at Ranchi. The work that is being done in these institutions has gone far to refute the allegation that Indian chemists are doing little to help industry. Take, for instance, the lac industry. Researches are in progress under Dr. H. K. Sen, relating: (a) to better methods of washing stick-lac to produce high grade seed-lac, (b) separation of pure lac resin from ordinary shellac, (c) bleaching of lac, (d) recovery of refuse lac, and (e) production of moulded articles for electrical industry and household use. With synthetic resins, like bakelite, having entered the field, it is certain that severe competition is ahead. But now that science has been linked to this industry, we may hope with greater confidence, that the lac industry of Chota Nagpur will not meet with the same fate as the indigo cultivation of Bihar.

"At Dehra Dun, the 'Ascu' process of Mr. Kamesam which fixes arsenic and copper in wood through the agency of chromium salts has given rise to a wood preservation industry. The researches of Dr. S. Krishna on Ephedra have helped Baluchistan in organizing the trade in this drug. Of particular interest is the work that is now being done there on vegetable tallows. The physical and chemical properties of mowra tallow and sal butter have been studied, and they are recommended as admirably suited for yarn sizing. It is estimated that about 400,000 maunds of these tallows can be put in the market; and owing to their cheaper cost of production, they are expected to displace animal tallows for various industrial purposes. Nor should we forget to mention that researches conducted on proper utilization of such forest products as bamboo and grass, have resulted in the establishment of several paper factories; and the time is not far off when the country will be producing enough pulp from these raw materials to meet the overgrowing demand for paper. Dr. Chaudhury and co-workers at Dacca have made extensive studies on the properties of the jute fibre. They have found that colour can be improved considerably by the action of chlorine peroxide, the tensile strength and resistance against rot by the action of formaldehyde, that jute nitrocellulose can be made as stable as cotton nitrocellulose, and that owing to its lower viscosity and high solubility, it would be more useful for the lacquer industry. It has been found that the jute plant does not ret in tanks of galvanized iron, and Dr. Barkar, in his recent review of jute industry in India, has drawn pointed attention to this observation, as indicating the possibility of controlled retting in central stations for the production of high grade fibres.

"I have dwelt in some detail on these researches on money crops which have received generous assistance from public funds, in accordance with the recommend-

ation of the Agricultural Commission, with a view to bringing out in bolder relief the cold indifference with which the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission have been received by the Central Government. Much was excepted of the policy laid down by the Government of India in 1915, under the stress of war, that India would consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government could afford to enable her to make her proper place in the world as a manufacturing country. But these lessons of the war were soon forgotten, and all that has been achieved is the setting up of an Industrial Research Bureau, controlling with the aid of an Advisory Committee, a small research laboratory attached to the Test House at Alipore. The report of this Bureau for 1937-38 is a miserable document compared with the corresponding report of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. I should not be misunderstood. I have no complaint against the personnel, but only against the stepmotherly treatment meted out to industrial research in the country.

"Nor should we forget that many great leaders of public opinion have been so impressed by the evils of the modern capitalistic world that they have not hesitated to declare that the introduction into India of the scientific and technical methods of the west should be resisted ; that it is no business of government to subsidize higher scientific research; those who employ scientific men or exploit their researches should pay for their training and provide them with facilities for work. The forces of public opinion and of Government rarely join hands in this country, but men of science found to their dismay, that this miracle was going to happen in this instance. It was feared that human society in India would in the end crystallize into a community of artisans and peasants. It is therefore with great relief and thanksgiving that we welcome the resolution passed at the conference of the provincial Ministers of Industries recently held at Delhi that the problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence and economic regeneration in general, cannot be solved without industrialization; and as a step to such industrialisation, a national planning committee should be set up which will formulate comprehensive schemes for the development of industries in India.

"As an indispensable adjunct to this planning commission there should be set up an All-India Council of Scientific and Industrial Research with functions and powers similar to those entrusted to the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in Great Britain. In India, however, men and things get, so easily and without questioning, under official control that it would be apt to quote here the following observations of Lord Rutherford :—'In Great Britain the responsibility for planning the programme of research even when the cost is directly borne by the Government rests with research councils and committees who are not themselves State servants, but distinguished representatives of pure science and industry. It is to be hoped that if any comparable organization were set up in India, there will be a proper representation of scientific men from the universities and also of the industries concerned'.

"Indeed for any one who has followed the recent happenings in this world, with any attention, this industrial planning for India would seem to be long overdue. Now, more than ever, a planning on all fronts would seem an urgent and immediate necessity. The lesson of the crumbling empires, and the rapid rise of countries organized in deadly earnest is patent to all but the oblivious utopian. If an industrial and progressive India appeared a desirable necessity in 1915, how much more urgent and imperative would such a task of consolidation of her intellectual and material resources appear to all in 1938. But we Orientals often forget realities, in our search for the ideal; with the furious tempo of development and consolidation all round, the least delay, however, in this urgent task may prove fatal and irreparable in the end. Already we are regrettably late in putting forth our best efforts in this direction,—but now that events have rudely awakened us to the dangers that our slackness exposes us to, we should try to make up for lost time by forced marches in the path of progress, and by a resolute determination to pool all our material and intellectual resources to solve our own problems. It is obvious that such a tremendous task cannot be achieved by isolated efforts of industrialists, and by private enterprise. The utmost co-operation of the individual with the States will be necessary if real success is to be achieved.

"The stupendous task need not make us despair. The very creditable performances of her sons in the different spheres of scientific and intellectual activity

have amply demonstrated that with proper guidance and plan. India is quite capable of solving her own problems, and of maintaining her position and ideal with dignity and prestige. What is only wanted is prudence and foresight, liberal statesmanship, resolute co-operation and efficient leadership.

"The universities of India have a great responsibility to discharge at this juncture, If the process of industrialisation is going to be a forced march in this country it will not do for them to take up an attitude of *laissez faire*. The forces of nature are the enduring wealth of mankind, but for the solution of India's economic problems and the prosperity of her 380 millions, it is necessary that brilliant young men should be trained up in ever-increasing numbers, who are capable of tapping these sources of wealth. The modern young student of science must realize that while fundamental theoretical work must continue to be the basis of all scientific advance, his subject would lose much of its importance, if this training did not fit him for tackling large-scale problems which arise in industries. Simultaneously with the development of industries, there arises in every country a great demand for a well-trained personnel to man these industries. Prof. Philips recently estimated that 12,000 graduates in chemistry are employed in industrial pursuits in England. Lord Rutherford even complained that the demand in England for well-trained researchers in physics had outrun the supply. Dr. Hamor, assistant Director of the Mellon Institute for Industrial Research, has estimated that in 1937, America spent about 100 million dollars in scientific and industrial research; and though the expenditure is high, the results have more than fulfilled expectations, even if for a time, some of them may be kept secret. Such a consummation may be long in coming to India, but every effort should be made to prepare the ground in advance. A very good example of what the Indian universities can do in this direction has been shown by Bombay, where under the inspiring leadership of Mr. Chandarvarkar and the able guidance of Dr. Forster, an Institute of Textile Chemistry and Chemical Engineering has been established, which in equipment has few equals. Already successful students have so proved their worth, that, I am told, there is an advance booking from the millowners for the products of this institution.

"It is a welcome sign of the times that the Indian industrialists are not all blind to the value of research as a means of improving production, and in consequence, of increasing the demand. The Tata Iron and Steel Works have led the way by the foundation of a magnificent laboratory at Jamshedpur for the study of alloys of iron and steel. The Lala Sriram Trust contemplates establishing soon at Delhi an Institute on the model of the Mellon Institute of America. The Luxminarayan Bequest at Nagpur may soon begin to yield the beneficial results which the donor so ardently cherished. But when one recalls that most of the industries in India are now sheltered by a tariff wall—call it revenue tariff or protective tariff as you like,—and that a substantial part of the income of the Indian business magnates accrues to them because of this tariff, one has a right to expect a much wider recognition on their part of the need for co-operation between science and industry, and a greater readiness to endow industrial research with a view to cheapening production. Such research is considered, in all enlightened countries, as an insurance against the dark days; and to-day when the world seems so much out of joint, the enlightened industrialists should do well to consider themselves only as servants of society—essentially moral beings whose main dividends are the benefits, which they confer by providing employment, and by manufacturing commodities essential for the national well-being.

"But the world will not be set right if this change in outlook were confined to one class of men only. Every intelligent man and woman have now got to ponder deeply over the problem that the scientific search for truth has not assured the advance of civilisation. Inventions intended to relieve toil, and to control the forces of nature, which should have given to all a fuller and more satisfying life, have been prevented into forging instruments of destruction. The paradox of poverty amidst plenty mocks us in the face. In one part of the world wheat and cotton are being burnt and milk thrown into streams, while in another part half-naked people are starving. It is not difficult to get at the root of this evil. In respect of scientific knowledge and its applications to the problems of the life, each generation stands on the shoulders of the preceding one, but in respect of social, cultural and spiritual qualities, no comparable development is noticeable—perhaps there has been a retrogression since the days of Asoka and Christ. Modern science has indeed become a menace to civilisation, because

we have refused to work for social justice, because the interests of individuals and communities have not been subordinated to those of the country, and because considerations of patriotism and the prejudices of race, creed and colour, have been allowed to override the wider considerations of humanity. Thereupon lies the tragedy of the modern world—the tragedy that we witness in the flaming cities of Spain and China, in the mountain homes of Abyssinia, and in the concentrated hatred in the armed camps of Europe.

"It is not enough that mankind should be provided with tools of progess. It is a much bigger task to teach them how to use these tools. Men of science cannot escape moral responsibitity even for the evil fruits of their labours.' The chaos of modern world is calling out to every man of goodwill and understanding to join in a educative effort, with a view to making the minds of men more flexible and adoptable, with a view to removing those narrow prejudices which are choking the paths of progress. These prejudices did not matter much in olden days, when communications were difficult—in fact, they were born because of such inaccessibility. But to-day when increasing rapidity of communications is causing the world to shrink with a disconcerting rapidity, these prejudices spell disaster for mankind. We, on this occasion, therefore welcome the efforts of the British Association and the American Association for the advancement of Science to mobilise the moral forces of the world for promoting better relations between men and nations, and we offer them our willing co-operation."

The Inter-Universities Conference

4th. Quinquennial Session—Bombay—1st. to 3rd. March 1939

Inaugurating the 4th. Quinquennial session of the Inter-Universities Conference at Bombay on the **1st. March 1939** His Excellency *Sir Roger Lumley*, Governor of Bombay emphasised "the important and decisive part" which Indian Universities would have to play at this "most interesting and vital period of Indian history."

The rapid development of University education in India in the last quarter of a century, said His Excellency, had created many problems and the world-shaking events in the same period had made those problems more difficult and complicated. There was, therefore, to-day greater need than ever for clear thinking and for calm and cool courage in the direction of University policy, if what was best in the public aspirations of the present age and of the coming generation was to be realised.

Dealing with the function of the University, the Governor expressed the opinion that it should primarily be a school of character, from which benefits flowed freely to the community and to the world at large. With such a leavening of character, the knowledge and the learning which a University existed to disseminate, achieved their best and fullest purpose. "In these changing conditions", continued His Excellency, "let us be sure what a University should be and for what it should exist. It must, I would say, remain a seat of learning and culture, a centre for co-ordinating knowledge and the results of learning in its broadest sense."

Continuing, His Excellency said that the University was a bulwark that preserved what had been done and sought to adapt easily and without too much violence, what was most beneficial in the doctrines that came from the world of action. "The modern world, whether or not it escapes the more violent catastrophes, has to face continuously the no less formidable threat of the speed and bustle and helplessness of life. All the more essential, therefore, to guard Universities as refugees of broad and independent thought", His Excellency added.

Bearing the above in mind, he would emphasise the dangers of parochialism in any future University development or the encouragement of purely local interest, where that was likely to interfere with a broader and more generous ideal of the cultural importance of scholarship and learning. The Governor reiterated his belief that the University must remain as it is in all free countries, the seat where freedom of thought and freedom of speech were enthroned.

Concluding, His Excellency referred to the rapid progress in the education of the masses which was likely to result from the policy now earnestly pursued by many Provincial Governments and thought that under these circumstances, a demand for the cheapening of University education and the closer association of the Universities with commercial and industrial world would arise. He believed himself that the University's aim should be first and foremost, never to sacrifice scholarship to the exigencies of the commercial and industrial world. "The need to preserve the standard of University degrees and to increase the contribution which the Universities can make to scientific research and discovery seems to me, a consideration of the first importance."

Resolutions

Several resolutions were passed at the last day of the Conference, on the **3rd. March 1939.** It was resolved that the medium of instruction at the different stages of education upto and including the Degree course, as far as possible, be the mother-tongue of the student: but where this was not possible, owing to the existence of different mother-tongues in the same school or for other special reasons, the medium of instruction should be English or any other modern Indian language. The literature of the respective Indian languages should be suitably enriched. Instruction and work in all research institutions should be in English, except where modern Indian languages had been used for a special purpose.

Another resolution allowed special subjects of study suitable for women as an alternative at the Intermediate and Degree stages, provided they did not cover more than one-third of the course; and that each University should have an advisory body for women's education.

Military science and training as optional subjects for the Degree course was thought desirable; the conference requested the Government of India to provide greater facilities for such military training by offering the services of Military Officers for the U. T. C., which should be extended to colleges and Universities.

It was further resolved that B. Com. Degrees should be recognised as one of the qualifications for the B. L. and LL. B. course in Indian Universities as well as for L. T., B. T. or B. Ed. courses.

It was recommended that political science should be given greater importance in the I. C. S. examination and should be given a place in competitive examinations for the Accountants, Police and Customs services.

The conference considered the question of the parity of University examination to facilitate the migration of pupils from one University to another. It was resolved that, as the Wardha scheme had not so far taken a definite and final shape, it was not possible to pronounce an opinion as to how it should be correlated to University courses of study.

To make the technology courses a success, there should be planned schemes of economic development and the Universities should establish close contacts with the commercial and industrial organisations in this country.

It was resolved that it be represented to the Government of India that recruitment to the Indian Medical Service should be only by competitive test and Indian Medical degrees should be given the same status and recognition as degrees of British Universities.

The S. I. Adult Education Conference

Annual Session—Madras—12th. to 14th. January 1938

The Welcome Address

The South Indian Adult Education Conference commenced its session on the **12th. January 1939** at the University Examination Hall, Triplicane, Madras. Mr. *N. Rajagopalan*, Deputy Mayor of the Madras Corporation, presided.

Dewan Bahadur *S. E. Runganadham*, Vice-Chancellor of the University, in welcoming the delegates on behalf of the University, said Adult Education in

Western countries was largely concerned with the provision of educational facilities through extension lectures and tutorial classes for literate adults who had not gone through a regular course of University study, in order to enable them to improve themselves either professionally or culturally. In India, however, where over 90 per cent of the population was illiterate, the conception of adult education must necessarily be wider and cover a more varied programme than that followed in the West. "My own view" Mr. Runganatham said, "is that the liquidation of adult illiteracy should occupy a very prominent place in any programme of adult education in India. Literacy, it is true, is not education, but it is a means to an evercontinuing process of self-education and would provide a sound foundation for the success of all our schemes of rural reconstruction. I was much impressed with the methods of teaching adult illiterates advocated by Dr. Laubach, who has achieved remarkable results in his literacy work in the Philippines. Some such simple and effective method of teaching adults to read and write has to be devised if we are to achieve any large measure of success in the near future. Successful experiments have been made by some in regard to the teaching of Tamil, and I would appeal to teachers and others to carry on further research in this direction. But in addition to some easy method of teaching illiterates, the great need of the hour is a large body of voluntary helpers. The need for adult education has long existed in our country, but it is only now that it is seen to constitute an urgent and pressing appeal. The next step is for groups of persons kindled by the desire for service, to respond to the call and embark on this great social effort".

"I would therefore urge the formation in our schools and colleges of Associations of students and teachers who are imbued with the desire to undertake the work of adult literacy. In urban areas, the work could be started at once among labourers and industrial workers. Night schools or schools during the holidays may be started in which the members of the Association may undertake to teach adult illiterates. Short courses of lectures on subjects of general interest could also be given from time to time.

"In rural areas, it would be necessary to arrange for excursions during holidays for establishing educational or social centres for the benefit of the villager.

"Adult educational work in India, must necessarily be many-sided, and in rural areas, particularly, it should embrace all aspects of the life and work of the villagers. It should offer not only opportunities for general culture, but aim also at improving the practical efficiency of the village worker. There is need therefore for co-ordinating the work of all welfare associations and agencies which have for their object the uplift of the masses. In this great task of assisting in the spread of literacy among adults and in stimulating and organising educational and social work for the benefit of the rural and urban masses, there is room for amateur efforts in social service as well as for work by trained experts. The University would be willing to co-operate both with Government and with other voluntary organisations in this national effort to improve the well-being of the common man. It has already issued an appeal to the colleges to form social service leagues of teachers and students for the purpose of liquidating adult illiteracy in their immediate neighbourhood. It would be glad to institute vacation lectures in approved adult literacy methods for the benefit of students and teachers.

"It would also be prepared, in consultation with Government, to institute a course of social study and training for those who wish to equip themselves for welfare work among the masses. It would be willing, I am sure, to encourage schemes for the production of suitable literature for new literates and for the expansion of the library movement in rural areas.

"This Conference will, I am glad to find, discuss many important aspects of the problem of adult education. In such a wide and many-sided movement as that of adult education, it is necessary that we should be clear in regard to our aims, and the methods to be adopted to suit our varying purposes. It is also necessary to have suitable organisations for carrying out the work and a certain measure of financial support. But more important than all these is an ardent spirit of service in all those who will engage in this great work. A real missionary zeal is necessary if the Adult Education movement is to spread and meet with a large measure of success. I hope our educated young men and women will respond to this call for national service. Mass education is the greatest and most urgent need in our country to-day. Adult education is the chief means by which we can raise the social, moral and intellectual level of the masses, improve national efficiency and build up citizenship. I may be permitted to point out to our young men that in responding

to this call, the benefit will not all be on the side of their less fortunate brethren. No man can truly fulfil his citizenship without a knowledge of other men and their conditions gained by personal contacts with them. Adult Education work will bring them into such living contact with their under-privileged brethren, that they will gain in citizenship as much as they give in service to others. I wish this Conference all success."

The Inaugural Address

Dr. *George S. Arundale*, President of the Theosophical Society, in the course of his inaugural address, said that adult education was of the first importance to the progress of the country. One of the fundamentals of adult education was that they must go to the people and take them in the conditions in which they lived and try to help to live happier and more prosperous lives. If this was done, it did not matter what kind of education they imparted from the standpoint of actual literacy. There was a feeling that the three R's, reading, writing and arithmetic, were the essential ingredients of a real system of education. For his own part, he had not that tremendous faith in these. He felt that the spirit of service was the first ingredient of a true national system of education. The inculcation of the spirit of simplicity in life was the second ingredient. If they could stimulate these two principles in their educational institutions, then the spirit of learning would come and the students would be able to do constructive work.

Dr. Arundale, proceeding, said that he very much appreciated the remarks of the Vice-Chancellor that students of schools and colleges should be behind such work. "I feel," he said, "that in every school, part of the curriculum should be to inculcate this spirit of service so that the students may learn to become good citizens and have a sense of responsibility to those round him. Whatever we do, we must do for service. I always feel irritated when some of our great educationists tell us that knowledge must be acquired for the sake of knowledge. I entirely deny that. I believe that knowledge must be acquired for the sake of service. Knowledge is only a means to an end and not an end in itself. I would like to see very much that the whole system was entirely remodelled, so that while from one point of view we may stress a happy and efficient individuality and from the other stress the urgent need of good citizenship.

"It is a good thing to have schemes of education like the Wardha Scheme, but it is better thing", Dr. *Arundale* proceeded, "to have movements in education. I should like to see the Government not hesitate to do things that Governments generally do not do. I want the Government to lead movements of students and teachers and of those interested, to spread the knowledge they have. I think, the hon. Mr. Verkey, our new Education Minister, might well become an apostle here in Madras of a great movement to lift up the population to a higher status. The Government should lead, and the Government should inspire. It is not enough for a Government to be merely efficient, pass Acts and perform ordinary functions. We must strike out in this country a new spirit in Government, a spirit whereby every Minister is far less an official and far more a non-official and gather round him those who are substantially helping the people to live more happily and lead more prosperous lives. Poor people must feel that we are thinking of them and that we are placing at their disposal the knowledge that we have.

"I should like to have a national Students' Service Corps and to make that corps responsible for adult education throughout the province. It could be done. The question is whether we feel that it is respectable for us to have enthusiasm to do it. People are afraid of enthusiasm, of emotions and of feelings. There is no education of emotions as far as I know at the present day in India. A movement like this really develops the emotions and feelings and enthusiasm. We can have heart to heart meetings with the masses."

The Presidential Address

Mr. *N. Rojagopalan* then delivered his presidential address. He said that nearly 86 percent of the population in India was illiterate. The chief contributory cause was the failure to have an effective system of elementary education. Even the elementary education that was now given was not satisfactory as it was not carried to the end of the 8th standard.

The problem of adult education was how to help the adult to get over his dejection, and to create in him an interest in life. Next, there was the question of giving him such an education as would induce him to provide himself with the

amenties of life. In the programme that might be considered should be included the establishment of adult classes on a nation-wide scale, the expansion of elementary education up to the 8th standard, the training of what might be called an "Adult Education Board" to co-ordinate work done in the province and the provision of suitable text-books.

The President, proceeding, said that adult schools must be established all over the country and it should be the aim within their influence. The classes could be held in the evenings. He pleaded for special provision for the tardy or the defective adults. The question of accommodation was not a serious one. The existing school buildings could be utilised for teaching the adults. No serious objection would be raised so long as it would not interfere with regular working of the schools. School buildings could also be used for meetings of the local improvement leagues, parents' associations, civic welfare associations and debating societies. There should also be a movement to make these school buildings available as a social centre for the locality in which they were situated. The President said that local bodies and municipalities could help a great deal in this work. They were agents of the State and they should devote considerable attention to this problem.

In conclusion, the President said that though there were many defects in the present-day education, they had made great strides. They had men and women at present able to tackle the problem of education, men and women who had special training and who could deal with it effectively. "The adult education movement needs the best machinery", he said, "that can be found, the best tools that can be discovered—and the best tool that the world has ever yet produced is a specially trained human brain". Mr. Rajagopalan hoped that as a result of the Conference, definite measures would be formulated for the early attainment of their ideal.

Resolutions—Second Day—Madras—14th. January 1939

The Conference adopted several resolutions touching the work ahead. The Conference asked the Government to "so amend the Madras Elementary Education Act as to bring within its ambit the education of illiterate adults" and to "so amend the Madras Factories Act as to make provision therein for imparting education to adults, the employer being called upon to bear his share of the expenditure". The conference also asked the Government to direct their village and district officers to afford every facility in their power to those who were engaged in adult education work, and to authorise District Boards, municipalities and panchayats for the spread of adult education.

The Conference "issued a challenge to every literate man and woman in India to make two people literate in the great enterprise of making this great land fully literate".

By other resolutions, the Conference asked local bodies to take suitable steps to further the cause of adult education both of men and women, and the libraries in the country "to take up the removal of adult illiteracy as an integral part of their activities". It asked all library organisations, provincial and others, to collect proposals and send them to the Committee of the South Indian Adult Education Association.

The Conference asked the Mayor of Madras "to call at an early date a conference of all organisations interested in social work and to take measures in consultation with them to start a literacy campaign in the City of Madras."

The Conference "earnestly requested the Syndicates (of the Universities) to institute extension boards that will carry on research on the best methods of spreading adult literacy, and produce suitable literature for adults, to enlist volunteers in every college for adult education service during vacations, and to train literacy workers, by vacation and extension lectures, on the best methods of teaching illiterates to read".

The Conference asked the Government to "encourage the production and propagation of educational films especially in rural areas, by fixing a quota of educational films in every exhibition".

The Madras Prov. Educational Conference

Thirteenth Session—Madras—8th. May 1939

The Presidential Address

The thiteenth session of the Madras Provincial Educational Conference commenced at Madras on the **8th May 1939** under the presidency of Mr. *V. P. Adiseshiah,* who in the course of his address, said that as one who has spent over 30 years in the profession it gave him great joy to be in their midst. During the last 25 years he had only handled college classes and as such he had not been in direct touch with secondary and elementary education. But he was sure that they were all connected together and formed parts of a unitary whole and men engaged in different grades of teaching onght to regard one another as colleagues in a common enterprise and in the building up a nation.

Referring to recent tendencies in the educational outlook, the President said that Education had been a burning topic during the last two decades. In a sense it had always been a topic of perennial interest. But the tendency during the last 25 years had been to re-think, restate, the implications of sound education, to examine, sift and analyse the system of education in all its various aspects and stages, and to recast, modify and adjust in such a way as to meet the social, economic, cultural and practical needs of the present time. Such a complex, harmonious, well-balanced system of education was not easy to achieve at one stroke. It must be evolved gradually in the light of experience at the result of patient thought and strenuous endeavour. That was exactly what had been going on for some years. All along there had been a sense of inadequacy which led to such tremendous changes. Now the emphasis was placed more on the practical and human side. In short, education should be in close touch with the realities of life and environment. A great deal of constructive and critical thought had been bestowed upon the subject resulting in the evolution of certain methods and scheme which might themselves could not be said to be final.

"The most recent of such methods, the President said, is the Wardha scheme and it is an instance in point. It combines, it is claimed, the salient features of the pevious systems in addition to being craft-centred, and hence pre-eminently practical. The pros and cons have been critically examined, some extolling it as the most satisfactory scheme while others condemning it out-right. Among those that support the scheme ardently is the hon. the Education Minister who has written an informing book about the scheme bringing out its merits. The author of the scheme is the first citizen of India, a sage and a saint who commands our unbounded reverence and admiration and it is quite possible that our psychological attitude may unconsciously regard this product of his great mind as almost infallible. The scheme is still to be tried. Time and experience alone will show its real value in liquidating illiteracy and laying the foundation for the choice of a proper vocation for the pupils in after life.

"Among other things underlying the conception of the scheme seems to be its aim to achieve economic efficiency of the future generations but the most recent criticism of the system is that it lays over-emphasis on crafts and eliminates all cultural education. Further it is said that it neglects English entirely without which for a long time to come we can ill-afford to live nor carry on our business and negotiations. Again too much time spent on crafts will result in pupils forgetting the three R's when they left the school. Moreover, psychologically it is regarded as an unsound system, because intensive work at crafts at an early stage would have a deleterious effect on the mental training of the pupils. The result will be, it is feared, that at the end of the seven years' course the pupil would be stunted mentally and would be fit only to be a wage slave. Thus, the children of the poorer classes would suffer and the richer classes would completely hold them in their grip. These are some of the features that are supposed to vitiate the scheme completely. The picture is rather overdrawn. Without claiming infallibility for the scheme it may be tried, and if the result proves unsatisfactory, it may be discarded. This criticism has, at the back of it, communal bias, and communalism

should not be allowed to encroach upon educational sphere. In this sphere at least, we must be free from it. The two systems cited above, and fairly scrutinised distinctly mark recent tendencies in the educational outlook.

"The question of re-organisation of Secondary Education is on the anvil. It is very strongly urged in some quarters that there should be a radical change resulting in better co-ordination and less rigidity of examinations. The real defect is that the system has become out of date, and requires to be adjusted and altered in collaboration with educational experts."

On the subject of co-education, the President said : It has been carried on for more than thirty years in a very limited scale in the lower stages ; but recently, it has increased by leaps and bounds especially in the University classes. It augurs well for the nation that the women of the country are taking advantage of the opportunities given to them and are endeavouring to measure up to the standard of western women. Indian women should be increasingly educated not to compete with men, but to contribute their share to the advancement of the nation so that our country may take her legitimate place as a free nation in the world. Women have a very important part to play along with men in the social, economic and political life of the country. Moreover, an educated and cultured mother's children have a distinct advantage in their upbringing. Women with a sound education are unquestionably a social and moral asset and a potent influence for good in the domestic life. Under the present circumstances girls may be educated side by side with boys until they reach ten years of age and in the college classes co-education may go on as at present.

Dealing with the question of relationship between the teacher and the pupils, Mr. Adiseshiah said :

"It has been said that the relationship nowadays between the teacher and the pupil is not what it was in the good old days. The teacher is helpless when he is confronted with breaches of discipline and disorderly behaviour on the part of the pupils. They say that it is all the manifestation of the spirit of the times and should be dealt with tactfully and sympathetically. We have been reading recently in the newspapers about strikes, revolts against school authorities, picketing, staging walk-outs etc. Surely, sound judgment and critical thought, acquisition of solid knowledge, diligent application to studies cannot flourish in an atmosphere of tension and turmoil. No efforts on the part of the teacher will be adequate in putting down such indiscipline unless the parents co-operate. The educated parents can render a valuable help in this matter. The pupils are sometimes under unhealthy influences and political exploitation of the studentry has been responsible in a great measure for this state of indiscipline. Immature minds easily fall victims to flattery and cajolery of the irresponsible politicians. The teacher's task becomes extremely difficult in such a plight ; but he must rise to the demand made on him by such a situation and use his moral force or soul force in weaning the immature minds to the path of rectitude and dignified behaviour. The capacity of the teacher to cope with such a disconcerting situation will be in proportion to the confidence he is able to infuse in the pupils by his good work, exemplary conduct and the love and respect he is able to command and the sympathy he shows to the legitimate aspirations of his pupils. Such a talented teacher is sure to earn the lasting gratitude of his pupils and of the parents. This implies that such a teacher is a concrete embodiment of all that is lovely, comely and honourable."

University education, the President continued, had undergone tremendous changes during the last 25 years both in the curricula of studies and extra-curricular activities. The opportunities afforded to the students were as numerous as they were valuable, in spite of the acute unemployment problem which had a depressing effect on the students and chilled their enthusiasm. It was all very well to speak of the necessity of pursuing knowledge for its own sake, for the sake of its intrinsic value ; plain living and high thinking was a sublime ideal, but they must face hard facts in this work-a-day world. Maxims, however elevating they might be, could not feed and clothe them, and a solution must be found. If it was conceded that in any walk of life an educated man was more efficient than one who was less fortunate, more resourceful, more capable of adjusting himself to a given situation by dint of his academic training, then certainly, a university man should be able to cope with the realities of life and get on well ; but he must be given an opportunity and a decent start. In this connection we should say that the insistence on the practical bias in his training at every stage of his education would become perfectly relevant

and imperative. One of the suggestions made to allay this grim spectre of unemployment was that instead of scrambling for Government posts, and becoming disgruntled when unsuccessful, the varsity young men should enter into enterprises of various kinds, rural uplift work, etc., to keep them busy. It was a well known fact that the earning capacity was rarely in proportion to the amount of knowledge or high degrees and titles.

"It is a mockery to call upon these ambitious young men, he went on to say, who are at the threshold of life with rosy visions of their future to do honorary work or set them adrift on society to take their chance in such large numbers to shift for themselves. The University and the Government are endeavouring to devise ways and means to help these young men. There are some private bodies who are working towards the same object ; but nothing very substantial has been done till now, or rather their efforts have not touched even the fringe of the problem. The problem ought to be solved and the tense situation eased. The sooner it is done, the better. It should be taken up and tackled seriously by the Government, business firms and other private employing bodies."

Dealing with the condition of the teachers, Mr. Adiseshiah said that the handicaps under which they were suffering must in season and out of season, be brought to the notice of the authorities. The South India Teachers' Union had been engaging itself in examining such questions on the teachers' security and tenure of office, pay and prospects and other kindred questions but nothing very appreciable had been done to improve their lot. There could be no two opinions on the fact that the Grant-in-Aid Code should be revised, the grant should be given more liberally, and equipment grant should not for any reason be curtailed or stopped as it was suggested some months ago by the Premier. It might be true that in his days, they were getting on fairly well without costly equipment. Now the days were different. These were the days of tremendous improvements in all directions. Education had become more realistic and knowledge was not built upon mere imagination. On the other hand, it was based upon the pupil's living contact with concrete elements and environments. Hence, the necessity for fairly decent equipment which would be helpful in making the child's education and experimentation of the scientists really concrete and convincing. The inclusion of experienced educational exponents should be insisted on in the proposed advisory council when it was created and in the preparation of any scheme to modify the present system, and the educational policy and programme in general.

In conclusion, the President said that he was sure that they were influenced by the sublime ideal of '*Nishkamakarma*,' unconsciously. He would appeal to them to make it a conscious and explicit living principle, guiding, controlling and energising their life and work.

The All-India Students' Conference

Fourth Session—Calcutta—1st. & 2nd. January 1939

The Opening Address

The Fourth Session of the All-India Students' Conference commenced in Calcutta on the **1st. January 1939.** Sj. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, leader of the Bengal Congress Party, in opening the Conference said :—

"I have been summoned here to open this Conference. I do so with the greatest readiness and enthusiasm, but I am not ashamed to confess that I do it feeling all the time like the fifth wheel of a coach, whose utility is "nil" and decorative value questionable.

"In my young days and even down to more recent times, one President and one Chairman of the Reception Committee were considered evils enough connected with a Conference. It was as much as one could do to rope in one lion to act as President. The hunt has certainly not become easier of late. Why then duplicate your worries by adding a second figure-head ? It may be the introduction of

co-education has given you new powers of persuasion, which are particularly effective in extorting "chauth" from people who are not given to frittering away their bank balances in the form of subscriptions. But in peace as in war, the defensive soon overtakes the offensive, so that in the end we stand where we always did. In fact, from what I have seen and heard, it seems in the President-hunt, the experiences of my young comrades who have organised this Conference have not been less exasperating than they were expected to be. Therefore, my advice to you is :—

Always shun and shed unnecessary appendages. Be simple, be simpler, and be more simple still. Missing and hitting a series of disillusioned oldish celebrities and pseudo-celebrities is not as exhilarating a game as missing and hitting cricket, football, and tennis balls. Leave old men to their unimaginative ways. Act up to the secret conviction of youth that they are a lot of useless fogeys. I know what your candid views are. You say among yourselves that their insides are always as bald as their pates sometimes are. So, do not pretend to seek inspiration from them, but pursue your own headlong course. If that leads you to wisdom so much the better ; if that leads you to mistakes even that is not as bad as it might seem ; but do not, if you prize the spring-time of your life, stand waiting for limping mentors which would have your sparkle and fire "sicklied over with the pale cast of thought".

"I find I am lapsing into the incorrigible weakness of age, which is to preach at youth. Before coming down to this Conference, I had decided that I should leave this as the sole privilege of your distinguished President. But it is difficult for a man of my age to see so many young faces before him and check the flow of didacticism. A wise, if cynical, sphorist has said that men give nothing more liberally than advice. This is truer still of the relations between old and young people ; for, there is nothing old men desire more ardently than that the coming generation should be made in their own image. Youth, on the contrary, would not be youth if it did not rise as one man against this imposition. So the sons rub the fathers against the grain and do things which set the latter's teeth on edge. On a winter morning they sleep under the coverlid when the senior rush to the "Maidan" in virtuous and voluntary search, as they pretend, of physical fitness but in reality goaded by the tortures of insomnia. They romp and rush without fear for their hearts and blood-vessels. They smile at and are smiled at by young beauties with as little danger to their heart and blood-vessels in the figurative sense. All this sets up a tension—a real tension, invisible and unconfessed though it might be—between age and youth. I believe there are many fiery communists among my young friends here. Have they ever given thought to this aspect of the inevitable class-struggle ? On the assumption that they have, I would humbly inquire how they propose to go about to create a class-less society in this respect. Perhaps I could help them with a suggestion. As a lawyer believing in precedents, I would put before them the example of certain primitive tribes whose young men spear their parents to death as soon as they have reached man's estate !

"My young communist friends are firm believers in a drastic resolution of the class-struggle. So the idea of putting an end to the eternal 'dialectic' between youth and age in this manner might not be unwelcome to them ; on the contrary, if we are to believe Plato, Democracy proceeds on a subtler plan. It demoralises the old men. Let me quote the actual words of the great philosopher. As a consequence of democratic liberty, Plato says, 'the father accustoms himself to become like his child and to fear his sons, and the son in his desire for freedom becomes like his father and has no fear or reverence for his parent....The Schoolmaster fears and flatters his pupils, and the pupils despise both their schoolmasters and their tutors. And altogether, the young act like their seniors and compete with them in speech and in action ; while the old men condescend to the young and become triumps of versatility and wit, imitating their juniors in order to avoid the appearance of being sour or despotic.' You thus have two alternative methods of dealing with your elders—the communistic and the democratic. Which of them you will choose will depend entirely on whether you have faith or have no faith in the principle of "Ahimsa." As for us, the choice will make no difference whatever in substance. Either we are put up against the wall and face the firing squad, or we march chained to the wheels of your triumphal chariot.

"But is there really no third way—which is neither destruction nor corruption—for reconciling not only the antithesis between youth and age but every species of difference in outlook ? The modern world has come dangerously near to believing

that there is not. Servitude and intolerance are spreading at an appalling rate among us. Europe which from the end of the 18th. Century made a goddess of liberty, is recanting her faith. How far this recantation has gone will become disconcertingly plain if we take the example not of Germany or Italy where free institutions had never taken deep root, but of England herself, whose boast used to be that she was the 'Mother of Parliaments.' I have been looking through a recently published book, written by an Englishman, whose theme is that Parliamentary Democracy must be thrown overboard in order to enable Great Britain to live in peace with the totalitarian regimes. "Attachment to Parliamentary Democracy," this writer says, ".....threatens us with economic disaster and prevents our sound defence against military defeat and destruction. If we are to avoid these dooms the system must either be drastically amended or completely abandoned in favour of some other system."

"Were this the view of a solitary crank, there would have been little cause for anxiety in its expression. The most significant fact about such ideas, is, however, that they are gaining in strength among a very influential section of the people of England. Many Englishmen are inclining to the opinion that Democracy will always be behind 'Dictatorship' in respect of progress and that, therefore, it had better go. Among those who have sympathy for such views are included men who control some of the great newspapers of Great Britain. The present Prime Minister of England and some at least of his colleagues are also perhaps of the same way of thinking.

"Yet what strikes me as the queerest part of this business is not the admiration of the unconscious Fascists for the proclaimed ones, but the inability of those who dislike Fascist tyranny most to think of a more effective means of counteracting it than the adoption of a different kind of regimentation. This, to my mind, is a grievous error of method, for if history teaches us anything it teaches us that really progressive ideas stand in no need of the compulsion of force. Take the case of Christianity for example. It made its way into the world by sheer moral attractiveness. So will, in my belief, all ideas which contain the seed of future development and are based on the innate creativenesss of man. Self-propagation is the law of their being and becoming. They will certainly need organisation and discipline—and organisation and discipline of a higher order than can be conceived of the martinets of collective goose-step—but they will not require bloodshed, nor be suppressed by bloodshed.

"To my thinking, Socialism or Communism or whatever you may call it—the label is of little significance as long as we are agreed about the substance of the thing—is such an idea, Its fundamental note is love and not, as has many times been asserted, hatred. The ceaseless insistence on class-war does, however, tend to throw the sunnier, the more altruistic, and the more messianic aspect of socialism somewhat into the shade. This has undoubtedly lessened the moral appeal of Socialism for men and nations who by tradition and temperament are not drawn to the idea of intolerant conflict. On a recent occasion, I tried to bring out this idea and, while declaring myself a socialist, voiced my dis-inclination for class-conflict. This has naturally provoked criticism. The orthodox Communist would no more hear of the disentangling of his creed from the idea of class-war than the orthdox geometricians would hear of squaring the circle. But this, I submit, is love of dogma, not of truth. I cannot understand why Marxists of all people should object to any modification and adaptation of their master's doctrine, when he himself had said that changes in human thought were determined by the material conditions of life taken as a whole. This sound doctrine, I presume, entitles us to reshape Socialist doctrine in conformity with the conditions in which it is to be applied. Marx took a similar line with his master Hegel's doctrine and re-oriented it in a manner which the latter would have been the first to repudiate. Yet Marx is no less of a Hegelian for that.

"I enter this plea for greater openness of mind and fredoom from dogmatism not in respect of Socialism alone but for the whole circle of human thought. We must not forget that political freedom, with all its urgency for us, is only a part of freedom. It must be completed as well as made possible by freedom in other spheres. I consider the maintenance of intellectual freedom—freedom of thought—to be one of the highest duties of youth. In the modern world, intellectual freedom is threatened both externally and internally. Authoritarianism is attacking it from inside, and the second danger is not a whit less serious than the first. The age we live in is often called the machine-age. I think it can with as much propriety be

called the "age of slogans." Their deadly blight is spreading like locusts to destroy the hard-earned intellectual harvest of mankind, Under their hypnotic sway we are very near forgetting that Truth has to be upheld and discovered afresh by every age if the fountain-head of human endeavour is not to run dry. It should be the mission of youth to free us from this bondage. They must liberate Truth from the many shackles of self-interest, obscurantism, and mental inertia.

"My call is then for freedom freedom, no less in the things of the mind than in the social and political order. But in order to give freedom its chance, it must have its necessary complement—discipline. By discipline I do not mean discipline induced by external power, which is best exemplified by the regimentation prevalent in the totalitarian states. This kind of discipline and this use of power has been brilliantly analysed by Bertrand Russell in his new book on "Power," from which I would read out to you the following passage :—

"These forms of power are most nakedly and simply displayed in our dealings with animals, where disguises and pretences are not thought necessary. When a pig with a rope round its middle is hoisted squealing into a ship, it is subject to direct physical power over its body. On the other hand, when the proverbial donkey follows the proverbial carrot, we induce him to act as we wish by persuading him that it is to his interest to do so. Intermediate between these two cases is that of performing animals, in whom habits have been formed by rewards and punishments also, in a different way, that of sheep induced to embark on a ship, when the leader has to be dragged across the gangway by force, and the rest then follow willingly.

"All these forms of power are exemplified among human beings.

"The case of the pig illustrates military and police power,

"The donkey with the carrot typifies the power of propaganda.

"Performing animals show the power of "education."

"The sheep following their unwilling leader are illustrative of party politics, whenever, as is usual, a revered leader is in bondage to a clique or to party bosses.

"Let us apply these Aesopian analogies to the rise of Hitler. The carrot was the Nazi programme (involving, e.g., the abolition of interest) ; the donkey was the lower middle class. The sheep and their leader were the Social Democrats and Hindenburg. The pigs (only so far as their misfortunes are concerned) were the victims in concentration camps, and the performing animals are the millions who make the Nazi salute."

"Well, there are many even amongst us whose conception of discipline does not go beyond wearing the badge and giving the salute. I have very little respect for this kind of discipline, although I admit it might be an instrument of power for those who covet dictatorship. When I speak of discipline I have in view a totally different state of the mind. That discipline comes from freedom from those archaic impulses within us, which make it difficult for us to reconcile the pursuit of individuality with collective good. "Life is a pure flame ; we live by an invisible sun within us," said Sir Thomas Browne. But not to all is given the perception of this invisible sun in all its undimmed glory ; nor does life's flame burn at its purest at all moments. When the dust of daily life or the dross of earthly aims lie thick on us, egotism gains the mastery and makes us forget that freedom is not a single individual's privilege but the birth-right of all It is in this forgetfulness that lies the greatest danger to freedom. We must guard against this danger by remembering that on the highest plane Self-discipline merges with Freedom,

"Comrades, I welcome you all to your spiritual home. It is not a city of "dreaming spires" ; nevertheless, it is your spiritual home, for it is here that the students movement had its birth about three decades ago. The site on which you and I have assembled to-day is almost classic ground. It is hallowed by the memories of Lal Mohan Ghose and Surendra Nath Banerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose Abdul Rasul, Aurobindo Ghose and Bipin Chandra Pal, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Deshpriya Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta. Bear proudly the torch of freedom which they have handed over to you and hand it over in your turn, pure and unsullied to those who are coming after you. With these words I declare this conference open".

The Presidential Address

In the course of his Presidential address, *Dr. K. M. Ashraf* said :—

"I frankly confess to a sense of extreme hesitation and embarassment when I rise to address you on this occasion. Ten or twenty years ago the task of the

president of the All-India Students' Federation, if there was one, was comparatively simple and even pleasant. He was expected to deliver a bright sermon to the youth with apt quotations from classical writers and with an anecdote or two to relieve you from the strain of exhaustion. They do that successfully even now in the liberal federation and you get some of that atmosphere when you visit a well-provided lawyer or doctor of so-called liberal opinion. I am afraid you are no more satisfied with that sort of stuff. You are faced with a concrete situation and living problems and you want straight and clear answers to the various issues that face you. Comparatively young in years, yours is a privileged class which brings freshness and vigour in every problem it analyses. Like older people you are not obsessed with inherent and acquired inhibitions and you look to the future with confidence. It is not surprising that the old guard has been mercilessly treated by younger elements in some countries, and from what I see I feel it richly deserves the fate."

"Our country," Dr. *Ashraf* observed, "has gone through two whole decades of national mass struggle and during the course of the experience we have developed a bigger and broader outlook until finally we have begun to realise that our national struggle is a part of the world struggle for a better order of society. We have definitely allied ourselves with democratic forces of the world against Fascism. The Indian National Congress has now formulated a more or less clear foreign policy of its own as against our imperialist rulers and it is a fact that at the same time when the Conservative British Premier was secretly helping Franco to win the war of Fascism in Spain, Pandit Jawaharlal, a distinguished ex-president of the Congress was openly fraternising with Republican Spain of workers and peasants. In fact valiant Indian comrades were actually fighting with the International Brigade, which built up a glorious defence of Madrid and gave a concrete example of the international solidarity of the weak and exhibited humanity against imperialism and fascism. I take this opportunity to congratulate comrade Huddar who has just returned to India and comrade Anand who is with us. It is the same with China. The Indian National Congress has sent a medical deputation as a mark of its solidarity with the Chinese as against Japanese imperialists. The Indian national movement is no more an isolated phenomenen. It has been lined up with the world forces of democracy, peace and progress as against fascism and war.

Referring to the student movement in India, Dr. Ashraf said essentially democratic and anti-imperialist in its nature it has allied itself with the progressive youth of other countries, and it is a matter of some satisfaction to all of us that the All-India Students' Federation has already been represented at the World Peace Conference and the World Youth Congress. I will not detaid you with a long analysis of the world situation for it has already been realised in practice. I will not even tax your patience by examining the international crisis of capitalism. I am here concerned with the general lessons of this world struggle which I am afraid has not been fully realised in this country and we have to take very good care that we don't commit the mistakes which have cost so much to the people of other democratic countries. You remember that international capitalism suffered a complete collapse after the last World War, but except for the communist party of Russia other democratic movements failed to utilise the opportunity and captitulated before the onslaught of capitalism under the guise of fascism in various ways until finally at Munich capitalism succeeded in building up an open united front. By the very logic of the situation we too have to build up a united front of all democratic and progressive forces in India, and let us be clear as to the direction it takes on the national and international places.

"When one hears politicians talking against Russia" he continued, "and the communist party, one very much suspects that the lessons of the international struggle have not been imbibed by many of us in this country. The situation in India is undergoing a revolutionary change aud the relationship of forces as between the various class groupings in society is shifting from day to day. The political parties and programmes are therefore without exception in a state of constant flux. As students of practical politics we must understand the process of history in the making and the exact nature of social science to understand the laws of motions underlying these changes, and to grasp the fundamentals of the Indian situation. Do not forget that the social forces which cease to be progressive do not die out. They too change in reverse. Hence the growing conflict of ideology and its decisive significance in our national struggle. Speaking broadly, all our national struggles develop on the basis of a united front of all anti-imperialist forces in our motherland. But

we have to determine from time to time what exactly is the role of a particular social group in a given situation in our anti-imperialist struggle. It is not very long when even political mass consciousness on a communal scale was progressive, even revolutionary and the Hindu revivalist movement, the Pan-Islamic and the Khilafat movements materially contributed to our national struggle. But can we say the same thing to-day about the present forms of communalism? The message of Mahatma Gandhi was certainly of the utmost revolutionary importance in 1919 and even later, but can we say the same at the time when even according to him constitutionalism has come to stay. During the course of two decades our national struggle has released new social forces and one witnesses millions of peasants and workers joining our national struggle. The people of Indian States are now coming in with a revolutionary fervour which was difficult to visualise even five years ago. The present leadership, developed under very different circumstances, finds itself more or less helpless in the situation, and one gathers the impression as if like King Canute we are trying to control the social forces inspite of consciously developing them. This situation has given rise to the problem of new leadership to correspond with the new social conditions, and it is here that comrades like you are called upon to build up the new front of anti-imperialist forces and an appropriate leadership to suit the present situation. We are suffering from a deadlock in our national movement and it is difficult to visualise how we shall develop an alternative leadership and an adequate programme of struggle except on the basis of the working class, the greatest and the most consistent revolutionary force in the modern society.

"I have given some consideration to the national movement and international situation to pose before you the majority problems of the situation. In your own way you have got to face them also. After all why have you come to organise a student's movement in this country on an all-India scale. The answer is simple. What you seek is simple and should belong to you as a matter of right. You seek education, you want employment, you wish to live a happy and fruitful life. In short you stand for liberty, peace and progress both individually and as a group. These demands are by no means unreasonable. Our country is potentially one of the richest in the world. It should have more than enough to allow for youngmen and women a chance to work and study to make the best of his or her creative capacity. The question uppermost in your mind is who is responsible for the wreckage of you hopes, for the wastage of your lives. And the answers bring you in conflict with the present social system, in the first instance, against British imperialism and its allies. This incidentally solves the question whether students should take part in politics. I do not think how you can keep out."

In this connecton he mentioned of unemployment now prevalent in this country and said, "It is common knowledge that hundreds of educated youngmen all over India, and particularly of Bengal, have been driven to despair through unemployment and misery and have committed suicide. But has Government done anything to relieve them beyond preaching sermons on the dignity of manual labour? Before the Congress came in, the U. P. Government at the instigation of the Imperial Government appointed what is now known as the Sapru Committee to consider the problem of educated unemployment. The Congress has now come out with the plan of national industrialisation, but other factors apart, has this plan any thing in the way to offer in the way of immediate relief? Recently there has been so much talk about villge reconstruction and cottage industries. I need hardly say that these plans of village reconstruction offer no solution on a national scale within the present political framework and are not a practical proposition for us to consider. Again, take the question of education. After fifty years and more British imperialism has succeeded in giving rudiments of education to just more than eight per cent of the population and we know it to our cost how our parents have sacrificed themselves to give us the benefit of school and college education; and yet at the end of it their hearth as well as ours are heavy because the elementary needs of life are being denied to most of us by the present social order. I know that the Congress is committed to the principle of universal education free, primary and secondary."

He pointed out the Wardha scheme of education and said : "The Zakariah Hussain Committee has in fact prepared a new and progressive syllabus but this is just one item of our social programme and if the Congress seriously takes it up the whole of the present provincial budget will be exhausted by putting it into operation. I do not know how we can get through our national programme

reconstruction without a revolutionary capture of power. I do admit that under the Congress Governments, the attitude of authorities towards students has slightly improved, but I may be no more sure that the students can rise to their full stature even under the Congress Governments. We have to function through the old burcaucratic machinery and it is very difficult to make the present instruments of Governments to suit our needs.

In connexion with hardships encountered by students, Dr. Ashraf stated: "Only the other day we read of hundreds of students being expelled from the Hyderabad College for singing the 'Bandemataram' song. You can appreciate from this incident how much we have yet to struggle to establish our elementary rights. Of course the censorship of the imperialist government and the ban on progressive literature still remain and our chances of cultural development are very meagre indeed.

"Among problems the student movement like the national movement is faced with the disruptive forces of communalism," proceeded Dr. Ashraf, while speaking on communalism. "Attempts are being made by both Hindus and Muslim communal politicians to disrupt the national front of the student movement. I will not take your time by discussing communalism in any details on this occasion. Suffice it to say that communalism as a whole is nothing more or less than imperialist conspiracy to disrupt our democratic and national movement. Internationally, communalism is allied to-day with fascism. Only recently the representative of the Muslim League met General Franco and gave him his blessings. We know only too well that Savarkar and Bhai Permanand are working in India in the interest of Japanese imperialism.

He observed, "Again in our class organisation of the peasants and workers, communalism supports vested interests. It is committed to Federation, the Status Quo of the States and in its methods and programmes it stands for constitutionalism as against mass struggle. To elucidate this disruptive role of communalism I can only cite the example of Bengal, which has the good or bad fortune of having a government by a Muslim League Ministry. Be it recorded to the shame of the present Ministry that our detenus have not yet been released in spite of agitation all over India.

Criticising the action of the Huq Ministry of Bengal in this connexon, he said, "Instead of relieving the jute growers, the Huq Government have enforced the Ordinance and the way strikers are being treated is only too familiar to you. The present Government has actually gone a step further and has encouraged communalism in the ranks of labour. As to the general atmosphere in Bengal, I can only say that our tone and behaviour has been deteriorated and that the city of Calcutta has witnessed ugly and shameful demonstrations on more than one occasion. Only on the last occasion when the vote of no-confidence was being discussed on the floor of the Bengal Assembly shameful scenes were witnessed in Calcutta and I am not sure they will not be repeated again."

Passing on to the organisation of students, Dr. Ashraf said : During the last three years there has been a development in our country. This reflects on the growing strength of the All-India Students Federation. By now all the provinces have functioning provincial branches in them, and the Panjab which is not formally represented this year in our Conference is reorganising itself on healthy lines and will soon be with you. Some of you branches have started social work of an educative nature and in Godiwalla Memorandum has given an appropriate lead in this direction. In many places members of your Federation have joined in the literacy campaign now being started by the Congress Governments. In the political field a number of students are now engaged in working among peasants with a view to organising peasants and workers. Two of your members are actually in prison to-day. In short, the record of the Students Federation is a very satisfactory one and I take this opportunity to congratulate all for the good work the Federation has done. Above all, I must congratulate you on the solidarity which you have shown by unifying your ranks here in Calcutta. I hope and pray that this unity will develop and grow as years pass by. I have a few observations here to make in connection with the organisational work of the Federation. So far the Federation is primarily urban in its character and your members are mainly enrolled from among college students. This is a serious limitation. For, in India, if the anti-imperialist movement, specially in these days of mass struggle everywhere, keep on functioning within these limits, I am afraid, we will be beset with serious problems of outlook and methods of work. "I find, moreover," he concluded, "that we have so far done

nothing to organise social and recreational activities among students. We should organise our holidays and in a word the programme of our Federation should embody within it the demands and wants of students. I am sure you will adopt concrete proposals towards this end in this conference. In conclusion, I thank you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to preside over this occasion."

Resolutions—Second Day—Calcutta—2nd. January 1939

THE FUNDAMENTAL DEMANDS

The following resolutions were adopted at the second day's sitting of the Conference on the **2nd. January 1939** :—

1. This Conference resolves that immediate steps be taken to realise, as soon as possible, the following fundamental demands of the students :

1. That legislation for the compulsory recognition of only the non-communal and non-sectarian Students' Unions by universities as well as by other educational authorities be enacted, and that representatives of the students from such organisations be authorised to submit their demands and grievances from time to time, or as they may arise and that the schools and colleges which foster communal or sectarian spirit shall not be recognised, and all institutions run for commercial ends be municipalised.

2. That there shall be complete freedom of speech and organisation of the students in schools and colleges.

3. That free and compulsory primary education shall be provided for all on the basis of one school for every unit of 500 souls.

4. That compulsory physical training in schools and compulsory military training in colleges, without any obligation to serve in any imperialist war, be immediately introduced.

5. That productive vocational education based on modern methods of production shall be immediately provided in all schools and colleges.

6. That the Municipalities, local bodies or other statutory bodies be authorised to take over such private schools as are run for profit only to the proprietors.

7. That secondary education shall be free from unnecessary departmental interference, and that the control and supervision over these institutions concerned with education be entrusted to a statutory body organised on a democratic basis and functioning as a responsible authority.

8. That the constitution of the Universities in India be remodelled, freeing the Universities from needless Government interference, democratising the constitution of their legislative authority, including thereon representative of the University students and providing for elected and responsible Chancellor, vice-Chancellor and executive.

9. That the University be required, if necessary by legislation, immediately to put in practice the following demands, viz., (a) that the general cost of educational and particularly examination fees be reduced by at least 50 per cent, (b) that books and other requirements of University education should be so selected, produced and supplied so as to preclude anti-national or anti-democratic ideas, and excessive cost. (c) that instruction shall be provided through the medium of an Indian language, and every encouragement shall be given to the development of indigenous culture, (d) that foreign missionary organisations be completely excluded from any concern with higher education, and that no grant from public funds be made to such organisations, (e) no discrimination be made, either on communal or sex basis, in any educational institution.

10. That the department of Public Education be completely overhauled and the administration and control of educational institutions be entrusted to this department reconstituted on a national basis.

IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS

This Conference considers the following to be the immediate requirements of the students of this country, which can and should be immediately granted by administrative action, which would offer a wider scope to students in the pursuit of their academic activities. It, therefore, calls upon the provincial governments and all authorities concerned forthwith to: (a) amend the circulars issued by the Governments of Madras, Orissa, Bombay, Bengal, U. P., and Mysore as to give wider latitude to students and teachers to take part in any political activity or join any political organisation ; (b) abolish all degrading or humiliating forms of punishment; (c) discontinue any grants from public funds to any educational institution making religious instruction of a given sect compulsory; (d) give

facilities to all post-graduate students to have a free access to all public and college libraries; (e) supplementary and compartmental examinations; and (f) substitute percentage system by tutorial one.

SPAIN AND CHINA

History has never witnessed such barbaric and wholesale destruction of human life and property, art and culture as is being carried out by fascist and imperialist aggressors in Spain and China to-day. This Conference looks up with pride and respect at the wonderful achievements of the students in these countries, united under a peoples' government. While appreciating the efforts made in the past by our students to help these co-fighters abroad, this Conference calls upon them to make greater efforts to ensure the victory of the peoples' government towards this end. It suggests active co-operation in the despatch of the food ship to Spain as suggested by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the vigorous boycott of Japanese goods.

3. Events in Spain and China have revealed the barbaric character of modern wars which are forced on the peace loving of the world by the empire lust of a handful. Wars of the future will be many times more barbaric in their destruction of all that progressive humanity stands for—freedom, peace, culture, sanctity of human life, etc. Students standing for their ideals have in other countries shown that anti-war role they could play under an effective organisation. This Conference, therefore, urged upon the student workers and unions in this country to immediately organise with the active co-operation of all progressive forces, anti-war committees, with a diverse programme to educate the people to actively resist Britain's plans to drag our country (Army Recruitment Act) into her wars—not a man, not a rupee for imperialist wars.

PALESTINE AFFAIRS

4. This Conference expresses its solidarity with the Arabs in Palestine who are fighting with heroic persistence the massed forces of British imperialism which is intent, as ever, on thriving on the imaginaty conflict of interests which it has sedulously cultivated between Arabs and Jews and is pursuing its nefarious policy of permanently antagonising the two communities by alternative promises to either party and thereby consolidating its hold on one of the world's most strategic positions:

The Conference is convinced that the Arabs are fighting bravely the same forces that are keeping India down in servitude and misery and assure the anti-imperialists in Palestine of their whole-hearted support.

5. The students of India through their representatives assembled here appeals to the delegates to the next session of the Indian National Congress that in view of the impending danger of the imposition of the unwanted federation as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 and the bold stand that President Bose has taken to combat and kill it, he be re-elected as president of the Congress.

6. The All-India Students Conference looks up with pride to the World Students Association and declares its whole hearted support to its programme against fascism and warmly appreciates its work for the solidarity of the progressive students of the world.

7. This Conference warns the students of Burma against falling prey to the misleading slogan "Burma for Burmese" and requests Indians in Burma to settle matters amicably with the Burmese and unite in a common fight against British imperialism.

Further, it condemns the imperialist repression against the students of Burma which has resulted in the deaths among others, of the Vice-President, the All-Burma Students Union and express its sympathy and solidarity with them.

8. This Conference appreciates the work done by the Indian Delegation to the World Youth Congress at New York under the leadership of comrade Yusuf Meherally and supports the Wassor peace pact.

9. This Conference resolves to invite the next World Students Conference to India.

10. This Conference condemns the repressive policy of the Govt. of Bengal against student movement as visualised in the arrest of active student workers like Com. V. Dubey, Promode Sen, Dharitri Ganguly and others and demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the prosecution instituted against Comrade Dharitri Ganguly.

11. The conference demands the immediate and unconditional release of Rani Guidalieu of the Naga Hills, who is incarcerated for her struggle for country's freedom and whose release is being unjustifiably delayed by the Central Government.

THE STATES

12. The emergency of Congress Ministries in provinces, the consequent widening of civil liberities therein, the struggle of the States' people for responsible Government against the autocratic rule of the native princes has assumed a dynamic form. The brutal repressive measure adopted by their rulers with the connivance and support of the Paramount Power, the elephant charges at Kashmir, indiscriminate lathi charges and bannings of public institutions at Hyderabad, Raipur, Mysore and Travancore and firing at Vidurashawatham and Dhenkanal have failed the will of the people to be free.

This Conference congratulates the States people on their heroic stand and feels proud that students are taking part in this struggle. It feels happy that the people in Rajkot have won their struggle and congratulates them on the same.

This Conference further assures its full support to the struggle of the States people for the legitimate cause and appeals to the Indian National Congress to abandon its policy of non-interference and to actively support the movement in the States for responsible Government and Civil Liberties since it forms a vital part of the struggle against the Federation.

Pt. Nehru's Speech

"You must come to this clear decision that the students' movement must be broad-based and must not on any account become sectarian", said *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru*, in disapproval of ideological dispute among students, addressing the conference on the 2nd. January. There was no reason, he observed, why they should not harbour in the Federation people holding different political views and that it must be highly improper for the Students' Federation to become an injudicious sectarian body, for in that way it would not lead to progress but to weakness and disintegration. He strongly criticised the extreme facility with which students in India resorted frequently to strikes and Satyagrahas.

Giving his impressions of his recent tour of Europe, Pandit Nehru said that he had found an extraordinary intellectual paralysis in the democratic countries and that most people there felt that some changes must come. Concluding, Pandit Nehru was sure that "British Imperialism cannot prevent us from achieving independence. We are strong enough to face it provided certain inner weaknesses do not come in our way."

"Ever since I returned to India about six weeks ago I have received requests and demands from the Students Federation to come and attend this conference. First of all, the demand was to preside over it and later on it was reduced to at least to attend it. I tried to avoid it for many reasons. First, because I was not sure of my ability to come to Calcutta during this week. More important, however, was the reason that I was not quite sure of the desirability of my presiding over it, because I find this habit of importing presidents from outside, politicians, well-known men and women, is not a good habit for any live organisation, least of all for a students' organisation. If you want to grow self-reliance, you have to stand up on your feet and legs.

"I have extreme dislike," proceeded Punditji, "for people travelling long distances to preside over conferences. About 15 or 16 years ago in my own province, United Provinces, we made it a rule in our Congress organisations not to bring presidents for provincial organisations from outside. We would welcome prominent people as visitors, but not as presidents. A similar rule was made with regard to district conferences, though it was more honoured in the breach than in observance. This was because we wanted people to assume responsibility and get used to it, because we did not want to make these conferences gala occasions for prominent politicians for adorning the platform but occasions where we were to arrive at clear decisions and give shape to them in the shape of resolutions. When prominent people came, large crowds came to listen and to applaud, while the main problem before the conference faded into background and the conference became a big demonstration. A conference should be more than what we have in a public meeting and demonstration. When we convert our conference into a pure demonstration, that conference fails to achieve its purpose, more specially students' conferences, where we should consider intellectually the very many problems that face the country. Therefore, I hesitated to come."

Proceeding, Pandit Nehru said that he was not quite clear as to the subject on which he would address the gathering. Not that he was lacking in ideas, because there were too many ideas on which he would like to speak. There were too many problems, national and international—that demanded answer. They had to find out what the answers were. In their attempt to find the answer to a problem, they had to define the problem itself first of all. It was an extraordinary thing to find in many cases people attempting to find an answer to a question when the question had not been framed at all. When one came to an answer before the problem itself, it was an absurdity. In other words, they came to a sentimental conclusion. To some extent, it was natural, because the average human being was not a very logical, rational and reasonable thinking individual. He or she acted under certain urges and then, later on, tried to justify it by some argument or reason. That was good enough for certain individuals, but not good enough for those who called themselves students. Because students had outgrown the stage of childhood, they were not on the threshold of life alone but on the threshold of thought as well. If they did not take advantage of the position at the threshold, they would not proceed further in the house of life. They should retain the outlook of students all along if they wanted to learn much afterwards. In student days, they acquired certain backgrounds, habits of mind and the training to learn. If, afterwards, they retained that training and habit of mind, they could play an effective part in world affairs.

"If I may speak personally.", went on Pandit Nehru, "I was an average student in school and college, may be from the point of study just above the average. But whatever I learned, and that was very little, I learned by self-learning and self-education, by hard work and not casually. If you imagine you could achieve anything without hard work, you are mistaken. Most of what I have learned I have learned by hard work and study since I left the college. Fortunately I had opportunities of study which other people do not usually have—that of long years of study in prison. Even outside, when I lead a pretty busy life, I try to find some time at least to keep in touch with ideas, movements, books and literature, because I do not want to fail to keep pace with the world but I want to have the mental equipment to deal with the problems I have to face and solve. That I did not learn much at school and college is true".

Proceeding, *Pandit Nehru* said that when he laid stress on the approach to a question, he very often found that the approach was a narrow approach to a particular problem. That approach might be good enough when they were dealing with a particular problem, but unless they had a wider approach they could never solve a problem satisfactorily. He was not in complete touch with the activities of the Students' Federation, but somehow vague reports of what they were doing had reached him. He was eager to know how the Students' Federation during its brief existence had become a great organisation. It was a healthy sign in the students' world of India. He had heard that during the last session at Madras there was a minor dispute which ultimately broke it up or something happened and they could not agree upon. He did not enter into the merits of arguments. What struck him as strange was that in the Students' Federation they should get excited over those arguments. It was right that they should formulate arguments with regard to these matters on an intellectual basis. There was no reason why they should not harbour in the Federation people holding different political and economic views. Speaking generally, there might be some limiting factors, but subject to this it must be highly improper for Students' Federation to become an injudicious sectarian body. By 'sectarian,' he did not mean it in the religious sense, but in the mental sense. There was far too much development of sectarianism in India. To a certain extent it was inevitable in the changing condition of things. It was more so in the case of students organisations.

"You must come to this clear decision," said Pandit Nehru, "that the students' movement must be broad-based and must not on any account become sectarian. We have in India various ideologies, with their conflicts. Some of these conflicts might be reflected in the students' movement. I would not mind students forming separate organisations for the study of certain ideologies." If they wanted to make the Students' Federation narrow, opined Pandit Nehru, it would be utterly wrong. For in that way the Federation would not prosper but would lead to bitterness, weakness and disintegration. They had in India numbers of disintregating factors in the body politic and in public life. It was for young men and women to fight these disrupting and disintegrating factors.

During his stay in Europe, said Pandit Nehru, the last three months were remarkable months. Many extra-ordinary things happened. How many of them realised their background ? They might have passed some high-sounding resolutions about fascism and other things. They might have a mental understanding of them, but how many of them had in their mind a clear analysis of the background of the resolutions ? During the last three months of his stay in Europe, said Panditji, many strange things happened, events from a historical point of view as big as those of the Great War of 1914-18, not so big from the point ot view of casualties or destruction, but from the point of view of changes as momentous as those of the last War. There had been an entire change in the map of Europe and it was still continuing.

I have been, proceeded Pandit Nehru, in England and France and other countries who call themselves democratic. In those countries I have found an extraordinary paralysis of the intellects of the people, young and old, among highly advanced groups and less advanced groups as well—a strange paralysis of intellect overwhelmed by problems they have to face but to which they cannot find any answer. Some of the people are repeating the old slogans no doubt, and suggesting old remedies as they had done previously. But in their hearts, they were doubtful if they were right and treading the right way." Proceeding Panditji said that people came to him with extraordinary seheme for national reconstruction etc. involving crores and crores of rupees, but they failed completely because they had noconnection with reality.

Panditji next dealt with the problem of democracy. What exactly did they mean by it ? The 19th century Parliamentary democracy that still existed in a greater or lesser measure in England, France, United States and some other smaller countries ? They saw that kind of democracy had been thrown over board in Germany and Italy. They also saw a different system of Government existing in Russia. What they found in England and France was different from the 19th century democracy. That was a changing thing. Most people in England and France had come to the conclusion that this could not continue as they had continued in the past and that some changes must come.

If they applied the democratic ideas to India, how did they find the background ? They found that for a number of years India had no democratic background. Their methods of Government were very remote from democratic. Democracy required certain traditions, certain discipline. Democracy without discipline went to pieces. Too much discipline without democracy was also highly undesirable as it led to exploitation. Too much democracy without discipline lead to disruption and license. Not only in the students' organisation but in the Congress organisation as well they had to face the problem of democracy and discipline keeping together. For, without a certain measure of discipline and democracy things ran into little bits.

Proceeding Pandit Nehru said that their national movement had grown into tremendous dimensions during the last 50 years. While it started as a small movement, it grew and grew till it comprised millions of people. The whole of the background of the national movement was then agitational. It then shouted and cried even though that was limited. When it passed a resolution, it gave expression to their anger. Then came a stage when they developed a certain power to follow up shouts with some effective action. Their resolutions became a little more reasonable because they felt that they had to live up to them. When the non-co-operation and the Civil Disobedience movements came, there came great change. If they read the resolution of those periods, they found they were more moderate and dignified because behind them lay the reality of threat of action. In other words, they shifted from the plane of words to the plane of action. Shouting conveyed weakness. They had yet got accustomed to their new strength and dignity, that was why sometimes shoutings were heard. Panditji then referred to the change which had come over in the tone of Indian publicists who now went abroad. They no longer whined there but, conscious of their strength, they spoke in a different tone and instead of beggars and takers, they had become givers and consequently there had been remarkable psychological changes.

Panditji illustrated with what sense of responsibility the Provincial Congress Committees and the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee of the Congress had to speak and frame resolutions, for a word from the Working Committee could put an end to a ministry. If they were asked to follow a certain programme, that would be followed, whatever the ultimate consequences. They had shed their weakness and become strong. They had been fighting British Imperialism so long. The British

Imperialism was one of the biggest and most powerful organisation in the world. But from the long view of things it is dead. Historically speaking, it had given up its ghost though not in actuality, though it might be living a dozen or 15 years or one or two years more. Historically speaking, it is a dying thing and has lost everything that gave its strength, though it might still carry on because of a certain impetus, it has lost its spirit and material resources and cannot live long. I have no shadow of doubt that British imperialism cannot prevent us from achieving independence. We are strong enough to face it provided certain inner weaknesses do not come in our way." Their problem was not, emphasised Panditji, fighting Imperialism but certain disruptive tendencies such as communalism.

Referring to growth in the membership in the Congress Panditji said that he was not very much impressed by sheer number, because he was more concerned with what manner of people were coming. He was for stiffening the Congress organisation and making it a strong and well-knit organisation for fighting. Another problem which faced them was how to integrate the two movements, political and social so that these two movements did not pull in different directions. They must think of means to make them pull together.

Referring to the communal tendencies, he certainly deplored them and there was a new tendency among some Muslim Leaguers to repudiate the very idea of nationalism. Although it was distressing, personally he did not attach much importance to it, but the most distressing feature of these communal movements was the utterly irresponsible method of dealing with major problems. He expressed his utter d stress at the methods which communal leaders were introducing in the public life which had the effect of disintegrating the public life. There were certain standards of public life which they might ignore at their peril Progressively these standards were disappearing owing to the actions of communal leaders. He was sure that they would be gradually coming round and no youngmen would be misled. Panditji strongly criticised the extreme facility with which students in India resorted frequently to strikes and satyagrahas.

The Madras Students' Conference

The Presidential Address

The Madras Presidency Students' Conference was held in Madras on the **7th. January 1939.** After the welcome address had been delivered by *S. Ramanujachari*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. *N G. Ranga* delivered his Presidential address. It was good, Mr. Ranga said, that they met to bring into existence a well-organised body on behalf of all the students of the presidency, comprising as it did four linguistic provinces. To give an effective direction to South India public life, to indicate the right policy to be pursued by the Government in regard to education and to check "arbitrary exercise of power by the various Universities in our area", there was, he said, need for a consolidated Students' Organisation.

Students, Mr. Ranga continued, should shoulder their responsibilities in nation-building efforts. They entered public life of the country as soon as they left elementary schools, and they could not affect the luxury of waiting until they had finished their college studies, to take a hand in the national effort to regenerate the masses, reconstruct national life and to free their country.

Most students did not realise this simple fact and hence their luxurious ways. Surely, there was much food for introspective thought in the many and growing and far-from-creative activities of an increasing number of our student public. More and more of them seemed to be surcharged with too many anti-social and unprogressive influences, and it was suicidal that they, on whom the nation was banking for its future and the masses for the supply of their future leaders, should allow these evils to continue to eat into their very vitals. It was hight time for students to begin raising their own social and intellectual standards, purifying their thought and shaking themeslves free from all anti-national, non-social habits and thoughts.

Entering an earnest plea for free and independent thinking on the part of students, Mr. Ranga contended that Indian universities were "sheepishly moulded on those of the capitalist-cum-imperialist world." Mr. Ranga suggested that students were subjected to an "all-embracing and continuous process of moulding their thought, conscious as well as sub-conscious, throughout the long years of school and college life, not to speak of their home life" and said that it was heroic of them that, despite this 'tortuous grinding of their minds by the Frankenstein monster of our educational institu ions" so many students managed to stretch their minds beyond their colleges and schools and tried to win their own minds and hearts for themselves. The very first thing to do was to free every student from the clutches of the present educational system and to do all they could to help institutions like Kisan and Muzdoor Schools, Congress and Socialist Schools, schools run on the Wardha educational principle, in order to minimise and if possible eliminate the evils of our educational traps. While they were still at school and college they should earnestly study and think out ways and means for liquidating the ignorance of adults, and the wrong-headedness of most elementry school teachers. The awful wastage that occurred in elementary schools, he said, had to be stopped and the relapse into illiteracy of those who had been through elementary schools arrested. Friendship between every pupil in an elementary school and the local library, communion between every child of school-going age and adolescent in a village or a city and the local library should be diligently fostered. Varied social activities such as National Scouting, Folk Dancing, Rural reconstruction should be encouraged and developed. Surely students could do a tremendous lot in any or all these directions either by thought, communion, partnership or active participation, throughout the year or at least for one or two hours a day or during holidays.

What were these examinations that they should be thinking so much about to the exclusion of their public responsibilities? They were given degrees if they passed them, but why did they want degrees? Not even 30 per cent of the graduates were able to obtain jobs and those that obtained had to start on Rs. 25 per mensem. Degrees only spelt wrong ideas of status, which made them "unemployable". Degrees were not after all so highly valuable as to be preferred to one's own duty to one's country. His appeal to students would be to rebel against "this wasting system of examination". Let them demand better standards of teaching, wider conceptions of education covering their civic life, more accurate methods of judging the ability of students to understand what was taught to them in their schools and colleges, a more humane and intimate contact between the mind of the students and the teacher. Without a re-orientation of the examination system, neither the Wardha Educational Scheme nor anything else could help to regenerate the student world. The Kisan and Muzdoor Schools had already led the way in this direction with excellent results and let students demand and work for this reform most insistently.

It was most deplorable, Mr. Ranga said, that the gulf between students and their teachers was growing wider and wider despite all the nationalist propaganda for a return to the ancient Gurukul system. It might be that a large number of teachers and lecturers had been completely cut off from the main stream of the national movement and therefore seemed to care only for their salaries and daily routine in their classes. But it was up to them, the awakened students, to win them back, through comradely efforts, to their proper role and encourage others who were making their approaches to them through extra-school activities so that, they could have their co-operation, guidance and comradeship in the efforts to study more and more, render social service and carry on various national reconstruction campaigns.

Comparing schools and colleges of to-day to prisons, Mr. Ranga said that students went there because they must, not because they loved them. Neither the management nor the teachers seemed to realise that they held the time of students as a national trust and that they must do all they could to help students to equip themselves for the great task that lay ahead. Instead of there growing up an atmosphere of mutual understanding, there to-day pervaded a horrible atmosphere of mutual distrust and disregard. Need one wonder if there was a strike fever all through the educational world? Rather, one should wonder at the lateness of its emergence and even then, at its want or intensity or diffusion. It was only another sign of bankruptcy of wisdom in the present day educational authorities that instead of winning the love and admiration of the taught by taking a

lead in discovering and enforcing better, easier and happier methods of teaching, they should be passing unnecessary and useless ukases like those of the Andhra Univertity, or the G. O's of the Madras, Bihar, Bengal and United Provinces Governments. He congratulated Indian students upon their energetic protest against "silly methods of repression". The sooner educational authorities realised the need for enforcing only the minimum of regulations and giving the greatest freedom to students, the better it would be for them all. If they did not, it would be the duty of students to rebel against all such absurd impediments placed so unimaginatively in their way by the teachers and other authorities. He had no fear whatsoever that this might lead to anarchy. He had had too many years of intimate experience of students to believe that they were incapable of looking after themselves once they were put on their mettle.

To-day the complaint was, in his view, not that students were taking too much part in politics but too little. It was most unfortunate that when not even 10 per cent of the student population was evincing any consistent or genuine interest in public life, University and Government authorities should be playing "this reactionary role of preventing us doing our duty by our nation." There was no danger of any outburst of violence, for the student world was to-day pledged to non-violence. All Indian students, irrespective of their colour or creed, were pledged to fight Imperialism. After pointing out that they did not want racialism or omnipotent nationalism, the President said : "We seek to build our beautiful edifice of freedom and fraternity on the solid foundation of sentiment and cultural heritage. But Nationalism is only a means to an end. It can never be an all satisfying end in itself. It is wholesome and safe only so long as it is a stepping-stone for embracing the whole humanity." It was unfortunate, Mr. Ranga went on to say, that the 'intellectuals' had failed to benefit humanity to any extent. To-day's students would be to-morrow's intellectuals. Therefore it was their duty to avoid the follies of their intellectuals and to throw in their lot with the masses and thus help them to realise their oneness of interest with all the intellectuals. To achieve such a socialist State, we shall adopt non-violent means as it is the best suited for our condition. Knowing thus as we do what exactly we want to see achieved in the fullness of time, it is our duty to stand solidly by the Indian National Congress and Kisan and Muzdoor Sabhas and all other anti-imperialist organisations.

The President then appealed to them to bring more and more students in touch with the day to day struggle of the masses by conducting village economic surveys and social studies, especially during vacations. Their associations would also have to conduct anti-illiteracy campaigns and co-operate with the Rural Library Movement in promoting adult education. The co-operative and rural development activities also deserved their co-operation.

Resolutions

Resolutions offering the support of the student community to the Congress in any fight it might launch against Federation, declaring that India should refuse to offer any assistance to Britain in any future imperialistic war, and expressing disapproval of the attitude of the Governments in the States of Hyderabad, Travancore and Mysore, towards the student movements in their territories, were passed.

The Conference appealed to the authorities of the Annamalai University to "consider the just demands of the students and take back the expelled and suspended boys and establish a peaceful and cultural atmosphere in the University."

The Conference congratulated the Madras Government on its "bold stand in the matter of introducing compulsory Hindustani in the schools of the province."

The Andhra Students' Conference

Presidential Address

The fifteenth session of the Andhra Provincial Students' Conference was held in Sri Durga Kala Mandir, Bezwada, on the **28th. January 1939** under the presidentship of Mr. *N. G. Ranga*, M. L. A. who in the course of his address, observed that many things had happened in the country since 1927 when, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, he had occasion to present his thoughts to the Guntur session

of the Students' Conference. "Then it was the Justice Party," he remarked, "that got the wind up when so many of us of the Congress persuasion were heading the students' movement but to-day it is the Congress leaders who are upset by the Socialist leadership of the students' movement." While most of his endeavours to interest the students in rural reconstruction, adult education and other active mass work were not of much avail then, students of college and high schools were taking to this work now. Thus a great change for the better had come over the students' movement during these ten years.

Proceeding, Mr. Ranga said that, the artificial restriction of passes to 30 to 40 per cent in examinations would block the progress of students and delay their ultimate emergence as full-fledged and unfettered citizens. Even in the mediaeval guilds, he said, there were some sensible and well-thought out rules and regulations to help the apprentices. But no attempt had been made by their public men or educational authorities to assure an easy admission, low fees and reasonable results in examinations. When neither the Congress nor the Ministry nor the University took up such serious problems, it was not wrong on the part of students if they tried to remedy matters by their own efforts. Referring to the 'strike wave all over the Madras Presidency in regard to the detention of students in the selection examination, he opined that everyone should be allowed to try his luck at the public examination.

Mr. Ranga suggested that arts and crafts should be taught in every school and a portion of the expenses recovered therefrom. He then referred to the various grievances of the students and observed that the students had the right to strike when their grievances had remained unredressed for a long time.

Mr. Ranga continuing said that the Universities and the heads thereof had failed to give them the correct perspective and light could be had only when they studied the lives of their great men like Gandhiji, who lived only for the masses. To know the secret of their success as servants of the masses and to imbibe their spirit of service, without necessarily adopting either all their ideologies or methods was the first step in the process of their self-education. He pleaded for the study of the various arts and crafts from their invention to their present-day developments and the vicissitudes through which they had passed and developed. He hoped that this process would help them to appreciate the value of service and enthuse them to action. Mr. Ranga insisted that the great need of the hour lay not in merely discovering truth and gathering knowledge, but in passing it on to the masses at the earliest possible moment. If this mass education was undertaken on a larger scale, illiteracy would be completely liquidated and the problem of the middle class educated unemployment thoroughly solved.

Referring to the present political situation in this country, Mr. Ranga urged that the Congress should launch Anti-Federation Satyagraha and felt that the time was ripe for such a campaign and hoped that it would lead to the convening of the Constituent Assembly, at which they could frame their own constitution.

Resolutions

The Conference met on the next day, the 29th. January and passed, among others resolutions criticising the attitude of some of the leading Congressmen towards Federation and urged uncompromising opposition to it. The Conference accorded support to the Wardha Scheme and requested the Government to introduce the same in this Presidency at an early date.

The Conference condemned the attitude of the Anti-Hindi agitators and appreciated the policy of the Congress in having accepted Hindi as the common language of India. It, however, urged that the special fees now being collected in colleges for Hindi should be abolished.

The Conference regretted the attitude of the Madras Government in not having declared the Independence Day as a public holiday and requested them to lift the ban imposed on the Telugu edition of "Anna" and similar Telugu publications. It resolved that students should strive for removing illiteracy among the masses by organising night schools and summer schools during their leisure time and through the aid of radio and such other implements.

The Conference resolved to organise a general strike next year against the Andhra University for the redress of some specific grievances in that area.

Education of Muslims

The Pirpur Committee's Report

To base an educational scheme on the creed of the leader of a political party is to import a method of education that finds favour in totalitarian states and is clearly contrary to sound principles of education, declared the Muslim League Committee presided over by the *Raja Saheb of Pirpur* in its report on the Wardha Scheme of Education issued from New Delhi on the **8th. April 1939.**

The Committee asserts that while the Wardha Scheme claims to exclude the religious institutions of different Indian communities, it really aims at supplanting all other religions by a new religion—Gandhism.

The Muslims in India, or in any other country, the Committee proceeds, form a nationality of their own with their own view-point on all aspects of life and can own no allegiance to soul, blood or colour. The control of the education of a people placed in circumstances as the Indian Mussalmans are, should be essentially and exclusively in their own hands. It is an invariable corollary to their being politically and socially a distinct entity.

The Committee was appointed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League to investigate whether the Wardha Scheme would have the effect of preventing or circumscribing the progress of the Urdu language and Urdu script; and whether it would tend to obliterate or weaken the religious traditions and culture of Indian Mussalmans so that they might lose their separate national identity and be moulded according to the political ideals of the Congress.

The Committee was also entrusted with the task of finding out whether it is essential that Mussalmans should have their own separate organisation for education, which should be under their own control and if so, how that could be given effect to. The report of the Committee which was presented to the Council of the League was signed by the Raja of Pirpur, Dr. Afzal Hussain Qadri, Karimur Raza Khan and Prof. Syed Nawabali.

The Committee has found that the Wardha Scheme would both prevent the progress of the Urdu language and obliterate the religious traditions and culture of Mussalmans. For these reasons, the Committee recommends that Mussalmans must have complete control over their education as regards policy, finance, curriculum and supervision.

Discussing the effect of the Wardha Scheme on Muslim culture and traditions, the Committee says :—"Those who have experience on the working of the legislature in the Congress provinces are familiar with the callous disregard shown to the Muslim representative. We need hardly emphasise that legislations are carried without giving due weight to the opinions of the Mussalmans. The experience gained in totalitarian states shows that the culture and separate individual existence of minority nations has been undermined by the system of education and Muslim youth would be converted with apparent use of force to the Congress creed by the introduction of a similar system."

The Committee explains that a system of primary education has been adopted in some countries as a means of wiping out the separate identity of various communities and welding them into a corporate state as well as to propagate the political and economic principles of the party in control of the machinery of the state and for the conversion of the youth to the ideals of the party. "We are in no way condemning the doctrine of non-violence, but in an educational scheme there must be scope for teaching different forms of political doctrines. If from their childhood boys and girls are made to think in terms of superiority of non-violence, it may produce the same results as the doctrine of superiority of race has done in certain totalitarian States. To base an education scheme on the creed of a leader of a political party is to import a method of education that finds favour in totalitarian states and is clearly contrary to sound principles of education. This will involve giving education a religious garb. It will clearly imply the welding of two nations into one synthetic culture by means of a system of primary education and will only facilitate the conversion of the youth to the ideals of the Congress.

"We think that in a country like India, a land of various nationalities, only that system of education can be successful which is calculated to make a person understand the society of which he is a part and to create a great body of skilful people who would be tolerant of other people's views. A system of education which emphasises the superiority of one political ideal over others will encourage intolerance".

The Committee demands the creation of an educational fund in every province for which contribution from the Provincial Governments of their due share for Muslim education should be secured. To manage this fund and to control, direct and supervise Muslim education, the Committee recommends the creation of an All-India organisation with a Central Education Advisory Board to assist it.

Punjab Muslim Students' Conference

Presidential Address

The All-Punjab Muslim Students' Conference commenced at Lahore on the **14th. January 1939** under the presidency of Mr. *Abdul Qayum*, M. L. A., who in the course of his address declared: "A cry is raised in India that Islam is in danger. This cry is raised by those persons who have not made the slightest sacrifice in the struggle for the freedom of the country but, on the other hand, supported British imperialism. The real danger is from such persons who act as the agents of British imperialism".

Mr. *Abdul Qayum* added that the spirit of democracy was innate among Muslims. He was sure that Muslims would take a great part in the coming struggle for the freedom of the country, for which they should prepare themselves from now. They were not joining the struggle for the freedom of the country to please or to oblige Hindus. It was the bounden duty of Muslims to fight for the liberty of their country. They were not to fight British imperialism only but all imperialistic powers in the world.

Referring to the Army Recruitment Bill, Mr. Abdul Qayum said that the supporters of the Bill misled the masses, saying that the Congress opposed the Bill because Muslims were in a majority in the army. This was not a fact. That argument had been advanced simply to justify their support to the Bill.

Resolutions—2nd Day—Lahore—15th. January 1939

On the next day, the 15th. January, Dr. *Saifuddin Kitchlew* presiding, the Conference passed the following resolutions:—

The Conference opposed the imposition of the proposed Federal Scheme and appealed to the Muslims and anti-imperialist forces in India to resist it tooth and nail.

By another resolution, the Conference demanded the overhauling of the present system of education and urged upon the Government to adopt measures in order to make it more compatible with the present needs of the country.

The resolution further demanded that recruitment to the Provincial Services and the Ministerial Establishment should be made from qualified candidates in the order of merit.

The next resolution condemned British policy in Palestine and sympathised with the Arabs.

Another set of resolutions demanded the imparting of free education upto the Martic standard and the teaching of the Urdu language as a compulsory subject and the giving to English the same place as is enjoyed by it in other independent countries.

The Conference also stressed the need for the establishment of a Military College in the Punjab, which should be open to every educated person. It also called upon the Anjuman-i-Hamyat-i-Islam, Lahore, to utilise the collection of donations for the organisation of the Muslims.

Dr. *S. K. Kitchlew*, in his concluding remarks to the Conference, said that those who raised the bogey of Islam in danger did not in fact understand the spirit and moral of the tenets of Islam. He appealed to the Muslims to rise above narrow communalism and to strive hard for the attainment of freedom for India, economically, politically, socially and religiously. In his message to the students, Dr. Kitchlew exhorted the Muslim students to build up strong character. He appealed for national solidarity and stressed the urgent need for a common platform—the creation of one nation and the rallying under one banner—and appealed particularly to the Muslims of the Punjab to contribute their mite towards the cause of the freedom of the country.

The Convocation Addresses

The Delhi University Convocation

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by *Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai*, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education, Health and Lands at the Seventeenth Convocation of the University of Delhi held on the **30th. March 1939** :—

It is customary, on occasions like the present, to render thanks for the honour conferred on the speaker. I am sufficiently humble to appreciate the honour as such, and to thank you, Mr. Pro-Chancellor, for a privilege for which I have no special qualifications. Such academic distinctions as I was fortunate enough to win in a neighbouring University are now a dim personal memory ; only the archivist at Allahabad may, one unlucky day, have to glance through the official records of these in the process of weeding out the superfluous accumulations that time collects. And my official designation may best be compared to a showy cloak hiding a skeleton ; the Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education, Health and Lands now wields little influence over vital educational issues. The arena for these is set in the great autonomous Provinces with whose Governments the requisite initiative and authority rest. At meetings of the Central Advisory Board of Education, once a year, he may watch these currents swirl up gently in the polite exposition of Provincial Ministers. Apart from this annual glimpse, he has to sit far away in the shadows.

You can imagine, Mr. Pro-Chancellor, how presumptuous, and without profit to this distinguished audience, my acceptance of your invitation would have been if the choice of the subject of my discourse had to be limited to some question of educational policy or the higher academics. But your example, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, has provided me with a fortunate means of escape from attempting what, for me, would have been quite an impossible task. Last year, in this very hall, and more recently at Lahore, you have shown that other themes may be invoked without loss of interest or lack of propriety ; that those who, having completed their studies, are about to leave the University to face the world, may be expected to begin to reflect on matters other than educational ideals and educational practice ; to appreciate, no less, a recognition of their mental coming of age by an appeal to share the anxieties of us older men over more pressing and perilous issues than learned disquisitions on the somewhat arid niceties of educational reform, rounded off with sonorous periods of superior admonition. It seems only fair to remember that the great majority of those to whom Convocation speeches are primarily addressed cease to take serious interest in education when they cease to be students ; that life offers them other problems, intellectually no less attractive and of greater practical import.

The subject of which I wish to speak to-day is power ; not mechanical power, which is a branch of physical science, or spiritual power, which concerns religion, but temporal power, especially the political power of the State over the individual ; of the origin of such power, of its purpose and its use. It is not given to everyone to speak of such matters with the clarity, the dignity, the classic ease that have marked your two Convocation addresses, Sir Maurice. I, at least, shall not even aspire to what I know I cannot possibly accomplish. And from my audience I shall crave, in advance, the indulgence without which the contrast in quality between what you said last year, and what I propose to say to-day, may break down their reserves of patient courtesy.

I have been led to choose this subject, partly by the title of a recent book from the pen of that brilliant writer, Mr. Bertrand Russell, and partly by the thoughts suggested, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, by some very wise words that you spoke the other day at a similar function in Lahore. You will agree that the impact of the power of the State on the individual, and of capital on labour, constitutes the main problem to-day in the sphere of human ideals and human conduct. And it is not merely a theoretic problem, rarefied pabulum for the philosopher and the sage, but a practical problem for every one whose allegiance to the State, whose dealings with his fellow-men, whether as master or as servant, are relationships regulated, to some extent, by free and reflective judgment, not servitudes imposed by coercive authority or accepted as obligations of immutable custom. You or I need not be a Locke or a Rousseau to probe into these seemingly abstruse mysteries ; we owe it to ourselves, as thinking men, to answer the many

questions that the demands of power press upon us, from many sides, with an urgency that would not brook much delay in answer.

Power is one of those words, widely used but vaguely understood, for which few of us can readily find a concise definition. Broadly, it may be described as ability to produce an intended effect. All of us, in our respective stations of life, seek this ability; the quest is universal. And it is not necessarily immoral. Acton's phrase—that all power corrupts—is too wide to be true. It is not the possession of power, but the use to which power is put, that determines its morality. A person seeking the ability that a modest income confers to maintain himself and his family in comfort, to educate his children, to entertain, occasionally, a few friends, does not behave immorally. The wealth of the Rockefellers, to the extent that it is spent on opening hospitals in China or encouraging medical research in Great Britain, and not on breaking economic rivals, is a desirable possession. Capitalist wealth, controlled by corporative groups instead of individuals or families, and devoted to such humanitarian ends as the welfare of workers, is an instrument of good. The political power of the State, based on the consent of the governed, and used for peaceful purposes, is not only not objectionable, but essential for human progress. Hobbes's conception of primeval man as a person living by himself was probably never true historically. It is neither true nor ideally desirable, for man can attain to his highest fulfilment only as a member of society and the association of men into a community necessitates the existence of a State. It is only when we consider the other part of Acton's dictum, namely that absolute power corrupts absolutely, that we see, in certain contemporary events, material for thought as to the correct aim and use of power. At Lahore, Sir, you compared some aspects of democracy and totalitarianism. Your observations are, I am sure, too fresh in the memories of most of those present here to-day to need repetition or paraphrase by me. For my present purpose, it would be sufficient to emphasise that, in its origin, the power of both the democratic and the totalitarian State may be popular. Indeed, it is the proud claim of the leaders of the two mightiest authoritarian countries in Europe that they attained to power on a wider basis of individual assent than the present head of any democratic State. For the sake of argument, that claim may be conceded, though much could be said against the methods by which such suffrage has been secured. I would only remark, in passing, that methods that dupe or destroy one's freedom of choice will rob assent of all title to that name and only convert it into an uneasy mask for what is, in reality, coercion. But, judged by the test of the purpose to which totalitarian power is put, it fails to satisfy any rational moral standard. There are not wanting enthusiasts whose admiration for the achievements of Fascist or Nazi rule, the mobilisation of an entire people for effort directed to a common end, the efficient devotion of its energies, in obedience to one single will, to the attainment of that end, is honest and boundless. They see true democracy in the equality of sacrifice that such a regime imposes on all except, perhaps, a chosen few; real moral grandeur in the discipline with which such equality is endured. But even these enthusiasts can give only one honest answer to the question :—What is the end of this supreme dedication of "body, will and soul", namely that the ultimate end is domination, the complete ascendancy of a system or race over all others. Now, it isnot enough to call the desire to dominateevil. Anathemas carry their own condemnation unless supported by reason. But what Acton said of absolute power is true historically of all experiments in domination. Unchecked power invariably ends by becoming arbitrary. Alexander did not survive his triumphs long enough to prove the truth of this moral, but all absolutisms in the history of the world bear witness to it. The Empires of Persia and Rome and, in modern times, of Napoleon, are instance drawn from a fairly long muster-roll. In this, there is no cause for surprise. Where the individual is looked upon as the means to an end, and not an end in himself, the power of the State turns into tyranny. Hereditary heirs to such power abuse it for self-gratification. Persons who attain to it through revolution or conquest may, individually and for some time, use it for the benefit of a few or all of those over whom they can wield it. But the benevolence of these despotisms is short-lived. The substitution of oligarchies for individual does not alter the course of events. Plato's philosopher King, whether one or many, remains an ideal or a transient being. This brings me to the next question : Power is sought and power exists. Is it necessary? In the first place, is would be well to recognise that what man eagerly desires he will earnestly pursue. Instincts cannot be argued out of existence, even if it were desirable that they should cease to be. But the necessity

of political power can be justified on moral grounds. As I have already said, man's fulfilment can only come through membership of society, and orderly existence and development postulate the existence of an authority to guide and control it. Neither can be achieved without power. Individual freedom, by which, as I hope to show later, I set great store, would, in some, if not the majority of us, tend to express itself arbitrarily and, therefore, dangerously, if it were not controlled and guided. Anarchy is no more desirable tham despotism.

And so we arrive at the next question :—What should be the true aim of the power of the State? The answer is simple. The ideal aim of such power must be to secure, to each individual, the fullest opportunity for self-expression. The ultimate purpose of man is man himself. His life in isolation may, in Hobbes's well-known phrase, tend to become "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short", but association with his fellows brings no salvation if, for the dangers of the unchecked, arbitrary behaviour of his neighbour, he is to exchange the arbitrary authority of the State. In the one case, he has the option, and a sporting chance, of successful self-defence; in the other, the option becomes unreal and the chance of successful defence extremely feeble. I can resist another man, but not a Leviathan. The power of the State must, therefore, be harmonised with the liberty of the individual. So far, I have spoken mainly of political power. This has existed since the beginning of history. Economic power, namely the control by individuals or association of the means of Production, is a phenomenon peculiar to the modern age. In the language of present-day controversies, this is compendiously described as capitalism. It is not my purpose to-day, even if this were relevant, to discuss the influence of capitalism over the political state, the ambitions leading to violence and war which capitalism is alleged to cherish and pursue, the enslavement of the manual worker which it is supposed to seek and encompass. Nor shall I attempt a critical comparison of capitalism and communism; the rival creeds for which, according to the protagonist's point of view, are claimed the power to attain millennial perfection or plunge the world into abysmal catastrophe. For the present argument, what is important to recognise is that the concentration of productive power, whether in the hands of an individual or a group of them, produces problems akin to those that arise between the individual and the State. These units of economic power profounly affect the lives of large bodies of individuals, whether as consumers or, more directly, as employees Every student of economics knows how prices may be artificially raised by monopolies and combines. Strikes of workers, with which we have now become fairly familiar even in India, are frequent reminders of labour's claim to get more of the profits of productive enterprise. The right use of power, therefore, is as much the need of the economic as it is of the political world, enlightened appeasement must be the purpose of both, if power is not to beget strife. That the State must ultimately regulate the relations of capital and labour does not detract from the truth of this conclusion. Class influence, under any system of Government, colours both economic outlook and economic policy. Even a communist State is no exception to this rule; only the dominant class is different in such a State. Moreover, within the framework of policy, there is wide scope for administrative discretion, of which the right use is of fundamental importance.

To sum up the substance of my thesis as I have tried to develop it so far, the quest of political and economic power is both an urge of human nature and a necessity of civilisation. Rightly used it is not immoral. It is evil only when directed to ends that curtail man's legitimate freedom or corrupt his will. The crux of the matter, therefore, is how power, be it political or economic, is used. To that, also, I have suggested an answer : it must seek to assure, to every citizen the fullest scope for self-expression. And I submit that the attainment of this ideal depends upon the character, the *ethos*, to use a Greek word which it is difficult succinctly to paraphrase, not of the few but the majority of a people. Earlier on, I said that the end of man is man himself; he also holds the key to his own salvation. Let me elaborate the point. Over the greater part of the world, the power of the State depends on the support of its subjects. The purposes, for which that power may be used, must also depend on the will of the people. No Government can, for long, pursue an aim which a majority of its subjects do not desire or are unwilling to work for. Totalitarian States are as much subject to this law as democratic ; in the last analysis, the common man can be master of both. It is true that he is now beset by new temptations. The appeal of totalitarian propaganda is subtle and seductive. It stirs emotions which are all the more powerful, because

they are primitive ; love of physical prowess, joy in battle, pride in victory and in the ascendancy of the tribe. For the freedom of his soul, man is invited to exchange absorption in a State which, it is claimed, must be benevolent, because it is omnipotent. But these alluring sophistries only emphasise the need for a clear perception, by each of us, of the moral purpose of the State and firm determination to seek and ensue it. It will be asked—What do I mean by the word 'moral'. Here again, compression is not easy. Morals have been the theme of much speculation and writing, since man began to think of his relations with his fellows. That those who have thought about these matters have not always agreed adds to the difficulty of definition. Plato and Nietzche, for example, are poles apart in their conception of moral values. But this diversity of opinion amongst the Olympians is no obstacle to a plain statement that most reasonable people would accept. For my part, I would describe morality as the *active* pursuit, singly or in co-operation with others, of personal fulfilment without arresting the fulfilment of some-one else ; the combination of what Burke called the equality of restraint with emulous endeavour to achieve the highest good of which a person may be capable. I venture to suggest that this definition will be found to be consistent with any salutary principle of individual or international relationships. When men live their lives in this spirit, they cannot hurt one another. If nations deal with one another likewise, the world will be a safer and a happier place to live in. Strife is born of a conflict of ambitions in which the rivals fail to recognise any point of view but their own.

The sceptics and the cynics will ask :—Is this a sane faith for any realist ? Is not life a struggle in which the weak must go under, and those who wish to survive must either be fighting or prepared to fight ? Language, tradition, race, to say nothing of interest, divide mankind into warring groups ; they can never be harmonised sufficiently to make universal and lasting peace anything more than the idle dream of visionaries. It is a point of view that one cannot ignore. Even within the last few days, we have had rude reminders of the swift and ruthless swoop of arbitrary force, obeying no law but the promptings of its own wayward ambition. What is worse, a mere appeal to idealism will never convert those who reason thus. One can meet them with only one effective argument ; that science has so perfected man's armoury of destruction that modern war, on a world scale—and there are signs enough that war, if it breaks out between the Great Powers, will envelope the world—will leave neither vanquished nor victors—only a desolation of death and suffering. On this view, and those who acclaim war may well ponder it, even the way of self-interest would seem to be the way of a humane and liberal morality. I do not claim any originality for what I have said ; true originality is the prerogative of genius and genius is rare. And I have deliberately avoided giving local colour to my remarks, as I am not discussing Indian politics, but the general ethics of political and social conduct for the plain man. What I wish to urge is that never before, perhaps, in its history has the world been confronted with such perils as surround it to-day. These dangers threaten, not from the side of nature—man's control over the forces of nature was never greater—but because of man's misconception of his obligations under a mistaken sense of values. Neither indifference nor fatalistic resignation would befit the present crisis in the history of civilisation, and an unaided Providence will not avert disaster. Men and women, everywhere, must search their hearts and clear the eye of seductive but dangerous illusions. Even that would not be enough. Each must strive, in his or her sphere, to temper to liberal ends the power that ultimately the State derives from the individual. The ideals and the endeavour of a Government are only the resultant of the will of its more active subjects. That is why each one of us can, in some measure, shape national and international destinies, The obligation and the opportunity should be suffieient inspiratioa to purposive effort. And the task would not be difficult, if we would be honest with ourselves in action as well as in thought.

What part can you, who graduate to-day from this University, play in leading the world to sanity and to peace ? If you have a true conception of the purpose of power, you may, I would beg leave to suggest, do a great deal by active example as well as by precept to ensure that power is rightly used. Youth has been described as the season of revolt ; it is certainly the period of high energy and noble purpose. You are richer in these possessions than we who have travelled farther along life's appointed span.

The Gurukul University Convocation

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by the *Hon'ble Sri Sampurnanand*, Minister of Education, United Provinces, at the thirtyseventh anniversary of the Gurukul University held at Hardwar on the **9th. April 1939** :—

I am grateful to the authorities of the Gurukul for having kindly invited me to attend this function. This enables me to gratify a wish I formed long ago but have so far been unable to fulfil.

The Gurukul is one of those noble edifices—I am not speaking in a purely material sense—which the Arya Samaj has reared in the country. It is not necessary to be an Arya Samajist to appreciate the great value of a thing like this. I am myself a Sanatan Dharmist but have no hesitation in admitting that like thousands of other Hindus my outlook in life has been profoundly influenced by the Samaj and some of those great men who have owed it allegiance. The number of educated Hindus who have come unconsciously within the orbit of the Samaj's influence must be very large indeed. One may not agree with the theological doctrines and metaphysical theories of the Samaj but that it has deeply influenced the spiritual—mental equipment of Hindu Society goes without question. Those social reforms for which the Arya Samaj was devised a decade or two ago are now the accepted articles of faith of Hindu Society. This is mainly responsible for the practical disappearance of that antagonism which previously marred the relations of these two sections of Hindus. No spectacle could be more painful than that of a bitter fratricidal quarrel between people who hold the same scriptures in veneration, accept the authorities of the same canons of law and morality, are proud of the same culture. Fortunately for us all, those days are gone, never to return.

Not only Hindus but others who had and have fundamental differences of opinion with them would unhesitatingly admit the greatness of the personalities of some of those men who have associated with the Arya Samaj so long as society attaches any value to one jointedness, sacrifice and patriotism. Surely everyone will bow his head in memory of men like Lala Lajpat Rai, Swami Shradhanand and Mahatma Hansraj.

Although there are several institutions working to-day more or less on the same lines as you are, this Gurukul is, I believe, the oldest of them all and we are all watching this experiment with interest. Our country and particularly our Province has been noted for its love of learning. We have ancient seats of learning—Kashi, for instance, of which I have the honour to be a humble citizen—of which any country may well be proud, cities which the University towns of the west cannot rival in any respect. Thousands of students still receive education there at the hand of scholars who do the work not because they consider it a sacred duty to hand on to others the torch of knowledge which they have received from their preceptors. For want of State support, this system has fallen on evil days but what still remains is a reminder of what it must have been in its days of glory.

In the Gurukul you are carrying on the experiment of combining the old and the new running a University on ancient lines under present-day conditions. Here you have not only made the attempt to impart higher education in Hindi but you are making your students live very much in the way students lived in the Gurukul of old. Now, the life of the student is a preparation for the life of the householder and very much on the same lines. This was so in ancient India. The Brahmachari lived among Vanaprasthis and his food, mode of dress and daily routine did not differ very materially from those of the ordinary citizen. To-day it is different. The life inside the Gurukul is lived in a plane apparently entirely different from that of the world outside. This is liable to produce one of two psychological reactions: either an inferiority complex or a superiority complex. Man is gregarious and one essential condition for social life is similarity. This similarity makes one ill at ease and one tries to find some kind of an explanation for it. Either one imagines oneself to be an object of satire and contempt to other people and develops a defensive attitude of demonstrating one's equality to others, picking up insults where none are intended or, on the other hand, one imagines oneself to be immensely superior to others where criticism has no value and must be treated with contempt. Either frame of mind is unsocial. I hope you keep a watch on this.

I shall not say much about your syllabus and teaching. Here, as in other educational institutions, questions like these must have arisen: Should Science be made a compulsory subject? Is it worthwhile teaching literature? At what stage should specialization begin? We in this Province have entered a period of great

changes in the field of education. True, most of these changes lie in what is called the field of primary education but they are sure to affect all aspects of education in the end. You will no doubt be taking an interest in this aspect of our national life. I should like to refer briefly to the demand that we should recognize the Gurukul degrees. The question is before the Government and we shall announce our decision shortly.

There is one question which has assumed great importance of late, the question, namely, how far education should be controlled by the State. In so far as control means merely seeing that accounts are preperly kept and that the institution is doing the work for which it was started, there cannot be two opinions. The State represents the public and must see that all bodies to which public money is contributed work properly. All institutions, registered and unregistered, aided and unaided, those whose degrees are recognised and those whose degrees are not, must submit to State control to this extent. No institution which derives advantage from the orderly conditions created and maintained by the State should grudge the State this power of general supervision. But control to-day means much more than this. Look at what is happening in Germany to-day. The State determines not only the age at which education should begin, the numbers of those who shall be educated but also who shall teach, who shall study, how teaching shall be given. Teacher and taught must be pure Aryans which means that they should be able to prove non-Jewish ancestry at least up to their great grand-fathers and great grand-mothers on both sides. I have seen extracts of some lessons on grammar and geography for children in the primary classes. They are designed to make them good Nazis, people who refuse to acknowledge that any useful contribution to world culture can be or has been made by non-Nordics, particularly Jews, and are firmly convinced of the superiority of the German race and all that it stands for. This goes on right up to the University. We in this country have some experience of the results of such teaching. The history we learnt at school was designed to create the impression that Hindus and Muslims are utterly alien to each other, that the people of India have almost always been a subject race and that they never knew real peace and concord before the advent of the British. We lost all confidence in ourselves as a nation. Where the State undertakes such regimented teaching in an organised manner, the results are bound to be striking. A man with peculiar attitude on life is being created. And we must remember that the same attempt is being made, with more or less success, in every totalitarian country. This is bound to lead to an intensification of national pride and prejudices, and consequently to wars and tearing up of treaties. But is this to be allowed to go on ? Is there to be no standard of values common to all civilized mankind ? Are truth, virtue, morality, to have a different meaning in every country, in every continent ? If so, how will commerce and cultural exchange between peoples be possible ? Are culture and civilization doomed to perish to-day ?

Analogous, and equally important, perhaps, is the question how far education is to be regulated by the tenets of any particular religion. For instance, you, here, look upon the Sruti as revelation. Whatever does not seem to accord with your interpretation of the Sruti must necessarily be wrong, for the word of God is self-evident Truth : all else requires demonstrations. Science is everyday studying phenomena and framing hypothesis which in some cases may appear to come into opposition with scripture. In such a case, one of two things happens. Either an attempt is made to distort scripture and its interpretation and make it to convey meanings which will some how embrace the results of scientific research or to denounce outright the theories of the scientist. We have seen both things done. The first is unfair to scripture, the second to science ; the first degrades religion, the second stifles the advance of knowledge. We know that even in advanced America, the teaching of Evolution is taboo in some institutions and I shall not be surprised if, nearer home, some educational institutions try to subject their staff and students to some kind of a searching religious inquisition. The result can only be hypocrisy and cant. Essentially of course Truth is one and, if scripture is really revealed knowledge, truth in the laboratory and truth in the pages of Holy Writ cannot be different things. But I submit that no attempt should be made at arbitrary reconcilation and what is worse, on *a priori* grounds, to sacrifice one at the alter of the other. This would be bad both for science and religion.

But having said this, I must hasten to add that I strongly feel that while knowledge and the spread of knowledge *i. e.* education, in a broad sense, should not be tied down either to the chariot wheel of the State or to those of a religious

dogma, it should not be aimless, as it is to-day. The great defect in modern society is that life has no aim, no goal.

The individual works for his self-aggrandisement and theoretically he puts no limits to the bounds of his ambition. This is equally true of nations and States. We see a perpetual war of each against each and of each against all, unbridled competition is the law of life. This accounts for the fact that in spite of all the tremendous advance in knowledge made in recent years, we have not been able to banish disease and poverty from our midst. Ages ago, the Aryans of India, devised a scheme of life which, whatever its shortcomings in the world of to-day, was a complete and self-consistent scheme. There was a work for every man and a man for every work. The life of every individual and of every group fell into its place in this scheme and was regulated by it. A man had the greatest freedom of thought and action—no one bothered, for instance, about other peoples' theological beliefs—consistent with the Varnashram Dharma. To-day, the leaders of Socialist thought—Marx and Engels and Lenin—have placed another scheme of life before us. These two schemes are different from each other in a hundred different ways but they have this in common that they substitute order and co-operation for anarchy and the law of the jungle. They teach that a man's worth is to be measured by the sacrifice he makes in the service of others, not by the money he earns. It is absurd to talk of the individual as an entity apart from society. Society consists of individual and the life of the individual finds its functions and completeness only in society. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that we should have a complete picture of the kind of society, the kind of man we want, and education should then proceed to mould men accordingly. Such a picture cannot be based on the efforts of imagination of a brilliant thinker alone: it will have to be based on a philosophy of life by which all the activities of men and groups of men will be co-ordinated. The Aryan has his Vedanta and his doctrine of Karma; the socialist has his theory of dialectical materialism and his materialistic interpretation of History. The truth may lie in either or both or neither of these systems of thought but mankind must get itself to the task of evolving a rational scheme of life based on a rational, comprehensive philosophy. It is the absence of such a basis of conduct that permits the man of science to sell his knowledge to the selfish capitalist and allows intellectual and material resources which could convert this earth into paradise to be used for purposes of wholesale destruction. The man of science must realise that he is the Brahman of to-day: he must not prostitute his knowledge for base ends or else it will destroy him and the world in which he lives. This is the greatest problem of to-day, if culture and civilisation are to be saved and the responsibility of those of us who have anything to do with education is great indeed.

I should like now to address a few words to the graduates who are leaving the Gurukul to-day, after taking their degrees. I wish you all a long life and all happiness and prosperity, the fullest realization of the four Purusharthas. May no sorrow or failure cross your path in any corner of the universe slightly altering the words of the Sruti,

'May the Heavens above and the Earth below give you *abhaya* (absence of fear, disappointment, failure), may the intervening space give you *abhaya*, may you have *abhaya*, in front and behind, above and below.' May you prove worthy householders and citizens.

There is advice which can be given to graduates in all ages and times. In the words of the Upanishad, speak the truth, practise *Dharma*, show reverence to your parents and your preceptors, repay the trifle debt to the gods, the Rishis and the fathers. Work not for reward but for a sense of duty, for the service of humanity. All this is sound advice and you have to take it to heart but you will have to interpret it according to the circumstances in which you find yourselves to-day. India is very near the attainment of Swarajya and I speak with all the sense of confidence of which I am capable that no power on earth can keep us in bondage much longer. But there are still impediments and they will require sacrifice and *tapasya* to overcome them. The measure in which you give evidence of these qualities will be the measure of the extent to which you have utilized your stay at the Gurukul. But the preservation of Swarajya will require greater sacrifices, it will demand higher self discipline and greater strength of character. I hope none of you will be found wanting in this hour of trial. You will be engaged in different professions, following different walks of life but I hope all the spiritual, intellectual and material resources of every one of you will always

be dedicated to the service of the motherland. There is such appalling poverty, ignorance, superstition to overcome and it is a thankless task as all those who have any experience of public life know very well. And there is the great virus of communalism which is eating into the vitals of our body politic. Hindus and Muslims—sons of the same ancestors, speaking the same language, following very much the same customs—are being taught to regard themselves as members of different races, different nationalities and there are wild talks of cutting of the country into regions based on these divisions. Heavy is the responsibility of those who teach such doctrines. It is a tragedy that a few self-seekers should in this way be able to jeopardize the best interests not only of the country at large but of those communities whose interests they profess to serve.

But apart from the reprehensible activities of such people, our problems are difficult enough in all conscience. Every country which establishes a new regime as a result of a political revolution has to pass through a period of reconstruction which is a much more difficult task than destruction. But our task is heavier than that of others because we have to deal with large masses of people following different religions and at different cultural levels. In our own Province, we have the large Hindu majority and the not negligible Muslim minority; classes culturably as advanced as the highest classes elsewhere and tribes which have little to distinguish them from the wild men of the Central Indian Jungle. Russia and China had somewhat similar problems but there the various groups were geographically separate units. Here there is greater inter-mingling, greater inter-dependence. If we can solve our problems, we shall set an example to other lands. In this respect, the responsibility of the Hindu majority is great, indeed. There can be no sacrifice of principles but we have to show infinite patience and tolerance to win the confidence of the minorities living in our midst, so that they may feel assured that their interests are safe. Our province possesses the Great centres of Hindu and Muslim culture—Benares, Allahabad, Ajodhya, Mathura, Lucknow, Agra—and we have to forge a great Indian culture to which all shall have contributed, of which all shall be proud.

But India is not isolated from the rest of the world. We are not only witnesses but actors in a great drama. The great powers, particularly Britain and France which should have acted as the guardians of the liberties of weaker States, have betrayed them and we see, as a consequence, the rape of Abyssinia, Czecho-Slovakia, Spain and China. The natural result has followed: they have increased their own difficulties and added to the atmosphere of general unrest, and mutual distrust. No one knows what will happen. Any day a war may break out and we may be asked to fight in defence of the principles of democracy which we do not enjoy in our own country, even in the limited sphere of provincial administration. It is farcical that those who have no control over their own economic or military policy should be called upon to take an active part in disputes which will decide the fate of independent people but it is none-the-less a fact. As to what we should do in these circumstances, is a question for political bodies to decide: here, I am only asking you to take stock of the world situation.

These are not merely academic questions: they have a vital importance for us. Is this state of affairs to continue? If it is, we, on attaining Swaraj, shall have to engage in the same dirty game: we shall be as much responsible, as any other nation, for the tears of the widow and the orphan; against us also will rise the curse of the halt and the maim, the hungry and the naked. Surely such Swaraj is not worth having. We have to set ourselves to the task of creating a new world-outlook, a new world in which exploitation of man by man shall not exist, in which work shall be a joy, in which each shall find his happiness and prosperity in the happiness and prosperity of all, in which nation shall co-operate with nation for the common good of mankind. This sounds like a dream but it is a dream which mankind has been dreaming all down the ages. The *Puranas* speak of *Uttarakuru*; other countries have had their utopias. I am not advocating any fanciful utopia but what the present advances in scientific knowledge have brought abundantly within the bounds of possibility, if only we would agree to live like human beings. This is the true spirit of Aryan culture. It requires that each one shall realise his identity with the all of which he is an organic part. It is a dream which it is well worth our while to make an attempt to materialise. It is only in such a world that every one can realize his highest self, unfold his greatest potentialities. I hope every one of you will hear this call and set himself to this task, according to the measure of his abilities. I wish you all strength and success.

The Calcutta University Convocation

A spirited defence of the achievements and gifts of the Calcutta University against uninformed critics was made by the Vice-Chancellor, *Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque* in the course of his address at the Annual Convocation which was held at the Presidency College ground on the **11th. March 1939.** In the course of his address, the Vice-Chancellor said :—

"To carry on the vast magnitude of work in the whole circle of mental and moral philosophical and historical sciences, and the ever-growing groups of physical and natural sciences in all the variety of their branches we have to depend at present on 12 professors, 49 lecturers, two assistant lecturers and 61 teachers outside the grade in the arts section and 13 professors, 27 lecturers, 17 assistant lecturers and 13 teachers outside the grade in the science section which includes applied mathematics. In addition, services of 22 honorary lecturers in the arts department and 36 honorary lecturers in the science department are requisitioned from various colleges and other institutions. On the basis of the actuals of 1937-38 we have roughly to spend about Rs. 12,50,000, annually for the purpose of teaching and research. The fees from students fetch an income of roughly Rs. 1,70,000, while receipts under various endowments come to about Rs. 1,90,000. The balance of nearly Rs. 9,50,000 has to be met from the general funds of the university.

"We have now no Senate Hall adequate to hold the convocation. Our record rooms are terribly congested. The library daily requires expansion. Our laboratories and buildings are scattered all over the town. Teaching classes cannot be extended. Rooms are not available for all the branches of higher studies and research. A new planning is therefore the immediate end of all our requirements.

"Nobody will accept to-day that the university is merely to teach theories and not to train students in the application of these theories, that we should confine our work merely to study and analysis, to teaching the more basic principles, without a corresponding touch with the fundamental economic and industrial needs of the country. Such critics generally, with an abundance of their only gift ridicule and irony, are impatient of what they call our expansion but are generally blind to the achievements and gifts of the university ; they are alike deaf to the call of the future. They do not realize the past achievements of this university, nor even get a grasp of the implications for teaching and research in the university for the industrial and cultural development of the people.

"But those who are able to appraise facts and lessons of history in their proper perspective will admit that this university has not only been the pioneer, but most forward in advancing the cultural needs of the people. The whole structure of our national life and thought has been profoundly affected by the university. It has extended the bounds of human knowledge and it has made the people value and appreciate the arts, literature and science. It has given leaders of men for the different political, economic, social, industrial and scientific activities of the people. Revolutionary changes are distinctly visible in the structure and organization of society. Are we to remain content with pioneer works and add no superstructure ; are we not to provide for greater facilities for more knowledge and are we not to create opportunities for further studies and research ? But such work requires considerable outlay of money and no university in the world has the power of taxation. The sources of its income, apart from the income limited to fees and other miscellaneous receipts, must necessarily depend upon State grants, generous endowments and contributions from the people. If the country has to be benefited from work within the university, it can legitimately expect money from the State as well as from private persons for all necessary expansion and proper maintenance. If industries have benefited in the past from studies and research in the university, getting them profits and dividends, one can reasonably expect funds from these industrial concerns to carry on further work. Can the best of the universities, the best of scholars, the best of teachers, the best of curricula do anything if there is not enough laboratory space and if the research grants are not adequate ?

"My special appeal is particularly directed to those notable firms and industrialists of this province who have not only the ability to pay but also have ability

to appoint a large number of our trained scientific men and scholars under them for research in specialised work and I trust that they will realize that this is a question of national importance. If they fail, the responsibility of the future will not be at the door of the university.

"In this connexion may I pointedly bring to the notice of all concerned the necessity of providing greater opportunities of employment and avocation for our highly educated and trained young men to which their training, culture and academic attainments fully entitle them. Unless Bengal is developed industrially, unless there are opportunities for our trained men to be employed in many different branches of industries, commerce and business, it is futile to expect that this province will be able to make any great head-way in the progressive development of India."

The Vice-Chancellor dwelt briefly on the work being done in the different Post Graduate Departments and referring to the Department of History stressed the importance of having a survey of the economic, social and cultural history of mediaeval India. "The history on India", he said, "is a great heritage to each and every one of us. We have to introduce a new vision in our history which will make Hindus and Moslems realize that to-day they belong essentially to the culture of India as a whole. It is from this point of view that historical studies are to be organized in future, but it requires a number of additional men and staff to take up the vast amount of material that is now lying about especially dealing with the Islamic period.

"In connexion with higher post-graduate studies we are gradually realizing the necessity of properly organizing Islamic studies within the university. That cannot be done merely by the study of the Arabic and the Persian languages. The university is situated in a province where Moslems form more than half of the total population and it is only an inevitable consequence of higher education the Moslems should keenly feel the necessity of having a fuller scope for their intellectual and academic activities within the university.

"It is eminently desirable that, under the guidance of the university, Moslem students should be so educated that, whilst being fully imbued with the modern spirit and animated by progressive and scientific ideas, they may also fully know the creative thoughts in Islam without in any way forgetting that they belong to Bengal and to India.

"India is formed of different races and cultures. Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity have all played their part in diverse ways and manners. India has had the impact of teachings from both the East and the West. Work within the university should therefore, be so planned that there may be a critical study of all the cultural streams of Indian life. In the highest interests of education in this province, Moslems and Hindus should both co-operate, one considerately respectful of the other's convictions, always ready to preserve their individual cultural traditions within the wider frame-work of the university's corporate life.

"That will truly bring in a spirit of harmony and concord and will remove antagonism, hostility and conflict. Diversities of races, cultures and religions will then be harmonized into one national outlook for India.

"There is another aspect of the problem which I should refer to in this connexion. It is the paucity of Moslems in the science classes. There are at present only three Moslem students in the 5th-year science class out of a total of 156 and three out of 121 in the 6th-year science class ; while the average of annual passes in the Intermediate Science Examination during the last six years has not exceeded 100, and the number of B. Sc., has been less than 20. This is a serious matter and early attention of all concern should be directed towards this."

Addressing the graduates, the Vice-Chancellor said :—"Play your part nobly in the task of reconstructing our national life. Let us have supreme faith in our traditions and past. Let us all remain essentially an Eastern and an Indian nation. Let us not abandon the priceless treasure of our own cultures. Be worthy of your degrees and keep the map of this province and this country before you in your life and career.

Trade, Industry & Commerce in India

JANUARY—JUNE 1939

Indian Trade in 1937—38

London Commissioner's Report

The trade conditions in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark. Belgium, Holland, the United States of America, Argentina, Brazil, Japan and India are surveyed in relation to Indian trade and commerce in the report on the work of Sir David Meek, the Indian Trade Commissioner in London, during 1937-38, published on the **19th. January 1939.**

"India being predominantly an agricultural country, the prosperity of her trade", says the Deputy High Commissioner of India in London commenting on the report, "is dependent on world commodity prices. In 1936-37 she derived the full benefit of the progressive rise in commodity prices. To some extent this boom was due to an element of speculation and a fall in prices was inevitable. But the decline in the early months of 1938 was so steep that the exports fell off considreably both in quantity and value. In particular the position in regard to wheat was most unsatisfactory, the price having dropped to so low a level as to preclude the possibility of further export on a large scale.

"Similarly, India's exports of linseed and castor seed have dwindled considerably in the early months of 1938. India has lost ground to other exporting countries, mainly the Argentine. In raw cotton and cotton waste there was a slight improvement in 1937, but this was followed by a serious decline in the first quarter of 1938, which was due to American competition, reduced demand from Japan owing to the Sino-Japanese war and the difficulties experienced by the Lancashire cotton industry. Similarly, the export of wool, which showed an encouraging expansion in 1937, registererd a heavy decline during the first quarter of 1938.

"There was a considerable decrease, both in quantity and total value, in the export of shellac, seedlac and sticklac, the prices being most disappointing. The same unfortunate tendency is noticeable in the case of base metals, brass and copper having dropped by 47 per cent during the year, tin by 42 per cont, lead by 59 per cent and zinc by 56 per cent.

"But there are a few bright patches in an otherwise gloomy picture. The export of tobacco from India showed an improvement throughout the year under review, the imports to the United Kingdom during the first quarter of 1938 being valued at £131,765, as against £26,376 in the corresponding quarter of 1937. Provided the quality is improved, there is no doubt that Indian tobacoo has a bright future in the United Kingdom market. There was also a further increase in the imports into the United Kingdom of decorticated groundnuts and in feeding stuffs for animals, e. g,. rice dust and meal, groundunt cake and meal, linseed cake and meal. In spite of the general recession there was a large increase in the imports of pig iron, while manganese ore continued to appreciate in price, accompanied by an increase in Indian exports of this commodity.

"The trade in Indian carpets was also encouraging, and the improvement in export was maintained right through the year. India is now the largest supplier of carpets and floor rugs to the United Kingdom. For Indian (including Burman) timber, 1937 was a record year and the demand in the United Kingdom for gurjun and the silvergrey wood from the Andamans continues to be for satisfactory."

Speaking of Indian agriculture and industries, the Deputy High Commissioner of India says:

"Generally speaking all the crops were satisfactory. While there was a shrinkage in the area under rice, linseed, sugarcane and jute, there was an increase in the acreage under wheat, cotton and groundnuts. The protected industries continued to do well. The iron and steel industry witnessed another prosperous year. Although the cotton growers did not do well, owing to the fall in exports, the cotton textile industry showed marked progress during the year. The cement and paper industries also showed signs of expansion. The sugar industry was threatened with over-production, but the action taken by the Governments of the two provinces in which the industry is concentrated. viz., United Provinces and Bihar, to stabilise the price of both sugarcane and sugar has had a steadying effect.

"Of the industries which are not protected, rubber and tea come under a special category, inasmuch as production and export in the case of rubber and export in the case of tea are regulated by international agreement. During the year

1937-38 there was a decline in the prices of rubber, which was checked by the reduction of the permissible exportable percentage. There has been an increase in consumption, particularly in Germany and the United Kingdom. But in spite of the low price, at least from the producer's point of view, attempts continue to be made in some countries to increase the prodution of synthetic rubber. Up to now the price factor continues to be in favour of the natural product.

"The tea industry completed the first quinquennial period of regulation, and the participating countries have agreed to extend the period for another five years on the same quotas as the previous preiod. The International Tea Market Expansion Board are making strenuous efforts to stimulate tea drinking, and during the year the consumption of tea increased considerably in the United States. The price has remained more or less stable, but there was some apprehension that the increase in the import duty on tea in the United Kingdom would affect Empire growers, more especially the produces of high grade tea. The Indian tea industry is highly organised and should be in a position to take advantage of the higher permissible export percentage fixed for 1938-89.

"The coffee industry was affected by the decision of the Government of Brazil to allow free competition and to reduce the export tax. As a result, the world price of coffee fell by about 40 per cent in the first quarter of 1938, as compared with the corresponding quarter of 1937. Consumption increased in Europe, but there was a heavy decline in the United States. The consumption of Indian coffee in the United Kingdom has been falling since 1914 but in 1937-38, there has been an increase in the sales of Indian coffee, and the prices obtained have also been favourable, when compared with the prices obtained for other growths.

"Of the industries which are not protected the most important are the coal and jute industries. The former witnessed a general revival after a prolonged period of depression, but for the jute industry the year under review was the poorest in its history. The difficulties of this industry are due to internal competition and the failure of the manufacturers in India to arrive at any agreement among themselves on the question of production. Fortunately, the jute growers did not suffer to the same extent as cotton growers."

In his survey of the economic conditions of different countries, the Trade Commissioner finds that the total value of world trade for 76 countries during the year 1937-38 was 29,982,000 gold dollars as against 25,554,000,000 in 1936-37, an increase of 4,428,000,000.

The fiscal year 1937-38 however, closed with falling off in all directions, as illustrated by the index of shipping freight rates which fell from 118.9 in February (1998-1913=100) to 115.5 in March. The volume of idle shipping in British ports nearly doubled itself from December 1937 to March 1938. The Anglo-Italian Agreement, President Roosevelt's decision to resume large-scale Government expenditure, the interdependence of the United Kingdem markets—all these influenced trade.

The year 1937-38 was a very prosperous one for Great Britain, but closed with considerable slackening in all but two or three industries. The production of pig-iron rose; so did its import, as also the production and imports of iron and steel. The coal industry had an excellent year. Shipping freight continued to rise from March till September 1937 declining afterwards. The motor building industry had a good year. The aircraft industry was stimulated by Government rearmament.

Amongst the trades which had an unsatisfactory period were the Lancashire cotton industry—production in March 1938 was a little more than 50 per cent of the capacity—and the woollen textile industry which worked short time. The hosiery trade was depressed ; so was the jute trade, though rayon industry remained quiet. On the manufacturing side the electrical industry also showed a slight depression.

"The total value of imports into the United Kingdom in the first quarter of 1938", says Sir David Meek, "was £ 245,218,813, which was £ 15,276,220 more than the value of total imports in the first quarter of 1937. There was an increase under the heads Food, Drink and Tobacco, and Manufactured Articles, but a decrease under Raw Materials, and Unmanufactured Articles. The total exports of British produce and manufactures during the first quarter of 1938, however, declined by £ 250,677, to £ 120,869,939. But it must be pointed out that the exports of manufactured articles during the quarter were over £ 2,000,000 better than the exports during the corresponding period of 1937 and accounted for nearly £ 96,000,000 out of the total given above."

Reviewing the conditions in countries other than the United Kingdom, the Trade Commissioner finds that France had an acute economic position—a rise in the cost of living, increase in the adverse balance of trade, a decline in industrial production, increase in the number of unemployed.

In Germany, during the year, records of the boom year 1928-29 were exceeded in a number of branches. Government control, tariff wall, complicated Governmental machinery, all aiming at self-sufficiency and rearmament, have not, however, made it easy for her to expand her foreign export trade and to obtain raw materials from abroad, though a four-year plan under General Goering was vigorously pursued. Shortage of foodstuffs, the ration card system, stable wages, unsatisfactory cereal crops, consequent import of over a million tons of wheat, and an economic programme for the addition of 7,000,000 inhabitants through the incorporation of Austria, were features of the year in Germany.

Italy secured a surplus of 37,000,000 lire by heavy taxation and a 10 percent levy on joint stock companies to meet the cost of armaments, public works and land reclamation, making the year 1937, on the whole, one of marked recovery and consolidation.

The review finds that Norway had a satisfactory year, the best since the War. Belgium's trade ended less favourably. than it began and Argentine experienced real prosperity. Japan's adverse balance of trade increased and her imports were restricted because of her engagement in war.

Coming to India, the report finds that in 1397-38 India derived full benefit from the rise in commodity prices and that her own crops on the whole were satisfactory. Financially the main tendency of the closing months of 1936-37, which continued in the succeeding year 1937-38, was a rapid improvement in railway traffic until the autumn, which was followed by a rapid decline from the figures of a year before. The same was true of customs receipts. The decline in imports also meant a loss to the customs revenue.

The year, however, closed with a downward trend in all directions and in his Budget Speech the Finance Member was constrained to remark that they would "not be justified in expecting the maintenance of the current year's figures."

During the period from April to November the Government borrowed small sums occasionally from the Reserve Bank and were able to liquidate them promptly. There was a gradual inflow of funds and on October 1 their balance stood at Rs. 1,64,100.000. Thereafter the revenue returns weakened and the Government were compelled to borrow from the Reserve Bank more frequently towards the close of the year. The maximum amount borrowed was Rs. 4 00,00,000.

The Government did not raise any long-term loans during the year, as no loans matured during 1937-38. This enabled the provinces to raise loans. Five provinces took advantage of this position and were able to raise an aggregate sum of Rs 4,60,00,000 by the end of August.

Throughout the year negotiations were in progress for a new agreement with the United Kingdom. As a result of the decision of the Indian Legislature the Ottawa Agreement between India and the United Kingdom was terminated in May 1936 although pending the negotiation of a new agreement the obligations imposed by the Ottawa Agreement were allowed to continue.

Coming to the trade between India and the United Kingdom, the report shows that the year 1937 was an extremely prosperous one for British trade and India and all other participating countries shared in it. Grain, flour and rice went up in 1937, as did linseed cake and meal.

Export of unmanufactured tobacoo from India to the United Kingdom market was the largest ever recorded, being 19,100,000 lbs, as compared with 13,500.000 lbs. in 1936. It seems that Indian tobacco has at last "caught on" in the British market. To improve the quality so as to consolidate the position gained will be the task of the Indian producer. The report gives details of the exports of seeds, oils, fats, resins, and gums from India to the United Kingdom. It also deals with textiles and fibres and exports of raw wool, Indian carpets, jute textiles, pig iron, shellac, hides and skins and other commodities.

It also gives details of India's participation in various fairs and exhibitions. Ten of these had Indian stalls and exhibited Indian raw material and fancy goods, sports goods, lace, coir mats and leather goods. India had six different sections in the British Industries Fair, 1938, covering an area of 3,681 square feet, an increase of 650 square feet from last year. By far the largest number of enquiries were for sports goods.

The Industries Conference

Tenth Session—Bombay—23rd. & 24th. January 1939

The Viceroy's Address

H. E. the Viceroy inaugurated the Tenth Industries Conference at Bombay University Senate House on the **23rd. January '39**, under the presidency of the hon. *Sir Zafrullah Khan*, Commerce Member to the Government of India. The Conference was attended by the Industries Ministers of the various British Indian provinces, representatives of the Indian States and the Industries Minister of Ceylon. The following is the text of H. E. the Viceroy's speech :—

"It was with real pleasure that I found myself able to accept the invitation of the hon. the Commerce Member to inaugurate this morning the Tenth Industries Conference. It was perhaps inevitable, having regard to my previous connection with India as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, that hopes should be raised that the period of my Viceroyalty would be specially associated with the attempt to solve some of India's more pressing agricultural problems. I earnestly desire that these hopes should be fulfilled, for there is no doubt in my mind that the happiness and contentment of this great land must continue to be broad-based upon the prosperity and welfare of the cultivating classes. But human nature being what it is, there may have been misgiving lest my preoccupation with agricultural matters should result in less than a due appreciation of the importance of the development of Indian industries. It was partly in the hope that I might be able to dispel any such misgivings that I welcomed the opportunity to open your proceedings to-day.

"There is no doubt in my mind that conditions to-day in the world at large make it more necessary that ever before that India should attain a certain balance in her agricultural and industrial economy. The goal of self-sufficiency which is being pursued by many foreign countries is not one, that is, in my judgment suitable for India, But the falling off in the demand for India's raw products, which is one of its symptoms, imposes on us precisely, in the interests of the agricultural classes, the duty of making a fuller use of those raw products ourselves.

"I understand that it is now customary to hold these annual conferences, which formerly were held either at Delhi or at Simla at a different Provincial centre each year. I am sure that this is a wise departure. It gave the representatives of the different Provinces and States some opportunity to study on the spot industrial problems other than their own and it enables them and the representatives of the Central Government to make personal contacts outside the Conference Chamber, which cannot but be of great value.

"And I must commend your choice of the actual meeting place in this City, the University Senate Hall, which I hope is symptomatic of the closer co-operation in which it is desirable that industry and the Universities should work. I am happy, too, to see so many representatives of the Indian States taking part in your Conference. It is a recognition of the close inter-action, in the industrial, as in many other spheres of public activity, of the problems and interests of British India and of the Indian States. The solution of common problems cannot but be facilitated by the increased opportunities for formal consultation and co-operative effort.

"The Industries Conference is now an annual institution, but I notice that, although this is the tenth Industries Conference, it is over eight years ago since the first of the series was held at Simla in April 1929. In view of the somewhat different scope and composition of that Conference which we are inaugurating to-day, it is perhaps desirable to indicate briefly the circumstances which have brought about the change.

"Twenty years ago, the Indian Industrial Commission, appointed during, and to a great extent owing to, the stress of the Great War, had just issued its report. Its ambitious proposals for a great advance in industrialisation depended on the acceptance of two principles. The first was that the Government ought to take an active part in the industrial development of the country with the aim of making India more self-contained in men and material. The second was that it was impossible for the Government to undertake that part, unless they were provided with adequate administrative equipment and fore-armed with reliable and technical advice. It was

to the Central Government that the Commission assigned the main responsibility for further industrial advance, and to this end, one of their main recommendations was the formation of an All-India Industrial Service of Specialists and Technical Experts who would largely have been seconded for service under Provincial Directors of Industries, by whom, under the General control of local Governments, the actual administrative work would have been carried on.

"But about the time when the Indian Industrial Commission made its report, far-reaching constitutional changes were under contemplation, changes, which had not been envisaged by the Commission, and which were to render substantial parts of their scheme impracticable. By the time the first Industries Conference met in 1920, it was already known that 'Industries' was to be a Provincial Transferred Subject, to be controlled and administered by Ministers. The Conference, therefore, although it consisted entirely of officials, concerned itself mainly with the details of the organisation of the growing Provincial Departments of Industries, and little was done in the way of co-ordination of effort. At the Conference held in April 1921, the new Provincial Ministers for Industries were present for the first time.

"At this and at the next Conference, there manifested itself a certain apprehension lest co-ordination and attempts at unified effort might mean interference: and though it was primarily as a measure of retrenchment that these Conferences were abandoned in 1923, there is, I think, no doubt that a contributory cause was what I may, for want of a better word, refer to as the separatist tendency of individual Provinces, who for the most part had ceased to attach any great importance to co-ordination in this field.

"Fortunately this tendency, the strength of which I have no desire to exaggerate, did not last long and certainly does not persist to-day. For it was at the request of the Provincial Governments themselves that these annual Conferences were revived in 1933. Indeed, what I notice nowadays is something very different from any apprehension that the Central Government may encroach upon the legitimate sphere of Provincial activities. It is rather a certain exasperation at the inability of the Central Government to exercise, in certain directions, powers which were long ago taken away from the Central Government and handed over to Provincial Ministers.

"This seems to me to be a perfectly natural outcome of the growing realisation that a real co-ordination of industrial effort between the Provinces is essential, if India as a whole is to advance or even to maintain the position that in certain industries she has already won. For, from time to time, fissiparous tendencies show themselves, and though we can hardly hope to see a complete identity of views established through the machinery of these Conferences, it is nonetheless along the lines of such free and frank discussions of common problems, as is here possible, that a solution is to be sought.

"What part, however, is there still left for the Central Government to play in the future industrial development of the country? An examination of what has already been done will perhaps shed some light on this. I have already indicated the circumstances in which it was not possible that the Central Government should put in operation the scheme drawn up by the Indian Industrial Commission.

"Looking back on that scheme, the part I am most inclined to regret, was the abandonment of the scheme for an All-India Industrial Service. If that recommendation could have been given effect to, there would have been in existence to-day a central pool of industrial experts on which the Provinces could have drawn to man their departments, and I feel sure that the existence of such a body of trained men would have been felt to-day by many Provincial Ministers to constitute a very material reserve of highly qualified expert advice, of which they could, if they so wished, avail themselves.

"Nevertheless the Central Government have been enabled to play a role, different, indeed, from that envisaged by the Commission, but one which has exercised a notable influence on the development of Indian industries. By their control of tariffs, and in pursuance of the policy of discriminating protection, which was accepted as the result of the recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission, many great industries—steel, cotton, textiles, paper, sugar—have been built up. By their stores purchase policy, under which a definite preference is shown by the Government, in their purchases undertaken to meet the needs of the Public Services, to articles of indigenous manufacture, the Government have done much to assist many large and small Indian industries. The extent of

these purchases is not perhaps as widely realised as it should be. During the ten years from 1928-29 to 1937-38, articles wholly or partially manufactured in India were purchased for the Government to the extent of twentythree crores of rupees. The Indian Stores Department exercises constant vigilance to prevent the purchase from abroad of articles, which can equally well be obtained in India, and has succeeded in diverting to indigenous sources of supply many demands which can be met from Indian markets, but which might otherwise have been filled from elsewhere.

"Again, the action taken on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture has demonstrated in a striking way the advantages to the Provinces of the co-ordination of research and guidance, undertaken by the Central Government, and this example has been followed, though not perhaps to the full extent that some of you may have desired, in the industrial field. The co-ordination of Provincial efforts which is effected by your Conference has been emphasised by the establishment of the Industrial Research Bureau, the Industrial Research Council and the Imperial Sericulture Committee, and by the grants given to the handloom, woollen and sericulture industries. Last year the Government took the decision to place the Industrial Research Bureau on a permanent footing. Owing to the deterioration of the general financial position during the current year, my Government have felt compelled to re-examine that decision. But I am glad to be able to announce that it has been decided to maintain it. Similarly, I am glad to say that it has been provisionally decided to continue for another financial year (1939-40) the handloom grant which was due under the original scheme to expire next October.

"In the legislative field, measures recently passed by the Central Legislature, such as the Companies Act and the Insurance Act, cannot but have a far-reaching effect of a beneficial nature on other measures on the anvil, such as the Patents Bill which proposes to penalise the pirating of designs; a Bill to facilitate the registration of trade marks in India; the revision of the Law of Merchandise Marks; and a Bill which will enable the Central Government to prescribe a uniform standard of weights. All these legislative activities will help to create an environment in which industry can flourish.

"I have perhaps said enough to indicate that the Central Government have, within the limits of the Constitution, played their due part in development of Indian industries. It will not have escaped your notice that when the scheme of Government contemplated by the Government of India Act has been brought into full operation, the responsibility for the development of those industries, where development under Federal control is expedient in the public interest, will remain with the Federal Government. Quite apart from this, however, there is a large and fruitful field for co-operation and discussion in industrial matters between the Provinces and States *interse*, and between them, and the Central Government.

"I have studied your agenda with much interest. I am glad to see the important place occupied in it by the development of small and cottage industries. To my mind the supplementing not only of the earnings, but of the healthy human interests of the rural population is more bound up with the development of small subsidiary industries than with that of large-scale industries. I notice that the hon'ble the Minister for Industries in Madras, whom I had hoped to have seen here to-day, laid stress on this point in a recent speech, and that he estimated that big industries could not feed more than ten million people in India. I am also glad to see that you propose to consider how the services of the Indian Trade Commissioners abroad can best be utilised to diffuse the kind of information you require. There has, as you know, been a great expansion of this service during the last five years, and it is the desire of my Government that their services should be enlisted to the fullest possible extent in the expansion of Indian industry and trade.

"It is no doubt possible that the discussion of certain items on your agenda may disclose marked divergences in the view-point of the different Provinces. But it is essential to the success of the free and democratic institutions which we are building up in India, that there should be frank and cordial exchanges of opinions with a view to reaching agreed solutions, and I do not know that there is any field in which this is more important than that of industry at a time when such a free discussion of difficulties has drawn us back from the brink of a world war, but when the menace to freedom and democracy has by no means disappeared. It is on this note that I leave you to your deliberations."

Discussion—2nd Day—Bombay—24th January 1939

The Conference resumed work on January 24. The first subject taken up for consideration was the development of the handloom weaving industry. The progress made with the schemes in the various provinces was reviewed and the additional grants asked for by certain provinces over and above their ordinary basic grants were considered. Allotments for the year 1939-40 were decided upon on the assumption that the grant-in-aid would be made available for the twelve months of the financial year instead of for only seven months according to the original arrangement.

The Conference then went on to discuss the question of the utilisation of the services of the Indian Trade Commisioners, with special reference to the collection of information in regard to the running of cottage and small industries in Japan and other countries. It was also pointed out that the functions of these officers could usefully be amplified with a view to finding markets abroad for the products of small and cottage industries. The question was raised as to how the additional expenditure involved in making special enquiries on behalf of the province should be met. The Chairman explained that the Trade Commissioners would continue to supply current information which they could furnish without difficulty from printed publications, but that special enquiries undertaken on behalf of provinces should be paid for by them. He promised that the views expressed at the Conference would be carefully examined by the Government of India with a view to issuing any further instructions that might be necessary.

The next question taken up was the holding of an annual All-India Industrial Fair. The principle of having such an exhibition at a fixed central place was generally accepted. The Chairman made it clear, however, that the Central Government was not in a position at present to bear any portion of the cost. It was eventually decided that a Sub-Committee of the Conference should be appointed to go into the question and report to the next Industries Conference.

The Federated Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—Delhi—8th and 9th April 1939

Presidential Address

The annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry began in Old Delhi on the 8th. April 1939 with Mr. *Jamshed N. R. Mehta* in the chair and in the presence of a large gathering of delegates from many parts of India, including States and members of the Legislature. A critical survey of Indian commercial conditions was made by Mr. Mehta in his presidential address.

Dealing first with foreign trade, Mr. Mehta pointed out that with the diminution of India's former export surplus—owing to the pursuit by certain countries of economic self-sufficiency—the per-war mechanism by which India met her liabilities to the United Kingdom by means of this surplus might cease to operate. It was necessary, therefore, that India should expand her exports to countries like the U. S. A., the United Kingdom and the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Also, the Uuited Kingdom should either allow India to expand her exports to the U. K. or restrict its own exports to India, thus creating an export surplus equivalent to the payments due by India. It was a matter of deep regret, Mr. Mehta said, that the Government should have though it wise to ratify the Indo-British Trade Agreement in the teeth of the opposition of the Legislature in general and the commercial community in particular. He also regretted the Government's not heeding the recommendations of the unofficial advisers. As regards tariff policy, Mr. Mehta earnestly urged the Government to make a genuine effort to carry out the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission as regards the fixing of definite periods of protection of suficient

length to enable the industry concerned to take full advantage. India was no longer merely an agricultural country, but would soon aspire to be an important agricultural and industrial country like the U. S. A. It seemed to Mr. Mehta, therefore, that the time had come when the Government should definitely revise its whole policy as regards India's trade relations with foreign countries, and he urged that the Government should take immediate steps to conclude trade agreements with countries like Germany, Italy, the U. S. A. and Japan. Even, however, if India's commercial policy was modified in the direction of encouraging exports abroad, Mr. Mehta thought that they would not be in a position to take full advantage of such trade agreements, unless the defects in the grading and marketing of the staple export commodities, such as linseed and groundnuts, were repaired. The President urged the Central and Provincial Governments to collect statistical information about the medium-sized and minor industries. The present lack of this information would prevent the drawing up of any well thought-out plan regarding the location of new industries and the development of the existing ones in the country as a whole. Mr. Mehta also mentioned the efforts which the Federation has long been making to persuade the Governments to undertake an industrial survey of the whole country, which would give authentic figures relating to the mineral wealth as also the total volume of raw materials available in each province.

Mr. Mehta said that the commercial community whole-heartedly supported the aim which the National Planning Committee had in mind, namely, the collection of the necessary statistical data in order to design a scheme for the development of the industries of this country. He was afraid, however, that the questionnaire which the Committee had issued, though exhaustive, was not likely to secure all the information necessary for the evolution of a satisfactory plan of industrialisation and it appeared to him that the Provincial Government alone were best fitted to collect all the data relating to the volume and nature of agricultural produce, manufactured articles, mineral resources and the extent of the internal market. Mr. Mehta next referred to the "growing menace" of the increase of non-Indian enterprises "behind the shelter of our tariff wall". Nearly 150 large industrial concerns of non-Indian origin had thus come into existence. and the whole object of the policy of protection would be defeated unless the Government and legislature took adequate steps to control this development.

In conclusion. Mr. Mehta dealt with "the new trends in the provincial public finance which are noticeable in the budgets prepared by the Ministers of Finance for the various provinces for the year 1939-40" and declared that the Indian commercial community was deeply interested in the success of the efforts of the popular Ministries in tackling the question of improving the economic conditions of the masses. Despite the agreement about the ultimate objective, however, it is possible to have genuine differences about the right means to achieve this objective. I wonder whether a wholesale and indiscriminate resort to essentially regressive weapons of taxation like the sales tax on commodities of general consumption, especially cotton textiles, is the right method to achieve the object which the Provincial Governments have in view. Such a tax is bound to arrest any increase in the *par capita* consumption of the masses." He felt that the time had come when the Provincial Ministries should guard against the possibility that "in adopting specific measures of taxation to bridge the gap between income and expenditure, of having recourse to means which are likely to dry up the very sources from which the income flows."

The main issue in this country, Mr. Mehta considered, was the precipitous fall in the prices of agricultural produce and to ask the agriculturist to pay more for manufactured products by the levy of a sales tax without making any effort to increase his purchasing power seemed to be a wrong approach to the whole problem. The Budget proposals of the Provincial Ministries showed the eventual necessity of an annual Conference of Finance Ministers, so that greater co-operation and co-ordination of policy between the provinces on the one hand and the Central Government on the other might be secured. If no early effort was made in this direction, confusion in the administration of the various taxes and practical difficulties in inter-provincial administration were bound to occur.

Resolutions—INDIANS ABROAD

An important resolution passed to-day related to the position of Indians abroad. It expressed deep anxiety and alarm at the "steady encroachment on the

limited rights enjoyed by Indians in Colonies and elsewhere outside India" and conveyed to His Majesty's Government "that unless the rights of Indians in Colonies and abroad are adequately protected, the discontent among Indians, both at home and abroad, cannot but continuously increase."

The resolution expressed disappointment that the Government of India and the Burma Government "failed to take satisfactory steps to safeguard Indian life and property against anti-Indian riots in Burma and urged the appointment of a high non-official Indian as Agent in Burma and the taking of immediate steps to ensure compensation to the victims of anti-Indian riots and the protection of life and property and the civic rights of Indians."

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, in moving the resolution, referred to his association with the problem of Indians abroad during the last twenty years and said that never before had he found greater distress and despair among them than now. It was time, he declared, to bring home to the Government of India and His Majesty's Government that the policy followed during the last last three or four years in the colonies with regard to Indians was undermining confidence in the Government of India and attachment to the British Empire. Could the Federation do anything milder than what was indicated in the resolution ? , he asked.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas dealt with the Kenya Order in Council, and said that for the Government of India to say that the Order merely confirmed past administrative practice, was as good as asking Indians in Kenya to reconcile themselves to the position. After referring to the position in South Africa in view of the new move to segregate Indians further, Sir Purshottamdas asked if the British Government wished to do justice to Indians who went there to earn a livelihood, or if the Government only wanted to give way to some of the Dictators of Europe and their armed might ? Sir Purshottamdas mentioned two recent incidents, one in America where the wife of Mr. Dave had been asked to quit on the ground that in the absence of a treaty of commerce and navigation between India and America, she could not be allowed to stay on in America beyond a certain period. The second was the prohibition against Indian passengers landing in Manila, where steamers halted. The matter had been referred to Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, who had promised to investigate.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachariar, seconding the resolution, pointed out that the position of Indians in Burma was not on all fours with their position in other parts of the Empire. He traced the history of Indian emigration to Burma since 1872, and said that, by now, nearly a million Indians were in Burma, and they had invested about Rs. 80 crores there. Now, he continued, further legislation to impose restrictions on Indians was on the anvil. The Government of India, he declared, should shake themselves from their lethargy and see that there was an organised department of the Government of India in Burma which would do all that was needful to protect Indian life and interests.

Mr. *G. L. Mehta*, supporting the resolution, felt that the idea of Dominion Status had by now become alien to Indians because, Indians had become foreigners in all parts of the British Commonwealth. He reminded the meeting that the whole urge of the national movement in this country had originated from the suffering of Indians in South Africa. As regards the attitude of the British Government, he agreed with the Irishman's statement that the sun never sets on the British Empire because the Almighty could never trust the Englishman in the dark.

Mr. *Hosseinbhai Laljee*, in a vehement speech, described himself as one of those unfortunate Indians who had been trading abroad. The only help that they could now expect, he asserted, was from the Congress Governments in the provinces, because the British Government at the Centre were only trustees for Europeans.

The resolution was put to vote and carried.

Labour Legislation in Provinces

Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai next moved a resolution urging the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to appoint a Board for the co-ordination of Labour and Social legislation already undertaken in the provinces and to guide future legislation on uniform lines throughout the country.

Seth Kasturbhai admitted that the legislation passed was very comprehensive and calculated to reach all fields of economic activity. But it was essential that there should be some sort of machinery to co-ordinate all such legislation, because the political demarcations effected in the country could not be made to apply to the

economic field of activity. He stressed the need for co-ordination to prevent artificial stimulation or retardation in industrial activities, and quoted the difficulties of the United States Federal Government to show the urgent need for co-ordination.

Lala Padampat Singhania, seconding the resolution, urged the need for uniformity in industrial activity, particularly in the field of Labour legislation. It was the duty of the Central Government to see that a Co-ordination Board was constituted. He appealed to the Provincial Governments to take the initiative in the matter in the interests of the provinces and Indian industries.

Mr. *Durgaprasad Khaitan* stressed the need for showing some consideration to the industrially backward provinces as otherwise giving effect to the present resolution would mean a hadicap to those provinces.

Mr. *G. Somani* and *Rai Bahadar Mohatta* also supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Currency Policy Criticised

A number of resolutions were put from the chair and carried. These declare that the Eighteen Pence Ratio is detrimental to the economic interests of India, and has been maintained by methods which have been injurious to the country's real interests; demand that the Central Legislature should be given power to review exemptions from income-tax of interest on sterling securities and certain pensions as well as the double taxation relief arrangement between the U. K. and India; favour the suggestions of the Reserve Bank of India for reducing the stamp duty on inland bills; urge the development of the refining industry in the country; ask for legislation to regulate the import, manufacture, storage and sale of drugs, medicines and biological products in order to prevent the sale of inefficient or adulterated or spurious drugs; urge the desirability of the Government of India securing adequate interest in the Air as well as Sea Plane services so as to have an effective voice in the control, direction and management of these services and the promotion of the training of Indians for the Air services; demand revision of the constitution of the major Port Trusts so as to ensure an adequate majority of Indians on the boards and in the administration; want complete Indianisation of the Imperial Bank staff and the stoppage of non-Indian recruitment.

The Federation congratulated the Government of Bombay on its decision to support Indian insurance companies by placing all insurance controlled by them with indigenous companies only and urges other Provincial Governments to follow the example.

The Federation Constitution

The best part of the after-lunch sitting of the Federation was occupied in a full dress debate on an amendment to the constitution of the Federation moved by Mr. *J. C. Setalvad*, who sought to give a vote to each of the four delegates representing a member-body instead of the existing provision which gave the right to vote to only one of the representatives from each body. Over a dozen speakers, including Messers. D. P. Khaitan, J. C. Setalvad, Thakkar, Santanam, Krishnamachariar and Chunilal B. Mehta, participated in the discussion. The amendment was rejected by 35 votes to 11.

Industrial Self-Sufficiency

Earlier, the meeting accepted *Lala Shri Ram's* resolution relating to fiscal policy. The resolution recommended that as the pace of Indian industrialisation under the policy of discriminating protection had failed to satisfy Indian opinion, the Government of India should adopt a more dynamic and active policy of full-fledged protection for industries under the active control and management of the nationals of the country, having for its object the achievement of industrial self-sufficiency within a reasonable period of time. It further opined that the Government should grant protection not merely to an infant industry, but also consider the question of granting protection with a view to helping the very establishment of a new industry which could not be organised owing to the hesitant and dilatory attitude of the Government and the consequent uncertainty of securing tariff help for a reasonably long period of time.

Moving the resolution, *Lala Shri Ram* pointed out that a change over from the present "discriminating" policy would go a long way in solving the problem of unemployment among the educated classes, and also help in finding a good Indian market for Indian agricultural produce.

Mr. *Chunilal B. Mehta*, who seconded the resolution, referred to the National Planning Committee set up by the Congress and expressed his optimism as regards

the successful out-come of the scheme. The meeting at this stage adjourned till the next day.

Second Day—Delhi—9th. April 1939

Trade Pact with Foreign Countries

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry resumed its sitting on the next day, the **9th. April 1939.** *Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas* moved a resolution relating to trade treaties with foreign countries.

The resolution reiterated the Federation's view that the Government of India should immediately take steps to conclude a treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States of America and trade treaties with foreign countries in consultation with representatives of Indian Commerce.

Moving the resolution, Sir Purshottamdas dwelt at length on the position of representatives of Indian Commerce as Un-official Advisers during the Indo-British Trade negotiations. He paid a glowing tribute to the capacity and cordiality of Sir M. *Zafrullah* Khan until the submission of the fourteenth and last report of the Un-official Advisers.

Proceeding, Sir Purushottamdas said: "I admire him and wish to say that he acted as a non-official though he was an official. But who does not know his limitations as a Member of the Executive Council ?"

The Un-official Advisers, he continued, when they reached London were distinctly given to understand that if India desired a trade treaty with the United Kingdom, it could only be possible if Lancashire was satisfied. He challenged amidst cheers the statement that the Indian Un-official Advisers' vision had been vitiated by political considerations. He asserted that, all through, they had borne in mind carefully that they were only concerned with economic and commercial considerations. If they wanted to venture into the realms of politics, certainly Sir Edward Benthall would have protested and expressed his disagreement. On the other hand, Sir Edward was in agreement with them on the fundamental principles. The Government, he proceeded, had no doubt accepted the broad outlines of their recommendations, but his grievance was that they had fouled the field before the recommendations came up before the legislature, by the advantage of three to four per cent given to Lancashire in the form of the additional cotton import duty. It was clear proof of the fact that the Government did not want a trade treaty to go through unless the dice was loaded against India. By this the Government had granted through the back door, under the guise of squarring the budget, the maximum demands of Lancashire.

Seconding the resolution, Mr. *G. L. Mehta* referred to India's foreign trade and pointed out that now the reports of Indian Trade Commissioners of late made depressed reading. While in European countries the policy in respect of foreign trade was considered very important foreign diplomacy, the Government of India had no policy at all. The whole machinery of the Government had been directed towards placating Lancashire and the Government's refusal to take up any other questions reminded him of the Scotchman who was delaying the purchase of the map of Europe until Hitler had settled all European boundaries (Laughter).

The resolution, which was supported by Sardar *P. S. Sodhbans*, was carried unanimously.

The Control Rules

The meeting passed a resolution, moved by Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta* and seconded by Mr. *D. B. Ghosh*, expressing grave concern at the manner in which Indian Tea Control Rules have been notified by the Central Government, and stating that the rules require immediate revision in terms of representation made by the Indian Planting community and by Indian Commercial interests in general.

Indo-British Trade Pact

A resolution on the Indo-British trade agreement, put from the Chair, expressed the Federation's warm thanks to the Non-Official Advisers, and while giving support to their recommendations in the majority report, strongly condemned the action of the Government of India in circumventing the recommendations of the Non-Official Advisers directly and indirectly, and in overriding the clear

verdict given by the Assembly against the trade treaty as proposed. The Resolution expressed the conviction that any trade treaty imposed on India against the wishes of her accredited representatives could only estrange the relations between the two countries, and warned the Government of India against persisting in giving effect to the Agreement in its present form.

NON-INDIAN CONCERNS IN INDIAN

The next resolution related to the establishment of non-Indian concerns in India.

The resolution recommended "that no company should be allowed to be registered in India unless it has a rupee capital, at least two-thirds of the shareholding is restricted to Indian nationals, and at least two-thirds of the dominant control and effective voice in the management is in Indian hands in their own right, and that in the case of key industries the entire capital and management are restricted to Indian nationals only"

Mr. *C. Setalvad*, who moved the resolution, declared that it was of paramount importance that the profits, perquisites and the fruits of any policy of industrialisation should go to the sons of the soil. After all, there was no fun in developing industries in the country behind a tariff wall if the benefits of such industrialisation were to be enjoyed by those who had no permanent stake in the country, and if the wealth consequent on such a policy was meant to be taken outside India. Foreign capital was flowing in and foreign companies were establishing subsidiary companies. The right of the State to restrict, regulate and even prohibit the entry of non-nationals into certain branches of the economic life of the nation must be recognised.

Mr. *Madhavlal Bhatt*, seconding the resolution, pointed out that these non-Indian concerns were stultifying the recommendations of the Tariff Boards and ousting Indian industries from the home market. India thus was the happy-hunting ground of foreign exploiters.

DEBT LEGISLATION

The resolution on debt legislation, moved by *Lala Hari Shankar Bagla*, was keenly debated. The resolution expressed the opinion that no legislation designed to give relief to the agriculturists should be enacted in any of the provinces so as to extend facilities to others in reducing their liability for commercial debts; and where such legislation already exists, as in the case of U. P. the Encumbered Estates Act and the U. P. Agriculturists Relief Act, the Provincial Governments should immediately amend the law so as to withdraw such facilities. The resolution also asked *inter alia* for amendment of the existing debt legislation so that persons whose total income from agriculture is smaller than from other sources should not be given any advantage under the Acts.

Mr. *Haridas Laljee* suggested that consideration of the resolution should be postponed pending the obtaining of the necessary information from the different members.

Mr. *T. T. Krishnamachariar*, opposing the resolution, urged that it would be wiser to discuss the whole question with representatives of the Provincial Governments concerned. He felt that the resolution was premature, and ought to have been on more general lines instead of referring to legislations in one or two provinces.

Supporting the resolution *Mr. Begraj Gupta* said that the use of the legislative power in the manner would not achieve the desired result. The resolution was carried by 25 votes to 6.

SILK INDUSTRY IN INDIA

The parlous condition of the Silk industry and the need for the Government of India releasing the Tariff Board's report on it formed the subject of a resolution moved by Mr. *D. N. Sen*. It was supported by Rao Saheb *C. H. Rao* and carried.

INDIA'S MINOR INDUSTRIES

A resolution moved by *Mr. D. N. Sen* urged the Government of India to take up again the departmental enquiry into the position of minor industries in the country, which, having been initiated was later on suspended two years back on the plea that prices of Japanese manufactures had gone up.

Mr. S. G. Shah supported the resolution.

A resolution dealing with inter-provincial barriers and the need for uniformity in excise duties, moved by *Rajratna Seth B. D. Amin*, was carried.

SALT MANUFACTURE

Mr. Haridas Laljee then moved a resolution urging the Government of India to take immediate steps to save the Indian salt industry from ruination and safeguard the importing provinces against the dangers of a salt famine by immediately re-imposing an additional import duty on foreign salt at an adequate rate for an adequate period.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. *Mohatta* and carried unanimously.

NATIONAL SHIPPING & OVERSEAS TRADE

The last resolution expressed deep concern at the policy of utter inaction on the part of the Government of India to do anything to help the entrance and expansion of national shipping in the overseas trade, and urged the Government of India to take early and effective steps for securing carriage of a substantial portion of the overseas cargo trade and passenger traffic for shipping owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of this country.

The resolution, which was moved by *Mr. G. L. Mehta* and seconded by *Mr. Khaitan*, also expressed grave concern at the crushing rate-war waged by the British vested shipping interests against the Scindia Company in the Haj service.

The meeting at this stage concluded with a vote of thanks to the retiring President and to the delegates present.

The Indian Chamber of Commerce

Thirteenth Session—Calcutta—27th. February 1939

The Presidential Address

Presiding over the thirteenth annul general meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, on the **27th. February 1939**, Sir *Ardeshir Dalal*, the President of the Chamber, advocated a policy of caution with regard to the efforts of the Congress Governments to bring about prohibition, in view of its far-reaching financial implications.

"The eradication of the drink evil requires sustained moral and social effort over a long period of time", said Sir Ardeshir, "and if an attempt is made to bring about the result in such a short space of time as two or three years, crores of public revenue, so urgently needed for every form of nation-building activities, are sacrificed and extraordinary heavy burdens imposed on the people. The financial structure of the province may suffer a shock from which it will find itself difficult to recover. Moderation in the suppression of drink is as necessary as moderation in its consumption."

Sir Ardeshir appreciated the manner in which the different Provincial Governments had initiated measures for the amelioration of the condition of the poorer classes but sounded a note of warning against undue haste in under-taking measures of far-reaching social and economic importance. He referred in this connection to the Money Lenders Bill which the Government of Bengal have brought forward and stated that the Bill, as modified by the Select Committee, seemed not only to contravene some of the provisions of the existing acts, but was also highly detrimental to the general interests of business in the far-reaching scope of its provisions.

The speaker referred to the shortsighted view taken by some of the older manufacturing countries of the West that the present efforts of India to develop her industries was a menace to their trade. He refuted the argument that industrialisation in India was likely to lead to a serious clash of interests with agricultural elements or to a crisis in India's finances. To have a more reliable and assured home market for their products was certainly more in the interests of the agriculturists themselves than an almost complete dependence upon the international market which has, of late, become a very uncertain and unreliable factor. The standard of living of the Indian people was low at present and the achievement of a more balanced economy and increased industrialisation would lead in the long run to expansion of wealth increase in India's consumption and in consequence of

her international trade. With a higher standard of living, India was bound to purchase and consume more goods and of a more varied character than she had done in the past.

Referring to the imperative need of assisting and encouraging the growth of Indian shipping, Sir Ardeshir Dalal stated that commercial agreements with other countries like Great Britain and Japan should provide excellent opportunities for securing the expansion of Indian shipping in the overseas trade of the country. When British shipping, which was one of the oldest and most powerful industries in the world, had been receiving the support of its Government and the country, an incipient industry in India was surely entitled to receive adequate recognition of its claims, especially because national shipping was a vital factor in any scheme of national defence. He welcomed the conclusion of the volutary agreement among the jute mills in Bengal and envisaged more stable and prosperous conditions for the jute industry.

Sir Ardeshir also referred to other important matters concerning the mercantile community of India such as making further provision for safety in coal mines by sand stowing, the necessity of early legislation for the control of adulterated drugs and the present unfortunate situation created in Burma with regard to the relations between Indians and Burmans. He urged that effective steps should be taken by the Government of India to see that Indian life and property in Burma were adequately protected and advocated a conference of representatives of the Indian mercantile community in India and in Burma in order to review the whole question relating to the regulation of trade between the two countries.

The Andhra Chamber of Commerce

Annual Session—Madras—29th. April 1939

The Presidential Address

"We recognise the necessity of more revenue for the Government. But the Tobacco tax is expected to yield the treasury nearly a crore and half of rupees. I appeal to the Prime Minister, therefore, not to estrange the Indian business community and to find out a *via media* by fixing the rate of the tax (Sales Tax) at one-fourth of one per cent. If there is need for additional money, let him increase the rate to half per cent in the next financial year", observed the hon. Mr. *Narayandas Girdhardas*, President of the Andhra Chamber of Commerce, speaking at the annual meeting of the Chamber held on the **29th. April 1939** at the Chamber premises, Madras.

Mr. *Vavilla Venkateswaralu Sastrulu* presented the annual report and the audited statement of accounts.

The hon. Mr. *Narayandas Girdhardas* then addressed the meeting. He referred to the increase in the membership of the Chamber inspite of the raising of the entrance fee and the part it played in the politico-economic life of the country and hoped that the Chamber would, in the next year, outstrip its record of work for the past year. Mr. Girdhardas next referred to the international situation and said :—

"If another war breaks out, to us in India, it is largely a question of choosing between evils. We can have no doubt that our veteran leader, Mahatma Gandhi, will give us the right lead at the critical moment and that the people will loyally abide by his advice".

Turning to the political situation in India, the President said, "we find that British statesmen are marking time and are in no mood to make an immediate decision as to whether Federation should be imposed or not. The recent amendments to the Government of India Act are calculated to further whittle down provincial autonomy.

"To us what is of immediate and lasting interest is the formation of an Andhra Province. The Secretary of State for India has thought it fit to veto the proposal submitted by the Madras Government. But the matter cannot be allowed to rest there. I would suggest that the members from the Telugu-speaking districts

in the local legislature should sit informally but regularly during every legislative session so as to keep the Andhra demand constantly in the mind of the public.

The Indo-British Trade Agreement, the President continued, sufficiently bad in itself, could never be acceptable to the Indian commercial community, coming as it did on top of the doubling of the duty on raw cotton. The pact no doubt has become an accomplished fact as a result of the certification of the Governor-General. But in all conscience I want to ask you what in essence is the difference between this act of the Government and the policy of Germany in forcing Rumania to give economic concessions to her, of which we have heard so much lately.

"Another important factor to which I would like to draw your attention is the gradual abandonment of the policy of discriminating protection to which India has been committed for a long number of years. The Tariff Board itself had recommended lower rates of duty in respect of sugar, paper and magnesium chloride industries. But the Government have further reduced the duties as well as the period of protection except in the case of magnesium chloride. Evidently the Government laid greater emphasis upon the word "discriminating" than "protection" in that blessed phrase "discriminating protection."

Proceeding, Mr. Girdhardas said: "We in this presidency have been more agitated by the local Government's proposal to levy a sales tax than by any other factor. It is regrettable to note that the agitation for and against the measure is carried on with unconcealed bitterness. I deprecate the adoption of a defiant attitude on either side. Though Congress Governments since they came to power have not done anything considerable to improve the trade and industries of the country, we must all be grateful to the Congress for the unqualified support which it has given for protection to Indian industries as a result of which phenomenal progress has been made in many industries. But taxation measures have come in quick succession. Petrol, electricity, tobacco and entertainments have already been heavily taxed and I am sure our Prime Minister will appreciate the difficulty which the Indian business community will have to experience as a result of being called upon to make huge sacrifices all of a sudden. We recognise the necessity of more revenue for the Government. But the tobacco tax expected to yield the treasury nearly a crore and half of rupees. I appeal to the Prime Minister therefore not to estrange the Indian business community and to find out a *via media* by fixing the the rate of the tax at one-fourth of one per cent. If there is need for additional money, let him increase the rate to half per cent in the next financial year. But let him not wound the pride of the business community by sticking to air guns.

"As for prohibition, I am of the opinion that the pace should not be forced. There is no politics in prohibition and when it is remembered that no other country in the world, not even Soviet Russia where it is said that there is no exploitation of any kind, has attempted to enforce complete prohibition. I think I may be pardoned for suggesting that the Congress Governments may be a bit more cautious in introducing prohibition.

"Before I conclude, I want to refer to two things. We have not heard of late about the activities of the National Planning Committee. I am particularly keen on the starting of an automobile industry in the country. What with another war, the need for motor vehicles and aeroplanes will be great and I feel that properly organised we can export these goods to other countries.

"I do not believe in the policy of pandering to labour with a view to placate it, favoured by some governments. I doubt if there are any better employers in the world than the Tata Iron and Steel Company. The boycott of the centenary celebrations of the birth of the founder of the Tata house by the workers due to some imaginary grievance fills me with despair regarding the future of trade unionism in the country. Apart from this, I think that Indian industry is not in a position to bear any additional burden in the shape of labour legislation."

The Punjab Chamber of Commerce

Annual Session—New Delhi—14th. April 1939

The Presidential Address

The annual general meeting of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce was held on the **14th. April 1939** at New Delhi. Mr. *V. F. Gary* presided and Mr. *E. M. Jenkins*, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, was present by special invitation. After the annual report and accounts had been adopted, Mr. Gray and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi addressed the meeting.

Mr. *Gray*, in the course of his address, referred to the Indo-British Trade Agreement and said : "The question still appears to me to be quite simple in its essential lineaments. It was not merely a question of what India was asked to give. It was also a question of what India got in return and this was appreciably more. The object of the Agreement was to provide, in the uncertain political and economic conditions of the world, a better basis for business, by assuring to the two countries a market outlet for each other's products. The ways of the legislature are inscrutable to us, mere businessmen, who are not also politicians. The Agreement seems to have been overshadowed by the cotton part. For, in that India has been asked to give something, but for the something she gives on cotton piecegoods, she is assured a much better market for her raw cotton and concessions in other lines. And what is she asked to give ?

"Lancashire exported last year 225 million yards of cloth, as against about 3,000 million years ago. Indian mills produced last year over four thousand million yards and hand-looms 1,490 yards, altogether nearly 5,500 million yards. Does it matter much to them whether the Lancashire quota is 225 millions or 350 millions, namely 4 per cent or 6 per cent of Indian consumption ? At any rate, I, for one, am very glad that the question is settled. For two years now we, importers, have had this duty reduction hanging over our heads. Many dealers have left goods lying in bond for twelve months and this has upset trade tremendously. If the Government had stated that they would not reduce duty at all a year ago, I venture to say that last year's trade would have been far greater. The uncertainty of customs duty upsets trade more than anything and this upsetting has been a setback to the export of cotton itself".

Mr. Gray then examined the taxation proposals of the Punjab Government. He said that a sales tax was more an emergency measure of taxation such as might be instituted in the case of war and could not be regarded as a normal feature of a budget. He claimed that the sales tax on motor spirit would operate oppressively and would mean increased transport charges for the rural population of the Punjab.

Resolutions

Mr. U. N. Sen then moved the following resolution :—

"This Chamber places on record its deep appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. V. F. Gray, both as a member and President of the Chamber in furthering its interests."

In doing so, Mr. Sen said that he did not like to let the occasion pass without publicly recording the services rendered by Mr. Gray to the Punjab Chamber of Commerce and to the commercial community of Delhi, both Indian and European. Mr. Sen felt glad that Mr. Gray would not totally sever his connections with Delhi and India, but would be visiting his old friends every cold weather.

Rai Bahadur P. Mukherji seconded the resolution and said that the Punjab Chamber of Commerce owed its present position mostly to Mr. Gray's untiring energy. His services would always be remembered by the Chamber.