THE BOOK WAS DRENCHED

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_172938
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

THE INDIAN

ANNUAL REGISTER

January—June 1940

VOL. I

Printed by D. N. Singha at the
Singha Printing Works
30, Badur Bagan Street
and published by N. N. Mitra,
16/1, Komedan Bagan Lane, Calcutta.

Issued from 1919] THE INDIAN [23rd Year of Issue

ANNUAL REGISTER

An Annual Digest of Public Affairs of India

Recording the Nation's Activities each year in matters Political, Economic, Industrial, Educational, Social Etc.

BEING ISSUED IN 2 SIX-MONTHLY VOLUMES

Volume I] Jan.–June 1940 [Volume I

Editor :—Nripendra Nath Mitra

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PAYABLE IN ADVANCE Rs. 12 ONLY
VOLUMES: CLOTH BOUND Rs. 7 EACH POSTAGE EXTRA
FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTION PAYABLE IN ADVANCE Rs. 15 ONLY.

PUBLISHED BY

THE ANNUAL REGISTER OFFICE
16-1, KOMEDAN BAGAN LANE CALCUTTA. P. O. PARK STREET.

CALENDAR FOR 1940

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

FEBRUARY						
S	...	4	11	18	25	...
M.	...	5	12	19	26	...
T.	...	6	13	20	27	...
W.	...	7	14	21	28	...
Th.	1	8	15	22	29	...
F.	2	9	16	23	...	...
S.	3	10	17	24	...	...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE INDIAN
ANNUAL REGISTER
JANUARY—JUNE 1940
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA 1940 1

India office 1
Government of India 1
Government of Bengal 1
Government of Bombay 2
Government of Madras 2
Government of the United Provinces 2
Government of Behar 2
Government of Assam 3
Government of Punjab 3
Government of Central Provinces 3
Government of Orissa 3
Government of Sind 3
N. W. Frontier Government 4
Government of Burma 4
Federal Court of India 4
Bengal Judicial Department 4
Bombay Judicial Department 5
Madras Judicial Department 5
Behar & Orissa Judicial Department 5
Burma Judicial Department 5
C. P. & Behar Judicial Department 6
Punjab Judicial Department 6
United Provinces Judicial Department ... 6
Chief Court of Oudh—Lucknow 6
Chief Court of Sind 6
Indian States (with Salutes) 7
Indian States (without Salutes) 18

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS 25

January—1940 25
February—1940 35
March - 1940 45
April—1940 56
May—1940 65
June—1940 75

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY 84

The Rigveda 85
Unitary Indian Empire 86
Gupta Dynasty 87
Mediaeval India 88

The Mahammedan Rule 89
INDIA IN HOME POLITY 91
INTRODUCTION 91
Defeat & capitulation of France 91
Their Various causes 91
The surrender of liberties 92
Clash of class conscious interests 92
Despair of 19th century pure science 93
"A philosophy in flames" 93
Appreciation of British Imperialism 94
By the United States 95
Fear of anarchy—*Matsyanyaya* 95
Constructive possibilities behind destruction ... 96
Central and West Europe—German sphere ... 97
United States—*Mandaleswar* of Anglo-Saxon world 97
Common traditions bind U. S. A. & Britain ... 98
British Dominions & U. S. A. 98
The Pacific area—U. S. A.'s special sphere ... 99
"The Jubilee Poem" 99
Dream and scheme of Anglo-Saxon world domination 100
War in the Middle East 100
Suggested attack on Russia 101
Turkey halts it 102
Inter-change of masters in the Pacific area ... 103
The wealth of the East Indies 103
"Great Asia" idea of Japan 104
Is simply a make-believe 104
Opportunity to Japan for aggression 105
Japan's strong position 105
Defence arrangements of European Powers ... 106
Japan is a military & naval power 107
Present generation of Thailand rulers ... 107
"Fourfold danger" to Thailand 107
Ambition of Thailand rulers 108
Helplessness of the "dependent empire" of Britain 108
Inspiring motive of Indian demands 109
What Prof. Keith says 110
An Irish contrast & parallel 110
Feelings of Britons in India 111
Consultative Committee & Expansion of Executive Council 112
World-opinion & India 113
Indian Attempts to remove causes of disunity ... 113
"Deliverance & Thanks-giving Day" 114
Correspondence between Mr. Jinnah & Lord Linlithgow ... 114
Muslim League Veto on constitutional progress ... 115
Fundamental principles of Muslim politics 116
Muslim fears & *Swaraj* in India 116
Mr. Jinnah's interpretation of Indian history ... 116
A challenge to Muslim thinkers and statesmen ... 117
What Indian thinkers feel and say 118
Independent Muslim Conference 119

Its representative character 119
Sacraments of Indian Nationalism 119
Provincialism & its dangers 120
Illustrated from Bihar & Assam 121
"Social composition" of Assam proper 121
Dreamers of a "Muslim zone" in Assam 123
"Line System"—an economic measure 123
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee disaffiliated ... 124
All-India Anti-Compromise Conference 125
All-India Women's Conference 125
Contact between the conference and the masses few ... 125
Congregated might of malignity and Divine Spirit ... 126
HE COUNCIL OF STATE 129
BUDGET SESSION -NEW DELHI—16th. FEBRUARY TO 19TH. APRIL 1940 129
Official Bills Passed 129,131,133,136
Discussion of Railway Budget 129
Mover's right to reply 130
Adjournment Motion—Chair's Ruling 130
De ate on Price Control 130
General Discussion of Budget 132
National Army for India 132
Non-official Resolutions 133
Resolution on Birth Control 133
Excess Profits Tax Bill 134
Debate on the Finance Bill 134
Europeans in Army 135
The Drugs Bill 136
THE CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 137
BUDGET SESSION—NEW DELHI—6TH FEBRUARY TO 6TH APRIL 1940 137
Excess Profits Tax Bill ... 137,138,154,161
Kidnapping & Abduction Bill 137
Air Training for Indian Youths 137
Merchants Shipping Amendment Bill 139
Aligarh University Amendment Bill 139
Indian Arbitration Bill 140
Trade Marks Registration Bill 140
Railway Budget for 1940-41 140
Discussion of Railway Budget 142
Official Bills Passed 143
Factories Act Amendment Bill 143
Voting on Railway Demands 144
Non-official Resolutions 146
Financial Statement for 1940-41 146
Revenue for 1939-40 147
Revenue Estimates 1940-41 148
The Finance Bill 148
Income-tax Amendment Bill 149
Reserve Bank Amendment Bill 149
General Discussion of Budget 149
Sale of Drugs Bill 152
Coal Mines Safety (Stowing) Amendment Bill ... 152

Agriculturul Exports Cess Bill 152
Voting on Budget Demands 153
Debate on the Finance Bill 156, 157
Removal of Disabilities of Overseas Indians ... 156
Modification of Fiscal Polity 157
British Subjects' Defence Service Bill 159
Defence of India Amendment Bill 159
Agricultural Produce Cess Bill 160
Insurance Act Amendment Bill 160
Parsi Marriage & Divorce Act 161
Tariff Act Amendment Bill 161
The Drugs Bill 161
Mines Act Amendment Bill 161
Petroleum Act Amend. Bill 161
Moter Vehicles Act Amendment Bill 161
THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL 162
List of Members 162
JANUARY SESSION—CALCUTTA—3RD. TO 19TH. JANUARY 1940 162
Bengal Money-lenders' Bill 162, 163
Boundaries of Bengal 163
Law & Order in Bengal 163
BUDGET SESSION—CALCUTTA—16TH. FEBRUARY TO 2ND. APRIL 1940 164
General Discussion of the Budget 164
Non-official Bills 165, 167
The Bengal Finance Amendment Bill '40 ... ... 166, 167
Release of Political Prisoners 166
Bengal Tenancy 3rd Amendment Bill 167, 168
Bengal Jute Regulation Bill 1940 168
Official Bills Discussed 168
THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 169
List of Members 169
THE BUDGET SESSION—CALCUTTA—15TH. FEBRUARY TO 19TH. APRIL 1940 171
Financial Statement for 1940-41 171
The Bengal Finance Amendment Bill 172
Externment Order—Adjournment Motion 172
General Discussion of Budget 173, 174
Criticism of Order on Newspaper 173
Bengal Jute Regulation Bill 1939 174
War Bonus to Mill Employees 175
Voting on Budget Demands 176, 178
Bengal Non-Agricultural Provisions Bill 178
Resolution on Niemeyer Award 178
Press Censorship Criticised 180
Protest Against Ban on Congress 180
THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 181
List of Members 181
BUDGET SESSION—LAHORE—8TH. JANUARY TO 29TH. APRIL 1940 182
Review of Punjab's Finances 182
Primary Education Bill 183

Working of Debt Relief Act 183
Health Insurance Bill 183
Ghee Colourisation Bill 184
State Aid to Industries Bill 184
Official Bills Introduced 184
Punjab Thal Bill 184
The Factories Amendment Bill 184
Hunger-strike in Ferozepur Jail 185
Tribal Raid in Punjab 185
Excise Amendment Bill 186
The Debt Relief Bill 186
Financial Statement for 1940-41 187
Voting on Budget Demands 188
Ban on Khaksars—Premier's Explanation 189
Punjab War Service Bill 190
Cr. P. C. Amendment Bill 190

THE SIND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 191

List of Members 191

BUDGET SESSION—KARACHI—26TH. JANUARY TO 1ST. APRIL 1940 191

Resignation of Hindu Ministers 191
Adjournment Motions Ruled out 192
Vaids & Hakims Bill 192
Correction in Non-official Bills 192
Press Act Repeal Bill 192
The Prohibition Bill 193
Law and Order in Sind 193
Court of Enquiry Bill 196
Frontier Regulation Extension Bill 196
Hindu Women's Inheritance Bill 196
The Debt Relief Bill 196
The Agriculturists Marketing Bill 197, 201
Financial Statement for 1940-41 197
No-confidence in Ministry 199
Voting on Budget Demands 200
New Ministry Formed 200
New Premier Outlines Policy 200
Jt. Electorate Seat Reservation Bill 201

THE ASSAM LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 202

List of Members 202

BUDGET SESSION—SHILLONG—22ND. FEBRUARY TO 21ST. MARCH 1940 203

Financial Statement for 1940-41 203
General Discussion of Budget 204
Land Revenue Registration Amendment Bill ... 204
The Temple-Entry Bill 204
Voting on Budget Demands 204
Finance Bill Passed 205
Ministers' Salaries Bill 205
No-Confidence Motions 205
Non-official Bills Passed 205

THE MADRAS BUDGET FOR 1940-41 205
THE ORISSA BUDGET FOR 1940-41 206
THE U. P. BUDGET FOR 1940-41 207
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 210
Names of the President and Ex-Presidents of the Indian National Congress and Elected Members of the A. I. C. C. for 1940 211
PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE 214
WARDHA—19TH. JAN. TO 21ST. JANUARY 1940 214
Turkish Relief Fund 214
Authority to the Treasurer to Appoint Attorneys ... 214
Assembly Bye-Election 215
In Punjab 215
„ Utkal 215
„ Bengal 215
GENERAL SECRETARY'S CIRCULARS 217
Independence Day 217
The President's Appeal 218
The President's Instructions 218
Independence Day Celebrations 219
Presidential Election 219
Results of the Election 220
Gandhi-Viceroy Interview 220
President's correspondence with Shri Sarat Chandra Bose 222
Gandhiji on the Present Situation 223
The Charkha 223
The Dissentients 225
The Independence Day 227
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 228
53RD SESSION—RAMGARH—19TH & 20TH MARCH 1940 228
A Brief Summary of Proceedings 228
TEXT OF THE RESOLUTIONS 228
India and the War-Crisis 228,231
Gandhiji's Speech 230
THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE 231
Summary of Proceedings 231
SUBJECTS COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS
RAMGARH—17TH TO 19TH MARCH 1940 231
Condolence 231
Mahatma Gandhi's Address 232
Non-official Resolutions 234
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS
RAMGARH—20TH MARCH 1940 235
Appointment of Auditors 235
Next Session of the Congress 235
The New Working Committee 235

WORKING COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS
PATNA—28TH FEBRUARY TO 1ST MARCH 1940 235
Baghalkand 235
Bengal 235
Ajmer 236
Delhi 236
India and War Crisis 236

WORKING COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS
RAMGARH—15TH. TO 18TH. MARCH 1940 236
Non-official Resolutions 237
Caxton Hall Tragedy 237
GENERAL SECRETARY'S CIRCULARS 237, 244
Circular No. I Dated 23rd March 237
Circular No. II Dated 23rd. March 237
Circular No. III Dated 25th. March 238
Circular No. IV Dated 29th March 238
Pledge 240
Every Congress Committee a Satyagrahi Committee ... 240
The National Week 242

THE WORKING COMMITEE PROCEEDINGS
WARDHA—15TH. TO 19TH. APRIL 1940 243
Condolence 243
Women's Department 243
Indian States 243
Volunteer Organisation 243
Satyagraha 244
GENERAL SECRETARY'S CIRCULARS 244
Circular No. 1 dated 10th April 244
Circular No. 2 dated 16th April 244
Circular No. 3 dated 23rd April 245
Circular No. 4 dated 3rd May 245
Circular No. 5 dated 3rd May 245
Circular No. 6 dated 3rd May 245
Circular No. 7 dated 4th May 246
NATIONAL WEEK 246
SATYAGRAHA PREPARATIONS IN PROVINCES 247
Andhra 247
Assam 247
Bengal 247
Bihar (up to 1st May, 1940) 247
Karnatak (up to 18th April, 1940) 247
Kerala up to 23rd April, 1940) 247
Mahakoshal (up to 1st May, 1940) 247
Maharashtra (up to 18th April, 1940) 248
North West Frontier Province (up to 24th April, 1940) 248
Punjab (up to 15th April, 1940) 248
Sind (up to 27th April, 1940) 248
Tamil Nadu (up to 16th April, 1940) 249

United Provinces (up to 26th April, 1940) 249
Utkal (up to 2nd May, 1940) 249
Vidarbha (up to 2nd May, 1940) 249
Gujerat 250
ARRESTS, IMPRISONMENTS AND SEARCHES ETC. 250
In Bengal 250
In the United Provinces 254
In Madras 256
In Bihar 257
In Punjab 258
In Sind 258
In Assam 258
In Bombay 259
In Delhi 259
In Karnatak 259
In N. W. F. P. 259
In Maharashtra 259
In Utkal 259
In Ajmere Merwara 259
THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT 261
National Demand 261
Congress Machinery 262
Foreign Policy 262
Stalemate in the Congress 262
Reform in the Congress Machinery 263
Indians in Ceylon 264
Indians in South Africa 265
Political Prisoners 266
Demonstrations on July 9 & Disciplinary Action Against Shri Subhas Chandra Bose 266
National Planning Committee 267
War Crisis 268
Communal Problem 272
Bengal Dispute 275
Affairs in India States 279
In Travancore 280
In Mysore 281
In Jaipur 281
In Hyderabad 282
In Orissa 282
In Limbdi 283
Congress Governments 283
In Madras 284
„ Bombay 284
„ United Provinces 284
„ Orissa 284
„ Assam 285
„ Bihar 285
„ Central Provinces 285
OBSERVANCE OF DAYS 285

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

53RD SESSION—RAMGARH—19TH & 20TH MARCH 1940 286

The Welcome Address 286
Bihar and its Historical Importance 286
Republics Flourishing in Bihar 287
Empire of Asoka 287
'A blind follower of Gandhi' 288
A Lesson from the Past 289
Presidential Address 290
"Made a Belligerent without being consulted ... 291
The Congress Demand 292
Britain and the first step of the Congress ... 293
Minorities and Indian's Political Future ... 295
Britain's attempt to exploit the situation ... 296
Basic Question for Indian Muslims 298
Islam's Contribution to India 299
Heritage of our Common Nationality 299

Resolutions 228

THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE 301

WORKING COMMITTEE—NEW DELHI—3RD. TO 6TH. FEBRUARY 1940 301

Jinnah-Viceroy Correspondence 301
Disciplinary Action 301
Other Resolutions 301

WESTERN DEMOCRACY UNSUITED FOR INDIA

Mr. Jinnah's Thesis 302

COUNCIL MEETING—NEW DELHI—25TH. FEBRUARY 1940

Mr. Jinnah on League Demands 305
Resolutions—Constitutional Issue 306
Viceroy's Speech Condoned 307
Frontier Question 307

ANNUAL (27TH) SESSION—LAHORE—22ND. MARCH 1940 307

The Welcome Address 307
Presidential Address 308

RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—LAHORE—23RD. MARCH 1940 311

Constitutional Problem 311

RESOLUTIONS—THIRD DAY—LAHORE—24TH. MARCH 1940 314

Resolution on Palestine 314
Resolution on Khaksars 315
Amendments in League Constitution 315
Mr. Jinnah's Concluding Remarks 316

WORKING COM. RESOLUTIONS—BOMBAY—15TH. & 16TH. JUNE '40 316

Appeal to Government 316
Enemy Aggression 317
War Committees 317
Volunteer Organisation 318

THE BOMBAY MUSLIM LEAGUE CONFERENCE 319

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—HUBLI—24TH MAY 1940 319

THE ANDHRA MUSLIM POLITICAL CONFERENCE 320
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—SAMALKOT—28TH JANUARY 1940 320
THE SHIA ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE 321
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—LUCKNOW—14TH APRIL 1940 321
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—LUCKNOW—15TH APRIL 1940 322
Rights of Shias 322
THE INDEPENDENT MUSLIM CONFERENCE 323
FIRST SESSION—NEW DELHI—27TH TO 30TH APRIL 1940 323
Welcome Address 323
Presidential Address 323
Danger of Aggressive Communalism 324
Britain and India 324
League's Credential Questioned 325
Two Nations Theory 325
Partition Proposals Examined 325
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—NEW DELHI—28TH APRIL 1940 327
Independence as Goal of Muslims ... 327
RESOLUTIONS—THIRD DAY—NEW DELHI—29TH APRIL 1940 329
Pakistan Move Denounced 329
Constituent Assembly 330
RESOLUTIONS—FOURTH DAY—NEW DELHI—30TH APRIL 1940 330
The Communal Problem ... 330
Resolution on War 332
Baluchistan 332
Support to Handloom Industry 332
President's Concluding Speech 332
THE ALL INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA 333
WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING—NEW DELHI—10TH & 11TH FEB. 1940 333
Consideration of Viceroy's Offer 333
League of Nations to Settle Communal issue ... 333
RESOLUTIONS—2ND DAY—NEW DELHI—11TH FEBRUARY 1940 333
Recruitment to Army 333
WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING—BOMBAY—18TH. MAY 1940 334
Demand for Dominion Status after the War ... 334
Military Training for Indians 334
Co-operation with Census Authorities 334
RESOLUTIONS—2ND. DAY—BOMBAY—19TH. MAY '40 335
Cultural Contact with Burmans 335
Sympathy for Hindu Sufferers in Burma 335
Bose-League Pact Detrimental to Hindus 335
Pakistan Scheme Condemned 335
THE TAMIL NAD HINDU MAHASABHA CONFERENCE 335
Presidential Address 335
THE BIHAR PROVINCIAL HINDU MAHASABHA 337
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—RANCHI—14TH. APRIL '40 337
RESOLUTIONS—2ND DAY—RANCHI—15TH. APRIL '40 338

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA 338
COUNCIL MEETING—BOMBAY—18TH. FEBRUARY '40 338
Text of Resolutions Passed 338
COUNCIL MEETING—POONA—23RD. JUNE '40 339
Text of Resolutions Passed 339
THE A. I. FORWARD BLOC CONFERENCE 340
SECOND SESSION—NAGPUR—18TH. JUNE '40 340
The Welcome Address 340
The Presidential Address 340
THE A. I. ANTI-COMPROMISE CONFERENCE 342
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—RAMGARH—19TH MARH '40 342
RESOLUTIONS—2ND DAY—RAMGARH—20TH MARCH 1940 345
Struggle for Freedom 345
Attitude to War 345
Ahrars Congratulated 346
Other Resolutions 346
THE ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE 347
14TH SESSION—ALLAHABAD—27TH JANUARY 1940 347
The Welcome Address 347
The Presidential Address 347
PROCEEDINGS & RESOLUTIONS—28TH TO 31ST JANUARY 1940 348
Sympathy with China 348
Appeal to Women of Warring Countries 348
Findings Committee Report 348
Labour vs. Capital 349
War Resolution 350
Sympathy with Turks 352
Maternity Benefit Scheme 352
Special Legislation for Women 352
Women and Children in Unregulated Industries ... 353
Child Labour 353
Women in Agricultural Labour 353
Indigenous Industries 353
Literacy Drive 354
Vocational Training 354
Citizenship 354
Social Reform 355
Children's Protection 355
Women Police 355
Veneral Diseases Cases 355
Obscene Films Etc. 355
Social Contacts 355
Family Planning 355
Evil Social Customs 356
THE ALL INDIA AKALI CONFERENCE 356
RESOLUTIONS—ATTARI—12TH FEBRUARY 1940 356
Sikhs and the Congress 356

THE KHALSA NATIONAL PARTY 357
RESOLUTIONS—LAHORE—29TH MARCH 1940 357
Pakistan Idea Condemned 357
THE U. P. SIKH CONFERENCE 357
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—LUCKNOW—15TH APPRIL 1940 357
THE ALL INDIA KSHATRIYA MAHASABHA 358
RESOLUTIONS—PATNA—15TH APRIL 1940 358
Pakistan Idea Denounced 358
THE BERAR PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE 358
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—YEOTMAL—14TH JANUARY 1940 358
Sardar Patel's Opening Address 359
Resolutions 359
THE TAMIL NAD PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE 360
41ST SESSION—CHINGLEPUT—3RD FEBRUARY 1940 360
The Welcome Address 361
Mr. Desai's Opening Speech 363
Resolutions—Temple Entry Reform 365
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—4TH FEBRUARY 1940 365
Loyalty to Congress 365
Madras Ministry Felicited 365
Extension of Prohibition 365
Appeal to South India Muslims 366
Patriotic Attitude of Indian Christians 366
Introduction of Hindusthani 366
Agricultural Prices 367
Remission to Cultivators 367
The Palar Dispute 367
THE BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE 367
SPECIAL SESSION—DACCA—25TH MAY 1940 367
Presidential Address 367
Mr. Subhas Bose's Speech 368
Resolutions 368
THE GANDHI SEVA SANGHA CONFERENCE 369
SIXTH SESSION—MALIKANDA—20TH FEBRUARY 1940 369
Mahatma Gandhi's Speech 369
The Presidential Address 370
SECOND DAY—MALIKADA—21ST FEBRUARY 1940 370
Sangha to Forget Politics 370
THIRD DAY—MALIKANDA—22ND FEBRUARY 1940 371
Reorientation of Sangha 371
New Executive Formed 372
THE VICEROY'S DECLARATION 372
ORIENT CLUB—BOMBAY—10TH JANUARY 1940 372
Dominion Status as Governments objective 372
Provincial Autonomy 373

Suspension of Federation 374
War Aims 374
No Question of Good Faith & Sincerity 374
Claims of Minorities 375
No Dispute as to objective 375

THE INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE 376

23RD SESSION—ALLAHABAD—2ND JANUARY 1940 376

The Welcome Address 376
The Presidential Address 376
Socialism and Gandhism 377
Recent Trend in Indian Economy 377
Trade-Agreement 378
National Inst. of Economic & Social Research ... 378
Public-Finance 379
Pt. Jawaharlal's Opening Speech 379

THE ALL INDIA STATISTICAL CONFERENCE 380

THIRD SESSION—MADRAS—3RD JANUARY 1940 380

The Welcome Address 380
The Governor's Opening Speech 381
The Presidential Address 382
Aid to Improve Human Life 382
Mathematics and Statistics 383
Defect in Teaching of Statistics 383
Position in India 384
Statistical Institutes Work Review 384
Dr. P. J. Thomas' Address 385
Mr. Yeats on aim of Census 386

FEDFRATION OF INDIAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE 389

ANNUAL SESSION—NEW DELHI—30TH MARCH 1940 389

The Presidential Address 389
Government's Attitude to Industry 389
Trade Agreements 390
Accumulation of Sterling Resources 391
Importance of National Shiping 391

PROCEEDINGS AND RESOLUTIONS 392

Protest against Excess Profits Bill 392
Supply Requirements 392
Control of Prices 392
Plea for Indian Mercantile Marine 392
Preserving Export Trade of India 394
India's Export Trade 394

RESOLUTIONS 2ND DAY—NEW DELHI—31ST MARCH 1940 394

Scientific Protection of Industries Demanded ... 394
Industrial Research 395
Indians Overseas 395
Customs Draw-backs and Allowances 396

BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN STATES 397

THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES 398

ANNUAL SESSION—NEW DELHI—11TH MARCH 1940 398

Viceroy's Opening Address 398
Princes and the Impact of War 398
Famine in Rajputana and Kathiwar 398
Issue of Federation 398
Resolution on War 400
Standing Committee to continue 401
Review of Years' Work 401

RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—NEW DELHI—12TH MARCH 1940 402

Princes and Dominion Status 402
Administrative Reforms 404

ALL INDIA STATES' PEOPLES' CONFERENCE 405

STANDING COMMITTEE—BOMBAY—10TH TO 13TH FEBRUARY 1940 405

Princes' Attitude Deplored 405

THE BARODA STATE PROJA MANDAL 406

SIXTEENTH SESSION—MEHSANA—27TH & 28TH APRIL 1940 406

The Presidential Address 406
Reforms in the State 406
Advice to Co-operate with New Regime ... 406
The League and the State 407

RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—28TH APRIL 1940 407

Constitutional Reforms 407
Baroda Riot Enquiry 407
Mr. Patel's Exhortation 407
Mr. Desai's Speech 408

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA 409

THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS 410

TWENTY-SEVENTH SESSION—MADRAS—2ND JANUARY 1940 410

The Welcome Address 410
The Governor's Opening Address 411
The Presidential Address 412
Early History of the Deccan 413
A Primeval Landscape 413
The Decan Trap Country 414
Deccan Before Eruptive Period 415
Dawn of Tertiary Era 415
Age of the Deccan Lavas 417

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OE SCIENCES 417

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING—MADRAS—2ND JANUARY 1940 417

The Presidential Address 417
Research Facilities Inadequate 418

Agency for Co-ordination 418
India an Emporium of Drugs 419
Classification of Plants 420

THE INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE 421

SECOND SESSION—LAHORE—2ND JANUARY 1940 421

Governor's Opening Address 421
The Presidential Address 421
Functions of Government and Parties ... 421
Electorates and the Services 422
The War and India 423

THE ALL INDIA STUDENTS' FEDERATION 423

FIFTH SESSION—NEW DELHI—1ST JANUARY 1940 423

The Welcome Address 423
The Presidential Address 423

RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—NEW DELHI—2ND JANUARY 1940 424

Independence Day Celebration 424
Greetings to World Students Bureau 424
Message to British Students 425
Women Students 425
Repression in States 425
Promotion of Communal Harmony 425
The National Struggle 425
Resolution on War 425

THE UNITED PROVINCES STUDENTS' CONFERENCE 426

THIRD SESSION—LUCKNOW—29TH JANUARY 1940 426

Presidential Address 426
Resolutions 426

THE ASSAM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE 426

TENTH SESSION—SHILLONG—28TH MAY 1940 426

Presidential Address 426
Resolutions 426

THE CONVOCATION ADDRESSES 427

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 427

Governor's Opening Speech 427
Sir Mirza Ismail's Convocation Speech 427
The Vice-Chancellor's Speech 429

THE GURUKUL VISHVA VIDYALAYA CONVOCATION 430

Mr. Aney's Convocation Address 430

THACKERSAY WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 434

Sir Sitaram's Opening Speech 434
Sir M. Visvesvaraya's Convocation Address ... 437

THE DELHI UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION 442

Mr. Sargent's Convocation Address 442
Sir Jagdish Prasad's Address 446

Administration of India 1940

Administration of India 1940

Reigning Sovereign—His Majesty George the VI

India Office

Secretary of State for India—The Right Hon. Mr. L. S. Amery. (*April 1940*)

Permanent Under-Secretary of State—Sir Find-later Stewart, G. C. B., G. C. I. E., C. S. I., L. L. D.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State—The Duke of Devonshire.

Advisers to the Secretary of State—Sir H. Strakosch, G. B. E, Sir A. A. L. Parsons, K. C. I. E., Sir H. Williamson, C. I. E., M. B. E., Sir J. Clay, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., O. B. E., E. Raghavendra Rao, Lt.—Col. Sir H. Suhrawardy, O. B. E, Sir J. A. Woodhead, K. C. S. I., C. I. E, Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganathan, Sir Courtenay Latimer, K. C. I. E., C. S I.

High Commissioner of India—Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon, K. C. I. E.

Trade Commissioner for India—Sir David Meek, Kt., C. I. E., O. B. E.

Government of India

(*Area—1,808,679 Sq. miles, with a population of 352,837,778 of people—nearly one-fifth of human race*)

Viceroy and Governor-General

His Excellency The Most Hon'ble The Marquess of Linlithgow, P. C., KT., G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E., O. B. E., D. L., T. D., (*18th April 1936*).

Commander-in-Chief in India—His Excellency General Sir Robert Cassels, G. C. S. I., G. C. B., C. S. I., D. S. O.

Executive Council

The Hon'ble Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, M. B. E., C. I. E., I. C. S. (*Education, Health and Lands*).

The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, K. C. S. I., (*Law*).

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, K. C. S. I., C. I. E, I. C. S., (*Home*).

The Hon'ble Sir Andrew Clow, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S. (*Communications*).

The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman, C. S. I., C. I. E, I. C. S. (*Finance*).

The Ron'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (*Commerce and Labour*).

President, Legislative Assembly—The Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim, K. C. S. I.

President, Council of State—The Hon. Sir Manekji Byramji Dadabhoy, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.

Numerical Strength of Parties

(a) In Central Assembly

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

(b) In Council of State

Independent Progressive Party	9
Congress Party	8
Muslim League	7
	24

Government of Bengal

(*Area 82,955 sq. miles ; population—51,087,838*)

Governor

His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E. (*Nov. 1939*)

Council of Ministers

The Hon. Mr. Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq, *Chief Minister* (*Education*)

The Hon. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E., (*Home, Constitution and Election*)

The Hon. Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, Kt., (*Revenue*)

The Hon. Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur of Dacca, (*Public Health, Medical and Local Self-Government*)

The Hon. Maharaja Srischandra Nandy of Kassimbazar, (*Communication and Works*)

The Hon. Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, (*Finance, Commerce and Labour*)

The Hon. Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur, (*Judicial and Legislative Dept*)

The Hon. Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikut. (*Forest and Excise*)

The Hon. Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick, (*Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness*)

The Hon. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan. (*Agriculture, Industries, Veterinary and Rural Reconstruction*)

Speaker, **Legislative Assembly** :—The Hon. Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Haq, C.I.E.

President, **Legislative Council** :—The Hon. Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mittra

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
Krishak Proja 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

(*Area—77,221 Sq. miles* ; *population—18,192,476*)

Governor

H. E. Sir Lawrence Roger Lumley, G. C. I. E., T. D. (*18th. Sept. 1937*)

Advisers to H. E. the Governor

The Congress Ministry having resigned the Governor assumed Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following advisers :—

Sir Gilbert Wiles, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., I. C. S.

J. A. Madan, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

H. F. Knight, C. I. E., I. C. S.

Speaker, Legislative Assembly—The Hon. Ganesh Vashudeo Mavalankar

President, Legislative Council—The Hon. M. M. Pakvasa

Government of Madras

(*Area—124,363 Sq. miles* ; *population—47,193,602*)

Governor

H. E. the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Hope, G. C. I. E., M. C.

Council of advisers

The Congress Ministry having resigned the Governor assumed Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following advisers :—

G. T. Boag, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

H. M. Hord, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

T. G. Rutherford, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Speaker, Legislative Assembly—The Hon. Sri B. Sambamurti

President, Legislative Council—The Hon. Dr. U. Rama Rao

Govt. of the United Provinces

(*Area—112,191 sq. miles* ; *population—49,614,833*)

Governor

His Excellency Sir Maurice Garnier Hallett, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Dec. 7, 1939*)

Advisers to H. E. the Governor

The Congress Ministry having resigned the Governor assumed Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following advisers :—

P. W. Marsh, B.A. (*Oxon*), C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Revenue, Rural Development, Agriculture, Forests, Communications and Irrigation, (*Appointed 4 Nov. 1939*)

Dr. Panna Lall, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B. (*Cantab*), D. Litt, (*Agra*), Bar-at- Law, C.I.E., I.C.S., Education, Industries, Local Self-Government and Public Health.

(*Appointed Navember 3, 1939*)

T. Sloan, M.A. (*Glas*), C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Home Affairs, Finance, Justice and Jails. (*Appointed November 4, 1939*)

Speaker, **Legislative Assembly** :—The Hon. Shri Purushottamdas Tandon, M.A. LL.B.

President, **Legislative Council** :—The Hon. Dr. Rai Bahadur Sir Sita Ram, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

Government of Behar

(*Area—69,348 sq. miles* ; *population—32,558,050*)

Governor

H. E. Sir Thomas Alexander Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Advisers to H. E. the Governor

The Congress Ministry having resigned the Governor assumed Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following advisers :—

E. R. J. R. Cousins, C.I.E., I.C.S. and R. E. Russell, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Speaker, **Legislative Assembly** :—The Hon. Mr. Ramdayalu Sinha, B.A., LL.B.

President, **Legislative Council** :—The Hon. Mr. Rajivranjan Prasad Sinha, M.A.

Government of Assam

(*Area—67,334 sq. miles* ; *population—8,62,251*)

Governor

H. E. Sir Robert Niel Reid, M.A. (*Oxon*), K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. (*March 4, '37*)

Council of Ministers

The Hon. Maulavi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadulla, M.A., B.L.

The Hon. Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, B.L.

The Hon. Maulavi Munawwar Ali, B.A., LL.B.

The Hon. Srijut Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarti, B.A.

The Hon. Khan Sahib Maulavi Mudabbir Hussain Chaudhuri, B.L.

The Hon. Dr. Mahendra Nath Saikia, L.M.P.

The Hon. Maulavi Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, B.L.

The Hon. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Sayidur Rahman, M.A., B.L.

The Hon. Miss Mavis Dunn, B.A., B.T., B.L.

The Hon. Sj. Rupnath Brahma. B L.

Speaker, **Legislative Assembly** :—The Hon. Mr. Basanta Kumar Das, B.L.

President, **Legislative Council** :—The Hon. Sj. Heramba Prasad Barua, M.A., B.L.

Govt. of the Punjab

(*Area—136, 330 sq. miles* ; *population—28, 490, 857*)

Governor

H. E. Sir Henry Duffield Craik, Bart, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (*8th. April 1938*)

Council of Ministers

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

The Hon. Sardar Bahadur Dr. Sardar Sir Sundar Singh Majithia, Kt., C.I.E., D.O.L., (*Revenue*)

The Hon. Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Sir Chhotu Ram, B.A., I L B. (*Development*)

The Hon. Mr. Manohar Lal, M.A. (*Finance*)

The Hon. Mr. Nawabzada Major Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana. (*Public Works*)

The Hon. Mian Abdul Haye. (*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., LL.B., M.B.E., —*Development*

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

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

Speaker, **Legislative Assembly** :—The Hon. Sir Sahabuddin Choudhury, K.B., Kt.

Numerical Strength of Parties

Ministerial Party	111
Congress Party	39
Independents	20
Ahrar Party	2
Vacant	2
	174

Govt. of Central Provinces

(*Area—131,559 Sq. miles* ; *population—15,323,058*)

Governor

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

Advisers to the Governor

The Congress Ministry having resigned the Governor assumed Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following advisers :—

Sir Geoffrey Pownall Burton, K.C.I.E. I.C.S.

H. C. Greenfield, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Speaker, Legislative Assembly :—The Hon. Mr. Ghanashyam Singh Gupta

Government of Orissa

(*Area—32,000 Sq. miles* ; *population—8,500,000*)

Governor

H. E. Sir John Austen Hubback, K.C.S.I., J.P. (Appointed April 1, 1936)

Advisers to Governor

The Congress Ministry having resigned the Governor assumed Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following advisers :—

Eric C. Ansorage. C.I.E., I.C.S.

Speaker, Legislative Assembly :—The Hon. Mr. Mukunda Prasad Das

Government of Sind

(*Area—46,378 Sq. miles* ; *population—3,887,000*)

Governor

H. E. Sir Lancelot Graham, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S. (1st April 1936)

Council of Ministers

The Hon. Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Mir Muhammad Hassan Khan Talpur, (*Premier*)

The Hon. Mr. Nihchaldas Chatumal Vazirani. (*Revenue*)

The Hon. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Shah Muhammad Khan Khuhro. (*Public Works*)

The Hon. Mr. Abdul Majid Lilaram Shaikh. (*Finance, Medical and Public Health and Excise*).

The Hon. Rao Sahib Gokuldas Mewaldas. (*Local Self-Government, Agriculture and Veterinary*).

The Hon. Mr. Ghulam Murtaza Shah Muhammad Shah Sayed, (*Education, Labour, Industries, Forests and Rural Reconstruction*)

Speaker, Legislative Assembly :—The Hon. Mr. Syed Miran Mahomed Shah

Numerical Strength of Parties

IN ASSEMBLY

Govt. Supporters :—	
Independents	20
Hindu Independent Party	10
European Group	3
Independent Baluch Party	5
	38
Opposition :—	
Congress	10
Muslim League	8
Independents	1
	19
No Party	2

N. W. Frontier Government

(*Area—36,356 Sq. miles*; *population—4,684,364*)

Governor

H. E. Sir George Cunningham, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., O.B.E. (2nd March 1937)

Council of Advisers

The Congress Ministry having resigned the Governor assumed Administrative and Legislative Powers assisted by the following Advisers :—

The Hon'ble Lt.-Col. Sir Arthur Parsons, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., D.S.O.

Speaker, Legislative Assembly :—The Hon. Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan, B.A., LL.B.

Government of Burma

(*Area—261,000 sq. miles*; *population—14,667,146*)

Governor

H. E. the Hon. Sir Archibald Douglas Cochrane, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.

Council of Ministers

The Hon. U Pu, Bar-at-Law, *Premier* (*Home Affairs*)

The Hon. Sir Paw Tun, A.T.M., Bar-at Law. (*Lands and Revenue*)

The Hon. U Htoon Aung Gyaw, Bar-at-Law. (*Finance*)

The Hon. U Saw. (*Agriculture and Forests*)

The Hon. Saw Po Chit, Bar-at-Law. (*Education*)

The Hon. U. Tharawaddy Maung Maung, B.Sc. (*Illinois U.S.A.*) (*Health and Public Works*)

The Hon. Captain Maung Aye. Bar-at-Law. (*Judicial Affairs*)

The Hon. U Ba Than. (*Commerce and Industry*)

President of the Senate :—The Hon. U Maung Gyee, Bar-at-Law

Speaker of the House of Representatives —The Hon. U. Chit Hlaing. Bar-at-Law.

Federal Court of India

Chief Justice

Hon. Sir Maurice Linford Gwyer K.C.B., K.C.S.I.,

Judges

Hon. Sir Shah Mahomed Sulaiman, Kt. M.A., L.L.D.

Hon. Sir Srinivasa Varadachary.

Bengal Judicial Department

High Cout—Calcutta

Chief Justice

Derbyshire, The Hon. Sir Harold, Kt., K.C., M.C.

Puisne Judges

Costello, The Hon. Mr. Justice Leonard Wilfred James, Kt., M.A., LL.B. Bar-at-Law.

Lort-Williams, The Hon. Mr. Justice John, Kt. K.C.

Ghose, The Hon. Mr. Justice Sarat Kumar, M.A., I.C.S.

Panckridge, The Hon. Mr. Justice Hugh Rahere, Bar-at-Law.

Ameer Ali, The Hon. Mr. Justice Torick, Bar-at-Law.

Bartley, The Hon. Mr. Justice Charles, I.C.S., Bar-at-Law.

Mc Nair, The Hon. Mr. Justice George Douglas, Bar-at-Law.

Ali, The Hon. Mr. Justice Syed Nasim,

Henderson, The Hon. Mr. Justice Allen Gerald,

Mitter, The Hon. Mr. Justice Roopendro Coomar,
Khundkar, The Hon. Mr. Justice N. A., Bar-at-Law.
Rao, The Hon. Mr. Justice Benegal Narsinga, KT., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Edgley, The Hon. Mr. Justice Norman George Armstrong, I.C.S., Bar-at-Law.
Mookerjee, The Hon. Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar, M.A., D.L.
Biswas, The Hon. Mr. Justice Charu Chandra, M.A., B.L.
Lodge, The Hon. Mr. Justice Ronald Francis, B.A., I.C.S.
Sen, The Hon. Mr. Justice Amarendra Nath, Bar-at-Law.
Roxburgh, The Hon. Mr. Justice T. J. Y., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Officiating Judge

Akram, The Hon. Mr. Justice A.S.M.

Advocate-General

Sir Asok Kumar Roy, KT. Barrister-at-Law.

Bombay Judicial Department

High Court—Bombay

Chief Justice

Beaumont, The Hon. Sir J. W. F., K.C., M.A. (*Cantab*)

Puisne Judges

Blackwell, The Hon. Mr. Justice Cecil Patrick, KT, M.B E., Bar-at-Law.
Broomfield, The Hon. Mr. Justice R. S., B.A., I.C.S. Barrister-at-Law.
Wadia, The Hon. Mr. Justice Bomanji Jamshedji, Barrister-at-Law.
Kania, The Hon, Mr. Justice Harilal Jekisondas, LL.B.
Wadia, The Hon. Mr. Justice Navroji Jehangir, I.C.S. Barrister-at-Law.
Divatia, The Hon. Mr. Justice Harsidhbhai Vajubhai, M.A., LL.B.,
Macklin, The Hon. Mr. Justice A. S. R., I.C.S.
Wasudev, The Hon. Mr. Justice K. B., LL.B.,
Somjee, The Hon. Mr. Justice, M.A., Bar-at-Law.
Sen, The Hon. Mr. Justice K. C., I.C.S. (*Additional Judge*)

Advocate-General

Setalvad, M. C., B A., LL.B., Advocate

Madras Judicial Department.

High Court—Madras

Chief-Justice

Leach, The Hon'ble Sir Lionel., KT, Bar-at-Law.

Puisne Judges

Burn, The Hon. Mr. Justice S., Kt., I. C. S.
Mockett, The Hon. Mr. Justice V.
Pandurang Row, The Hon. Mr. Justice V., I. C. S.
King, The Hon. Mr. Justice A. J., I. C. S.
Wodsworth, The Hon. Mr. Justice S., I. C. S.
Venkataramana Rao Nayudu, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice P., Rao Bahadur.
Lakshmana Rao, The Hon. Mr. Justice K. P., Diwan Bahadur
Gentle, The Hon. Mr. Justice F. W. Bar-at-Law.
Rahman, The Hon. Mr. Justice Dr. Abdur, Kt., Khan Bahadur.
Krishnaswami Ayyangar, The Hon. Mr. Justice K. S.
Somayya, The Hon. Mr. Justice B.
Patangali Sastri, The Hon. Mr. Justice M.
Horwill, the Hon. Mr. Justice L. C., I. C. S.

Behar & Orissa Judicial Dept.

High Court—Patna

Chief Justice

Harries, The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Trevor, Kt.

Puisne Judges

Wort, The Hon. Mr. Justice Alfred William Ewart, Bar-at-Law.
Fazl-ali, The Hon. Mr. Justice Saiyid, Bar-at-Law.
Dhavle, The Hon. Mr. Justice Sankara Balaji, I.C,S.
Agarwala, The Hon. Mr. Justice Clifford Monmohan, Bar-at-Law.
Varma, The Hon. Mr. Justice Sukhdev Prashad, Bar-at-Law.
Rowland, The Hon. Mr. Justice Francis George, I.C.S.
Lall, The Hon. Mr. Justice Monohar, M.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law.
Chattarji, The Hon. Mr. Justice Subodh Chandra,
Meredith, The Hon. Mr. Justice Herbert Ribton, I.C.S. (Acting Additional).

Advocate-General

Mr. Baldev Sahay, M.A., LL.B.

Burma Judicial Department

High Court—Rangoon.

Chief Justice

Roberts, The Hon'ble Sir Ernest Handforth Goodman, Barrister-at-Law.

Puisne Judges

The Hon. Justice Sir Mya Bu, Bar-at-Law.

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. G. Mosely, I.C.S.
" " " " U Ba, Bar-at-Law.
" " " " H. F. Dunkley, Bar-at-Law, I.C.S.
" " " " H. H. Mackney, I.C.S.
" " " " R. Taaffe Sharpe, Bar-at-Law.
" " " " Joseph Shaw, Bar-at-Law.
" " " " J. B. Blagden, Bar-at-Law.

Advocate-General

Maung, U Thein, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law

C. P. & Berar Judicial Dept.

High Court—Nagpur

Chief Justice

Stone, The Hon'ble Sir Gilbert, Bar-at-Law.

Puisne Judges

Grille, The Hon, Mr. Justice Frederick Louis, Kt., M.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S.

Niyogi, The Hon. Mr. Justice M. Bhawani Shankar, M.A., LL.M., C.I.E.

Pollock, The Hon. Mr. Justice Ronald Evelyn, B.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S.

Gruer, The Hon. Mr. Justice Harold George, M.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S.

Bose, The Hon. Mr. Justice Vivian, B.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law.

Puranik, The Hon. Mr. Justice Wasudeo Ramachandra, B.A., LL.B.

Advocate-general

Dutt, Walter, Barrister-at-Law.

Punjab Judicial Department

High Court—Lahore

Chief Justice

Young, The Hon'ble Sir J. Douglas, B.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Judges

Tekchand, The Hon. Mr. Justice Bakshi, M.A., L.L. B.

Dalip Singh, The Hon. Mr. Justice Kunwar, B.A., Bar-at-Law

Monroe, The Hon. Mr. Justice J. H., B.A., LL.B., K. C., Bar-at-Law.

Skemp, The Hon. Mr. Justice F. W., M.A., I.C.S.

Bhide, The Hon. Mr. Justice M. V., B.A., I.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Abdul Rashid, M.A., Bar-at-Law

Din Muhammad, The Hon. Mr. Justice Khan Bahadur, M.A., LL.B.

Blacker, The Hon. Mr. Justice H. A. C., B.A., I.C.S.

Ram Lal, The Hon. Mr. Justice Diwan, B.A., Bar-at-Law.

Sale, The Hon. Mr. Justice S. L., B.A., I.C.S.

United Provinces Judicial Dept.

High Court—Allahabad.

Chief Justice

Thom, the Hon'ble Sir John Gibb, Kt., M.A., LL.B., D.S.O., MC.

Puisne Judges

Bennet, The Hon. Mr. Justice Sir Edward, Kt., B.A., I.L.D., Bar-at-Law, J.P., I.C.S.

Iqbal Ahmad, The Hon. Mr. Justice, B.A., LL.B.

Harries, The Hon. Mr. Justice Arthur Trevor, Bar-at-Law

Singh, The Hon. Mr. Justice Rachhpal, Rai Bahadur, Bar-at-Law.

Collister, The Hon. Mr. Justice Harold James, J.P., I.C.S.

Allsop, The Hon. Mr. Justice James Joseph Whittlesea, J.P., I.C.S.

Bajpai, The Hon. Mr. Justice Uma Shankar, M.A., LL.B.

Rai Bahadur, The Hon. Mr. Justice Ganga Nath, B.A., LL. B.

Khan Bahadur, The Hon. Mr. Justice Muhammad Ismail, Bar-at-Law.

Verma, The Hon. Mr. Justice Kamala-Kantha, B.A., LL.B.

Braund, The Hon. Mr. Justice Henry Benedict Linthwaite, Bar-at-Law.

Chief Court of Oudh—Lucknow

Chief Justice

Thomas, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice George Hector, Bar-at-Law.

Judges

Khan Bahadur, The Hon. Mr. Justice Zia-ul-Hasan, B.A.

Hamilton, The Hon. Mr. Justice Archibald de Burgh, B.A., J.P., I.C.S.

Yorke, The Hon. Mr. Justice Robert Langdon, B.A., J.P., I.C.S.

Srivastava, The Hon. Mr. Justice Radha Krishna, B Sc., L.L.B. (*Addl. Judge*)

Chief Court of Sind

Chief Justice

The Hon'ble Mr. Godrey Devis, I.C.S.

Judges

The Hon'ble Mr. Charles M. Lobo, B.A., LL.B.
" " " Mr. Eric Weston, B.A., I.C.S.
" " " Mr. Hatim B. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law.

Indian States, (with Salutes)

(Area—712,508 Sq. Miles; population—81,310,845)

Assam State

Manipur—H. H. Maharaja Sir Chura Chand Singh, K.C.S.I., C.B.E. Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—15th April, 1885.
Date of succession :—18th September 1891.
Area of State in Sq. miles :—8638 (Approximately)
Population of State :—4,45,606
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Nearly Rs. 9,59,620
Salute in guns :—11

Baluchistan State

Kalat—His Highness Beglar Begi Mir Sir Mahmud Khan, G.C.I.E., Wali of—
Date of Birth :—1864
Date of Succession :—1893
Area of State in Square miles :—73,278
Population of State :—328, 281
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 17,78,000 nearly.
Salute in Guns :—19.

Baroda State

Baroda—H. H. Farzand-i-Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Maharaja Pratapsingh Gackwar, Sena Khas Khel, Shamsher Bahadur, Maharaja of
Date of birth—
Date of succession—7th February 1939
Area of State in sq. miles—8164
Population of State—2443007
Revenue for the last State financial year —221·54 lacs
Salute in guns—21

Bengal States

Cooch Behar—H. H. Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—15th December 1915
Date of succession—20th December 1922
Area of State in Sq. miles—1318·35 (Approximately)
Population of State—5,90,866
Revenue for the last State financial year—Nearly Rs. 38,08,270
Irregular Troops—112
Salute in guns—13

Tripura—His Highness Maharaja Manikya Bir Bikram Kishore Deb Barman Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth:—19th August 1908
Date of succession:—13 August 1923
Area of State in square miles:—4,116
Population of State :—382,450
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 33,42,104 (including the revenue of the Zamindaries in British India)
Indian State Forces :—Tripura Infantry
Salute in guns :—13.

Bihar & Orissa States

Kalahandi—H. H. Maharaja Brij Mohan Deo, O.B.E. Raja of—
Date of Birth :—14th May 1896
Date of Succession :—20th October 1897
Area of State in square miles :—3,745
Population of State :—415 827
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 6,42 000 (nearly)
Salute in guns :—9

Mayurbhanj—Maharaja Sir Pratap Ch. Bhanj Deo K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—18th February 1901
Date of succession :—23rd April 1928
Area of State in Sq.miles :—4,243
Population of State :—8,89,603
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Nearly Rs. 33 lacs
Salute in guns :—9

Patna—H. H. Maharaja Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—31st March 1912.
Date of succession :—16th January '24
Area of State in square miles :—2,511·7
Population of State :—566,943
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 11,60,636
Salute in guns :—9

Sonpur—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Deo, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—28th June 1874
Date of succession :—8th August '02
Area of State in square miles :—906
Population of State ;—226,751
Revenue for the last State financial year : —Rs 3,74,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—9

Bombay Presy. States

Balasinor—H. H. Babi Shri Jamiat Khanji Munavvar Khanji Nawab Saheb Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth :—10th November 1894
Date of succession :—31st December '15
Area of State in square miles :—189
Population of State :—52,525
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Cavalry—60, Infantry—177, Guns—10
Salute in guns :—9

Bansda—H. H. Maharawal Shri Indrasinhji Pratapsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth :—16th February 1888
Date of succession :—21st September '11
Area of State in square miles :—215
Population of State :—40,125

Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 7,98,000 nearly.
Salute in guns :—9

Baria—H. H. Lt. Col. Maharawal Shri Sir Ranjitsinhji Mansinhji, K.C.S.I., Raja of—
Date of birth :—10th July 1886
Date of succession :—20th February '08
Area of State in square miles :—813
Population of State :—159,429
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 15,31,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Baria Subakh Cavalry—25; Baria Ranjit Infantry—126
Salute in guns :—9.

Bhor—H. H. Meherban Shrimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao, Pant Sachiv of—
Date of birth :—20th September 1878
Date of succession :—17th July '22
Area of State in square miles :—925
Population of State :—130,420
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 6,00 000 nearly.
Salute in guns :—9

Cambay—H. H. Nawab Mirza Hussain Yawar Khan Saheb Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth :—16th May 1911
Date of succession :—21st January 1915
Area of State in Sq. miles :—392
Population of State :—87,761
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Nearly Rs. 10,00,000
Indian State Forces :— 119 Infantry; 166 Police Forces; 15 Body guards
Salute in guns :—11

Chhota Udepur (Mohan)—H. H. Maharawal Shri Natwarsinhji Fatehsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth :—16th November 1906
Date of succession :—29th August 1923
Area of State in square miles :—890·34
Population of State :—144,640
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 11,06,487
Salute in guns :—9

Danta—H. H. Maharana Shri Bhavanisinhji Hamirsinhji, Maharana of—
Date of birth :—12th September 1899
Date of succession :—20th November 1925
Area of State in square miles :—347
Population of State :—19,541
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 1,75,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—9

Dharampur—Maharana Shri Vijayadevji Mohandevji, Raja of—
Date of birth :—3rd December 1884
Date of succession :—26th March, '21
Area of State in Sq. miles :—704
Population of State :—1,12,031
Revenue for the last State financial year nearly Rs. 8,50,000
Salute in guns :—9

Idar :—His Highness Maharaja Dhiraja Shri Himmat Singhji Sahib Bahadur Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—2nd September, 1899
Date of succession :—14th April, 1931
Area of State in Sq. miles :—1,669
Population of State :—2,62,660
Gross Revenue for the last State Financial Year :—22,45,534
Indian State Forces :—Idar Sir Pratap Infantry
Salute in guns :—15

Janjira—H. H. Nawab Sidi Muhammad Khan Sidi Ahmad Khan, Nawab of—
Date of birth :—7th March 1914
Date of succession :—2nd May 1922
Area of State in square miles :—379
Population of State :—1,10,388
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 11,00,000
Salute in guns :—11

Jawhar—H. H. Shrimant Yeshwant Rao Vikramshah Alias Dada Saheb, Raja of—
Date of birth :—11th December 1917
Date of Succession :—11th December 1927
Area of State in square miles :— 310
Population of State :—57,261
Revenue for the last State financial year ;—Rs. 4,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns :—9

Khairpur—H. H. Mir Faiz Mahomed Khan Talpur, Mir of—
Date of birth :—4th. January 1913
Date of succession :—December 1935
Area of State in Square miles :—6,050
Population of State :—227,168
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 25·84 (lacs)
Indian State Forces :—Khairpur "Faiz" Light Infantry, 215; Khairpur Camel Transport Corps, 72
Salute in guns :—15

Kolhapur—Col. H. H. Shri Sir Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaj, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—30th July 1897
Date of succession :—6th May 1922
Area of State in squars miles :—3,217·1
Population of State :—9,57,137
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 1,26,86,527
Salute in guns :—19

Lunawada—Lieut. His Highness Maharana Shri Virbhadrasinhji, Rajaji Saheb of —
Date of birth :—8th June, 1910
Date of succession :—2nd October, 1930

Area of State in Sq. miles :—388
Population of State :—95,162
Gross annual average revenue of the last 5 years :—About Rs. 5,50,000
Dynastic Salute :—9 Guns

Mudhol—H. H Srimant Raja Bhairavsinh (minor), Raja of—
Date of birth :—15 Oct. '29
Date of succession :—9th Nov. '37
Area of State in square miles :—369
Population of State :—62,832
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 4,85,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Mudhol Sajjan Sinh Infantry...115
Salute in guns :—9

Rajpipla—Captain H. H. Maharana Shri Sir Vijaya Sinhji Chhatrasinhji, K.C.S.I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—30th January 1890
Date of succession :—26th Sept. '15
Area of State in Sq. miles :—1,517·50
Population of State :—2,06,085
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Nearly Rs. 24,32,000
Indian State Forces :—Rajpipla Infantry ...152 ; Rajpipla Bodyguard...25
Salute in guns :—13

Sachin—H. H. Nawab Sidi Muhammad Hydar Mohommed Yakut Khan Mubarizud Daula Nusrat Jung Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth :—11th Sept. '09
Date of succession :—19th Nov. '30
Area of State in square miles :—49
Population of State :—19,977
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 4,12,000 (nearly)
Indian State Forces :—Sachin Bodyguard ...27, Sachin Infantry...80
Salute in guns :—9

Sangli—Captain His Highness Raja Shrimant Sir Chintamanrao Dhundirao alias Appasaheb Patwardhan K.C.I.E., Raja of
Date of birth :—14th February 1890
Date of succession :—15th June 1903
Area of State in square miles :—1,136
Population of State :—2,58,442
Revenue for the last State financial year :—15,80,000
Salute in guns :—9

Sant—Maharana Shri Jorawarsinhji Pratapsinhji, Raja of—
Date of birth :—24th March 1881
Date of succession :—31st August 1896
Area of State in sq. miles :—394
Population of State :—83,531
Revenue for the last State financial year :—4,85,826
Salute in guns :—9

Savantvadi—(Minor) His Highness Raja Bahadur Shrimant Shivram Savant Bhonsle, Raja of—
Date of birth —13th August 1927
Area of State in Sq. miles :—930
Population of State :—2,30,589
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 6,13,478
Salute in guns :—9

Central India States

Ajaigarh—H. H. Maharaja Sawai Bhupal Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—13th November 1866
Date of succession :—7th June '19
Area of State in Sq. miles :—802
Population of State :—84,790
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 5,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—11

Alirajpur—H. H. Raja Pratap Singh, C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth :—12th September 1881
Date of succession :—17th August 1890
Area of State in Sq. miles :—836
Population of State :—89,364
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 5,51,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Alirajpur Cavalry ...34 ; Alirajpur Pratap Infantry...80
Salute in guns :—11

Baoni—H. H. Azam-ul-Umara Iftikhar-ud-Daulah Imad-ul-Mulk Sahib-i-Jah Mihin Sardar Nawab Mohammad Mushtaq-ul-Hasan Khan Safdar Jung, Nawab of—
Date of birth :—7th February 1896
Date of succession :—28th October '11
Area of State in Sq. miles :—121
Population of State :—19,132
Revenue for the last State financial year ,—Rs. 1,95 000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—No regular force is kept. The strength of irregular force is 65
Salute in guns :—11

Baraundha (Pathar Kachar)— Raja Gaya Pershad Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth :—1865
Date of succession :—9th July 1909
Area of State in Sq. miles :—218
Population of State :—15,912
Revenue for the last State financial year .—Rs. 45,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—9

Barwani—H. H. Debisinghji (minor), Rana of—
Date of birth :—19th July '22
Date of succession :—21st April '30
Area of State in Sq. miles :—1,178
Population of State :—141,110
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 120,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—11

Bhopal—Lt.-Col, H. H. Iftikhar-ul-Mulk Sikandar Saulat Nawab Haji Muhammad Hamidulla Khan Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I. C.V.O., Nawab of—
Date of birth :—9th September 1894
Date of succession :—17th May '26
Area of State in Sq. miles :—7,000
Population of State :—700,000
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 62,10,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Bhopal (Victoria) Lancers—141
Bhopal Sultania Infantry—772
Bhopal Gohar-i-Taj Own Company—164
Salute in guns :—19

Bijawar—H. H. Maharaja Sawai Sir Sawant Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—25th November 1877
Date of succession :—26th June 1900
Area of State in Sq. miles :—973
Population of State :—111,723
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 3,50,000
Salute in guns :—11

Charkhari—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Armardan Singh Ju Deo Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—29th December 1903
Date of succession :—6th October '20
Area of State in Sq. miles :—880
Population of State :—123,405
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 8,26,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—11

Chhatarpur—H. H. Maharaja Bhawani Singh Bahadur Maharaja of—
Date of birth—16th August, 1904
Date of succession—5th April, '32
Area of State in sq. miles—1.130
Population of State—1,61,267
Gross Revenue of the State—Nearly Rs. 12,00,000
Indian States Forces—412
Salute in guns—11

Datia—Major H. H. Maharaja Lokendra Sir Govind Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—21st June 1886
Date succession :—5th August 1907
Area of State in Sq. miles :—911
Population of State :—148,659
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 19,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Datia 1st Govind Infantry—200
Datia Govind Infantry (B Company)—117
Salute in guns guns :—15

Dewas (Senior)—H. H. Maharaja Sir Tukoji Rao Puar, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of Birth—1st January 1888
Date of succession :—13th October 1899
Area of State in Sq. miles :—449
Population of State :—77,005
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 10,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—15

Dewas (Junior Branch)—H. H. Maharaja Sadashivrao Khase Saheb Pawar, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—13th August 1887
Date of succession :—4th February 1934
Area of State in Sq. miles :—419
Population of State :—70,513
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 6,83.000
Salute in guns :—15

Dhar—H. H. Maharaja Anand Rao Puar, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—24th November '20
Date of succession :—1st August '26
Area of State in Sq. miles :—1,800·24
Population of State :—243,521
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 30,00,000
Indian State Forces :—Dhar Light Horse —66
Dhar Infantry (Laxmi Guard)—176
Salute in guns :—15

Indore—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Sawai Shri Yeshwant Rao Holkar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—6th September 1908
Date of succession :—26th February '26
Area of State in Sq.miles :—9,902
Population of State :—1,325,000
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 1,35,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Indore Holker Escort—141
Indore 1st Battalion, Maharaja Holkar's Infantry Companies "A" & "B"—380
Indore Holkar Transport Corps—266
Salute in guns :—19

Jaora :—Lieutenant Colonel His Highness Fakhrud-Daulah Nawab Sir Mohammed Iftikhar Ali Khan Bahadur, Saulat-e-Jang, G.B.E., K.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth :—17th January, 1883
Date of succession :—6th March, 1895
Area of State :—601 square miles
Population :—1,00,204
Annual Revenue :—Rs. 12,00,000
Salute :—13 guns

Jhabua—H. H. Raja Udai Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth :—6th May 1875
Date of succession :—26th April 1895
Area of State in square miles ;—1,336
Population of State :—123,932
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—11

Khilchipur :—Raja Rao Bahadur Sir Durjansalsingh K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth :—26th August 1897
Date of succession :—19th January 1908
Area of State in Sq. miles :—273
Population of State :—45,625
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 2,42,000
Salute in guns :—9

Maihar—H. H. Raja Sir Brijnath Singhji Deo Bahadur, K.C.I.E. Raja of—
Date of birth :—22nd February 1896
Date of succession :—16th Dec. 1911
Area of State in square miles :—407
Population of State :—68,991
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 5,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns :—9

Nagod (Unchehra)—H. H. Raja Mahendra Singhjee Deo Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of Birth :—5th February :—1916
Date of succession :—26th Feb. :—1926
Area of State in Sq. miles :—501·4
Population of State :—74,589
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 3,00,000 (nearly)
Salute in guns :—9

Narsinghgarh—H. H. Raja Vikram Singhji Sahib Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of birth :—21st September 1909
Date of succession :—23rd April 1924
Area of State in Sq. miles :—734
Population of State :—1,13,873
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Nearly Rs. 7,09,291
Salute in guns :—11

Orchha—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-i-Bundelkhand Shri Sawai Sir Vir Singh Dev Bahadur, K.C.S.I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—14th April 1899
Date of succession :—4th March 1930
Area of State in square miles :—2,080
Population of State :—314,661
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 13,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—15

Panna—H. H. Maharaja Mahendra Sir Yadvendra Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—31st January 1894
Date of succession :—20th June 1902
Area of State in square miles :—2,596
Population of State :—2,12,130
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 9,50,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—Panna State Chhatarsal Infantry, 164
Salute in guns :—11

Rajgarh—H. H. Raja Rawat Bikramaditya Singh Bahadur, (minor) Raja of—
Date of birth :—18th. December 1936
Date of succession :—
Area of State in square miles :—962
Population of State :—1,34,891
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 8,25,000
Salute in guns :—11

Ratlam—Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Sajjan Singh, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., A.D,C. to His Majesty the King Emperor
Date of birth :—13th January 1880
Date of succession :—29th January 1893
Area of State in squars miles :—693
Population of State :—1,07,321
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 10 lacs
Indian State Forces :—Shree Lokendra Rifles Authorised Strength—161
Salute in guns :—13

Rewa—H. H. Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Gulab Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—12th March, 1903
Date of succession :—31st October, 1918
Area of State in sq. miles :—13,000
Population of State :—1,587,445
Salute in guns :—17

Sailana—His Highness Raja Sahib Sir Dileepsinghji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth :—18th March 1891
Date of succession :—14th July, 1919
Area of State in sq. miles :—279
Population of State :—35,223
Revenue for the last State Financial Year :—Rs. 3,00,000
Indian State Forces :—The State maintains the following forces for local use :—

i. Cavalry	30
ii. Infantry	44
iii. Police	130

Salute in guns :—11

Samthar—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bir Singh Deo Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth :—26th August 1864
Date of succession :—17th June 1896
Area of State in square miles :—180
Population of State :—33,216
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 3,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—11

Sitamau—H. H. Raja Sir Ram Singh, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of Birth—2nd January 1880
Area of State in sq. miles—201
Population of State :—26,549
Revenue for the last state financial year :—Rs. 2,55,076
Indian Sate Forces :—Excepting the Police & Risala the State has no disciplined forces.
Salute in guns—11

Gwalior State

Gwalior—H. H. Maharaja Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, Azim-ul-Iqtidar, Rafi-ush-Shan, Wala Shikoh, Motasham-i-Dauran, Umdat-ul-Umra, Maharajadhiraja Alijah, Hisamus-Salta-nat George Jayaji Rao Scindia, Bahadur, Srinath, Mansur-i-Zaman, Fidwi-i-Hazrat-i-Malik-i-Muazzam-i-Rafi-ud-Darjat-i-Inglistan, Maharaja of—
Date of birth:—26th June 1916
Date of succession:—5th June 1925
Area of State in square miles:—26,367
Population of State :—3,523,070
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 241·81 lacs nearly
Indian State Forces :—
Gwalior 1st Yayaji Lancers—526
" 2nd Alijah " —526
" 3rd Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia's Own Lancers—526
" 1st Maharani Sakhya Raya's Own Battalion - 763
" 2nd Maharaja Jayaji Rao's Own Battalion—765
" 3rd Maharaja Scindia's Own Battalion—772
" 4th Maharaja Bahadur Battalion —772
" 7th Scindia's Battalion (Training) - 488
" Mountain Battery—260
Scindia's Horse Artillery—138
" Sappers Artillery—178
" Pony Transport Corps—479
Salute in Guns :—21

Hyderabad State

Hyderabad :—Lt.-General H. E. H. Asaf Jah Muzaffar-ul-Mulk wal Mamalik, Nizam-ul-Mulk Nizam-ud-Daula, Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jang, Faithful Ally of the British Government, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Nizam of—
Date of birth :—6th April 1886
Date of succession :—29th August 1911
Area of State in sq. miles :—100,465
Population of State :—17,877,986
Revenue for the last State financial year : —Rs. 894·98 lacs
Indian State Forces :—Hyderabad 1st Imperial Service Lancers, 544
Hyderabad 2nd Imperial Services Lancers, 544
Salute in guns :—21

Jammu & Kashmir State

Jammu & Kashmir—Major General His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shri Harisinghji Bahadur, Indar Mahindar, Spar-i-Saltanat-i-Englishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., L.L.D., Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir State
Date of birth :—September 1895
Date of succession :—September 1925
Area of the State in square miles :—84,471
Population of State :—36,46,243
Revenue for the last State financial year :—2,50,89,500
Salute in guns :—21
Indian State Forces :—
1st Line Troops (Fighting Services)
Jammu & Kashmir Body Guard Cavalry—653
2. 1st Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 271
3. 2nd Jammu & Kashmir Mountain Battery 271
4. 1st " " " Infantry 772
5. 2nd " " " Rifles 772
6. 3rd " " " " 772
7. 4th " " " Infantry 772
8. 5th " " " Light " 772
9. 6th " " " " " 772
10. 7th " " " " " 772
11. 8th " " " " 662
12. 9th " " " " 662
1st Line (Troops Administrative Service)
13. Jammu & Kashmir Infantry Training Battalion 659
14. Jammu & Kashmir Army Training School 26
Auxillary Service
15. Jammu & Kashmir Military Transport 280
16. Jammu & Kashmir State Band 88
17. " " " Fort Deptt. 117
18. Military Veterinary Crops 14

Madras States

Banganapalle—H. H. Nawab Saiyid Fazle Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth :—9th November 1901
Date of succession :—22nd January 1922
Area of State in sq. miles :—275
Population of State :—41,840
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 3,51,760
Salute in guns :—9

Cochin—His Highness Sri Sri Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., L.L.D., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—30th December 1861
Date of succession :—25th March 1932
Area of State in sq. miles :—1,480
Population of State :—1,205,016
Revenue for the year 1938-39 :—Rs. 1,10,23,269
Indian State Forces :—31 Officers and 371 men
Salute in guns :—17
Government—Carried on by a Diwan appointed by the Maharaja and a Development Minister who is elected by the Legislative Council which has a 2/3 elected majority and an elected Deputy President.

Pudukkottai—H. H. Sri Brihadamba Das

Raja Rajagopal Tondaiman Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of Birth :—23rd June 1922
Date of Succession :—24th October 1928
Area of State in square miles :—1,179
Population of State :—4,00,694
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 7,54,000 nearly.
Salute in guns :—11

Travancore :—H. H. Sri Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi Pala Rama Varma Kulasekhara Kiritapati Manney Sultan Maharaja Raja Ramaraja Bahadur Shamsher Jang, G C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—7th November 1912
Date of succession :—1st September 1924
Area of State in square miles :—7,625
Population of State :—5,095,973
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 264 lacs
Salute in guns :—19

Mysore :—H. H. Maharaja Sri Chamaraja Wadiar Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—18th July 1919
Date of succession :—8th September 1940
Area of State in square miles :—29,528
Population of State :—5, 859,962 (Excluding Civil and Military Station Bangalore)
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Nearly Rs. 4,13,54,000
Indian State Forces :—

Mysore	Lancers	526
„	Horse	136
„	Body Guard	125
„	1st Infantry	772
„	2nd Infantry	1130
„	Palace Guard	500

Salute in guns :—21

Punjab States

Bahawalpur :—Major H. H. Rukn-ud-Daula, Nusrat-i-Jang, Saif-ud-Daula, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Mukhlis-ud-Daula, wa-Muinud-Daula Nawab Al-Haj Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan V Abbasi, Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Nawab Ruler of—
Date of birth :—30th September 1904
Date of succession :—4th March 1907
Area of State in sq. miles :—22,000
Population of State :—Over one million
Revenue for the last State financial year —nearly Rs. 1,40,00,000
Indian State Forces :—Bahawalpur 1st Sadiq Infantry
Bahawalpur 2nd Haroon Infantry
H. H. the Nawab's Own Body Guard Lancers
Salute in guns :—17

Bilaspur (Kahlur) :—H. H. Raja Anand Chand, Raja of—
Date of birth :—26th January 1913
Date of succession :—18th November 1927
Area of State in square miles :—448
Population of State :—98,000
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—11

Chamba :—His Highness Raja Lakshman Singh, the Ruler of Chamba State (minor)
Date of birth :—8th December 1924
Date of succession :—7th December 1935
Area of State in square miles :—3,127
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 9,00,000 nearly.
Salute in guns :—11
Council of Administration appointed by the Government to carry on Minority Administration.
President :—Lt. Col. H. S. Strong, C.I.E.,
Vice-President and Chief Secretary :—Dewan Bahadur Lala Madho Ram
Member :—Rai Bahadur Lala Ghanshyam Dass

Faridkot :—Lt. H. H. Farzand-i-Saadat Nishan-i-Hazrat-i-Kaisar-i-Hind Barar Bans Raja Har Indar Singh Bahadur, Raja of—
Date of birth :—29th January 1915
Date of succession :—23rd December 1918
Area of State in Sq. miles :—643
Population of State :—164,346
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 17,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Faridkot Sappers-

Headquarters (Field Company)	8
Sappers & Miners	129
Bodyguard Lancers	27
Infantry	112
Band	35

Salute in guns :—11

Jind—Colonel H. H. Farzand-i-Dilband Rasikh-ul-Itikad Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja-i-Rajgan Maharaja Sir Ranbir Singh, Rajendra Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—11th October 1879
Date of succession :—7th March 1887
Area of State in square miles :—1,259
Population of State :—308,183
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 28,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Jind Bodyguard

Cavalry	112
Jind Infantry	411
Jind Training Company	289
„ 2nd Line Infantry	150

Salute in guns :—13

Kapurthala—Colonel His Highness Farzand-i-Dilband Rasikh-ul-Itkad Daulat-i-Inglishia Raja-i-Rajgan, Maharaja Sir Jagatjit Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharaja of—

Born :—24th November 1872
Succeeded to Gaddi :—5th September 1877
Area of State :—652 sq. miles
Population 316, 757
Reveuue :—Rs. 40,00,000

Loharu—Lt. H. H. Nawab Mirza Amin-ud-Din Ahmed, Khan Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth :—23rd March 1911
Date of succession :—30th October 1926
Area of State in square miles :—222
Population of State :—20,614
Revenue for the last State financial year :—Rs. 1,33,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Infantry 30
Camel Transport 17
Salute in guns :—9

Malerkotla—Lt.-Colonel H. H. Nawab Sir Ahmad Ali Khan, Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth :—10th September 1881
Date of succession—23rd August 1908
Area of State in sq. miles—168
Population of State—80,322
Revenue for the last State financial year —Rs. 15 61,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Sappers—
Headquarters 16
Lancers (Bodyguard) 40
Infantry 226
Field Company Sappers & Miners 295
Salute in guns :—11

Mandi—Major H. H. Raja Sir Joginder Sen Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Raja of—
Date of birth :—20th August 1904
Date of succession :—28th April 1913
Area in sq. miles :—1.200
Population :—2,07,465
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 12,50,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—11

Nabha—H. H. Farzand-i-Arjmand, Aqidat-Paiwand-i.Daulat-i-Inglishia, Barar Bans, Sarmur Raja-i-Rajagan Maharaja Pratap Singha Malvendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—21st September 1919
Date of succession :—February 1928
Area in sq. miles ;—928
Population :—263,334
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 24,05,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—13

Patiala—Dr. H. H. Farzand-i-Khas Daulat-i-Inglishia Mansur-ul-Zaman, Amir-ul-Umra Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Shri Maharaja-i-Rajgan Shri Yadavindra Singhji, L.L.D., Mahendra Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—7th January 1913
Date of succession :—23rd March 1938
Area in sq. miles :—5,932
Population :—1,625,520
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 1,57,00,000
Indian State Forces :—
1st (Rajindar) Lancers—526
2nd Patiala Lancers—526
1st (Rajindar Sikh) Infantry—772
2nd Patiala Infantry—772
3rd ,, ,, —772
4th ,, ,, —772
Patiala Transport Train—88
,, Horse Guard—139
,, Food Guard—174
Salute in guns :—17

Sirmur (Nahan)—H. H. Lt. Maharaja Rajendra Prakash Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—10th January 1912
Date of succession :—November 1933
Area in sq. miles :—1,141
Population :—1,48,568
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 10.00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces .—Sappers—
Headquarters ... 5
Band ... 23
No. 1 Company ... 142
No. 2 Company ... 155
State Bodyguard Lancers 31
Salute in guns :—11

Suket—H. H. Raja Lakshman Sen, Raja of—
Date of birth :—1894
Date of succession :—13th October 1919
Area in sq. miles :—420
Population :—54,328
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 2,67,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—11

Bashahr—H. H. Raja Padam Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth :—1873
Date of succession :—5th August 1914
Area in sq. miles :—3,820
Population :—86,077
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 3,34,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—9

Rajputana States

Alwar—H. H. Shri Sewai Maharaj Tej Singhji Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—19th March, 1911
Date of succession :—22nd July, 1937
Area in sq. miles :—3217
Population :—7,49,751
Revenue :—About Rs. 40,00,000
Indian State Forces :—
1. Jey Paltan Infantry—865
2. Pratap Paltan Infantry—331
3. Alwar Mangal Lancers—158
4. Garrison Force—28
Salute in guns :—15

Banswara—H. H. Sri Rai-i-Rayan

Maharawal Sir Pirthi Singhji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharawal of—
Date of birth :—15th July 1888
Date of succession :—8th January 1914
Area in sq. miles :—1,946
Population :—260,670
Revenue for the last financial year :—
Rs. 7,00,000
Salute in guns :—15

Bharatpur—Lt.-Col. H. H. Maharaja Sri Brajindra Sawai Sir Kishan Singh Bahadur, Bahadur Jang, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—4th October 1899
Date of succession :—27th August 1900
Area in sq. miles :—1,982
Population :—4,96,437
Revenue for the last financial year :—
Rs. 34,25,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Jaswant Household Infantry—772
2nd Ram Singh's Own Infantry—353
3rd Baretha Infantry—353
Salute in guns :—17

Bikaner—General H. H. Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar Narendra Shiromani Maharaja Sri Ganga Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.-D.-C., LL.D., Maharajah of—
Date of birth :—13th October 1880
Date of succession :—31st August 1887
Area in sq. miles :—23,317
Population :—9,92,180
Revenue for the last financial year :—
Rs. 1,32,39,400 nearly
Indian State Forces :—2,668
Ganga Risala (Camel Corps)—523
Sadul Light Infantry—662
Dungar Lancers—342
Bijey Battery—236
Camel Battery—70
2nd Battalion, Bikaner State Infantry :—700
Band—35
Motor Machine Gun Sections—100
Salute in guns :—17

Bundi—H. H. Maharao Raja Ishwari Singh Bahadur, Maharao Raja of—
Date of birth :—8th March 1893
Date of succession :—26th July 1927
Area in sq. miles :—2,220
Population—187,068
Revenue for the last financial year—
Rs. 14 00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—17

Dholpur—Lt.-Col. H. H. Rais-ud-Daula Sipahdar-ul-Mulk Maharajadhiraja Sri Sawai Maharaj-Rana Sir Udaibhan Singh Lokindar Bahadur Diler Jang Jai Deo, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Maharaj-Raja of—
Date of birth—25th February 1893
Date of succession—29th March 1911
Area in sq. miles—1,200
Population—2,30,188
Revenue for the last financial year—
Rs. 17,50,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—
Dholpur Narisingh Infantry—164
" Sappers and Miners—75
Salute in guns—15

Dungarpur—H. H. Rai-i-Rayan Maharawal Sri Laskhman Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharawal of—
Dathe of birth—7th March 1908
Date of succession—15th November 1918
Area in sq. miles—1,460
Population—2,27,500
Revenue for the last financial year—
Rs. 8,00,000
Salute in guns—15

Jaipur—H. H. Saramad-i-Rajaha-i-Hindustan Raj Rajindra Sri Maharajadhiraja Sir Sawai Man Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—21st August 1911
Date of succession—7th September 1922
Area in sq. miles—16,632
Population—26,31,775
Revenue for the last financial year—
Rs. 1,35,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces—
Jaipur Infantry—772
" Lancers—526
Transport Corps—570
Salute in guns—17

Jaisalmer—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Maharawal Sir Jawahir Singh Bahadur K.C.S.I., Maharawal of—
Date of birth—18th November 1882
Date of succession—26th June 1914
Area in square miles—16,062
Population—67,652
Revenue for the last financial year—
Rs. 3,61,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—15

Jhalawar—His Highness Dharmadivakar Prajavatsal Patit-pawan Maharaj Rana Shri Sir Rajendra Sing Ji Dev Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaj Rana of—
Date of birth—15th July, 1900
Date of succession—13th April, 1929
Area in sq. Miles—813
Population—107890
Revenue—Rs 7,25,000 (approximately)
Salute in guns—13

Jodhpur—Air Commodore His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Saramad-i-Rajai-Hind Maharajadhiraj Shri Sir Umaid Singhji Sahib Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C., LL.D., Maharaja of
Date of birth—8th July, 1903
Ascended the throne—3rd October, 1918
Area :—36,071 sq. miles
Population :—21,34,848

Revenue for the year 1938-39 : Rs. 157,71,523
Indian State Forces :—
Jodhpur Sardar Rissala :—508
Jodhpur Training Squadron :—147
Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, Including Training Coy. (163) and State Military Band (39) :—864
2nd Jodhpur Infantry :—669
Jodhpur Mule Troops :—80
Fort Guard :—94
Salute in guns :—17

Karauli :—H. H. Maharaja Sir Bhompal Deo Bahadur Yadukul Chandra Bhal, K.C.S I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—18th June 1866
Date of succession :—21st August 1927
Area in square miles :—1,242
Population :—1,33,730
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 7,92,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—17

Kishengarh—H. H. Umdae Rajahae Baland Makan Maharaja-dhiraja Yagyanarain Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—26th January 1896
Date of succession :—24th November 1926
Area in square milles :—858
Population :—77,774
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 7,00.000 nearly
Salute in guns :—15

Kotah :—Colonel H. H. Maharao Sir Umed Singh Bahadur, G.C.S I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharao of—
Date of birth :—15th September 1873
Date of succession ;—11th June 1889
Area in square miles :—5,684
Population :—6,85,804
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs 53·68 lacs
Salute in guns :—19

Partabgarh :—H. H. Maharawat Sir Ramsinghji Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharawat of—
Date of birth :—1908
Date of succession :—1929
Area in square miles :—886
Population :—67,110
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 5,55,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—15

Shahpura :—H. H. Rajadhiraja Sir Nahar Singhji, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth :—7th November 1855
Date of succession :—11th June 1870
Area in square miles :—405
Population :—48,130
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 5,21,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—9

Sirohi :—H. H. Maharajadhiraja Maharao Sir Sarup Ram Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharao of—
Date of birth :—27th September 1888
Date of succession :—29th April 1920
Area in square miles :—1,964
Population :—186,639
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 9,70,000 nearly.
Salute in guns :—15

Tonk :—His Highness Said-ud-Daulah Wazir-ul-Mulk Nawab Hafiz Sir Mohammad Saadat Ali Khan Bahadur Sowlat-i-Jung G.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth :—13th February, 1879
Date of succession :—23rd June, 1930
Area in sq. miles :—2,553
Population :—317,360
Revenue :—Nearly 22 lakhs
Salute in guns :—17

Udaipur (Mewar) :—Lt. Colonel H. H. Maharajadhiraja Maharana Shi Sir Bhopal Singhji Bahadur, G.C.S.I. Maharana of—
Date of birth :—22nd Feb. 1884
Area in square miles :—12,753
Population :—1,566,910
Revenue for the last financial year :—Rs. 80,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—19

Sikkim State

Sikkim—H. H. Maharaja Sir Tashi Namgyal, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—1893
Date of succession—5th December 1914
Area in square miles—2,818
Population—81,721
Revenue for the last financial year—Rs. 4,33,000 nearly
Salute in guns—15

United Provinces States

Benares—H. H. Maharaja Vibhuti Narayan Singh Bahadur (minor), Maharaja of—
Date of birth—5th November 1927
Date of succession—5th April 1939
Area in sq. miles—875
Population—3.62,735
Revenue for the last financial year—Rs. 31,47,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—
2nd Cavalry Troop 50
1st (Prabhu Narain) Infantry 772
3rd Camel Despatch Riders—21
Salute in guns—13

Rampur—Captain H. H. Alijah Farzand-i-Dilpazir-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia Mukhlis-ud-Daula Nasir-ul-Mulk, Amir-ul-Umara, Nawab Sir Saiyid Muhammad Raza Ali Khan Bahadur Mustaid Jang, K.C.S.I., Nawab of :—

Date of birth :—17th Nov. 1906
Date of succession :—20th June 1930
Area in sq. miles :—892·54
Population :—464,919
Revenue :—Rs. 51,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—15

Tehri (Garhwal)—Lt. Colonel H. H. Maharaja Narendra Shah, K.C.S.I. Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—3rd August 1898
Date of succession :—25th April 1913
Area in Square miles :—4,502
Population :—3,18,482
Revenue :—Rs. 18,30,000 nearly.
Indian State Forces :—Tehri H. Q. Infantry and Band—100
Tehri Pioneers Narendra—101
Tehri Sappers and Miners—129
Salute in guns :—11

Western India States

Bhavnagar :—Lt. H. H. Sir Krishnakumersinhji Bhavsinghji, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—19th May 1912
Date of succession—18th July 1919
Area in sq. miles—2961
Population—5,00,274
Revenue :—Rs. 1,09,68,620
Indian State Forces—Bhavnagar Lancers —270 ; Bhavnagar Infantry—219
Salute in guns—13

Cutch—H. H. Maharajadhiraj Mirza Maharao Shri Sir Khengarji, Savai Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharao of—
Date of birth—23rd August 1866
Date of succession—1st January 1876
Area in sq. miles—7,616
Population—4,84,547
Revenue—Rs. 31,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns—17

Dhrangadhra—Major H. H. Maharaja Shri Sir Ghanshyamsinhji Ajitsinhji, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—31st May 1889
Date of succession—February 1911
Area in sq. miles—1,167
Population—88,961
Revenue—Rs. 25,00,000 nearly.
Salute in guns—13

Dhrol—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Chandrasinhji Saheb, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth :—28th August 1912
Date of succession :—20th October 1939
Area in square miles :—282·7
Population :—27,639
Revenue—Rs. 2,89,281
Salute in guns—9

Gondal—H H. Maharaja Shri Bhagavatsinhji Sagramji G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—24th October 1865
Date of succession—14th December 1869

Area in sq. miles—1,024
Population—2,05,846
Revenue—Nearly Rs. 50,00,000
Salute in guns—11

Junagadh—Captain H. H. Nawab Sir Mahabatkhanji Rasulkhanji, K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Nawab of—
Date of birth :—2nd August 1900
Date of succession :—22nd January 1911
Area in sq. miles :—3,336·9
Population :—545,152
Revenue :—Rs. 1,00,00,000 nearly
Indian State Forces :—Junagadh Lancers —173
Junagadh Mahabatkhanji Infantry 201
Salute in guns : —15

Limbdi—Thakor Saheb Shri Sir Daulatsinhji Jasvantsinhji, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth :—11th July 1868
Date of succession :—14th April 1908
Area in sq. miles :—343·96 (Exclusive of about 207 sq. miles in the Collectorate of the Ahmedabad)
Population :—40,000
Revenue :—Nearly Rs. 9,00,000
Salute in guns :—9

Morvi—H. H. Maharaja Shri Lakhdhirji Waghji, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of—
Date of birth :—26th December 1876
Date of succession :—11th June 1922
Area in Sq. miles :—822 excluding the area of Adboi Mahal situated in the cutch Peninsula which is about 50 sq. miles
Population :—113023
Revenue :—Nearly Rs. 50 lacs
Salute in guns :—11

Nawanagar—Lt.-Colonel His Highness Maharaja Jam Shri Sir Digvijoysinhji Ranjitsinhji Jadeja, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., A.D.C., Maharaja Jam Sahib of—
Date of birth :—1st September 1895
Date of succession :—2nd April 1933
Area in square miles :—3,791
Population :—4,09,192
Annual Revenue :—Rs. 90,00,000 nearly
Salute in guns :—13

Palanpur—Lt.-Colonel H. H. Nawab Sir Taley Muhammad Khan Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Nawab of—
Date of birth :—7th July 1883
Date of succession :—28th Sept. 1918
Area in Sq. miles :—1774·64
Population :—265,424
Revenue :—Rs. 11,64,987
Salute in guns :—13

Palitana—H. H. Thakor Saheb Shri Bahadursinhji Mansinhji, K.C.I.E., Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth :—3rd April 1900
Date of succession :—29th August 1905

Area in sq. miles—182·5
Population —38,760
Revenue—Rs. 3,76,000 nearly

Kurundwad (Jr)—Meherban Madhavrao Ganpatrao alias Bhausaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth :—6th December 1875
Date of succession :—29th July 1899
Area in square miles :—114
Population :—34,288
Revenue :—Rs. 2,88,000 nearly

Miraj (Sr)—Narayanrao Gangadharrao alias Tatyasaheb Patwardhan, Chief of—
Date of birth :—6th Sept. 1898
Date of succession :—11th Dec. 1939
Area in square miles :—342
Population :—93,938
Revenue :—Rs. 4,41,000 nearly

Miraj (Jr)—Meherban Sir Madhavrao Harihar alias Baba Saheb Patwardhan, K.C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth :—4th. March 1889
Date of succession :—16th December 1899
Area in square miles :—196½
Population :—40.686
Revenue :—Rs. 3,68,515 nearly

Ramdurg—Meherban Ramrao Venkatrao alias Rao Saheb Bhave, Chief of—
Date of birth :—16th September 1895
Date of succession :—30th April 1907
Area in sq. miles :—169
Population :—33,997
Revenue :—Rs. 2,69,000 nearly

Savanur—Captain Meherban Abdul Majid Khan, Diler Jang Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth :—7th October 1890
Date of succession :—30th January 1893
Area in sq. miles :—70
Population :—16,830
Revenue :—Rs. 1,69,000 nearly

Mahi-Kantha States

Ghodasar :—Thakor Shri Fatehsinhji Ratansinhji Dabhi Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth :—7th August, 1909
Date of succession :—31st May, 1930
Area in sq. miles :—16
Population :—6708
Revenue :—Rs. 51,000

Ilol :—Thakor Shivsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth :—31st December 1910
Date of succession :—18th October 1927
Area in Sq. miles :—19
Population :—3,349
Revenue :—Rs. 41,000 nearly

Katosan—Thakor Takhatsinhji Karansinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth :—9th December 1870
Date of succession :—January 1901
Area in sq. miles :—10
Population :—4,818
Revenue :—Rs. 51,000 nearly

Khadal—Sardar Shri Fatehsinhji Raisinhji, Thakor Shri of—
Date of birth :—1899
Date of succession :—7th Feb. 1912
Area in sq. miles :—8
Population :—2505
Revenue :—Nearly Rs. 35,000

Malpur—Raolji Shri Gambhirsinhji Himatsinhji,
Date of birth :—27th October 1914
Date of succession :—3rd June 1923
Area in sq. miles :—97
Population :—10,251
Revenue :—Rs. 65,000 nearly

Pethapur—Thakor Fatehsinhji Gambhirsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—3rd October 1895
Date of succession—1896
Area in sq. miles—11
Population—3,938
Revenue :—Rs. 34,000 nearly

Sudasana—Thakor Prathisinhji, Thakor of,
Date of birth—24th August 1884
Date of succession—9th March 1900
Area in sq. miles—32
Population—5,977
Revenue Rs. 32,000 nearly

Varsoda—Thakor Joravarsinhji, Thakor of,
Date of birth :—17th April 1914
Date of succession :—18th July 1919
Area in sq. miles :—11
Population :—3,424
Revenue :—Rs. 33,000 nearly

Vijayanagar—Rao Shri Hamir- sinhji,
Date of birth :—3rd January 1904
Date of succession :—27th June 1916
Area in sq. miles :—135
Population :—12,000 (approx)
Revenue :—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

Rewa Kantha States

Bhadarwa—Shrimant Thakur Saheb Shree Natvarsinghji Ranjitsinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth :—19th November 1903
Date of succession :—26th April 1935
Area in sq. miles :—27
Population :—11,048
Revenue :—Rs. 1,14,000 nearly

Chorangla—Thakor Chhatrasinhji Ramsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth :—9th June 1880
Date of succession :—5th March 1881
Area in sq. miles :—16
Population :—2,045
Revenue :—Rs. 31,000 nearly

Jambughoda—Meherban Rana Shri Ranjitsinhji Gambhirsihji, Thakore Saheb of—Parmar Rajput. He enjoys full Civil and Criminal powers.
Date of birth :—4th January 1892
Date of succession :—27th Sep. 1917

Area :—143 square miles
Population—11,385
Revenue :—Rs. 1 42,000/-

Kadana—Rana Shri Chhatrasalji, Thakor of,
Date of birth—28th January 1879
Date of succession—12th April 1889
Area in square miles—130
Population—15,370
Revenue :—Rs. 1,32,000 nearly

Mandwa—Rana Khusalsinhji Sajansinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth :—1911
Date of succession :—8th January 1915
Area in square miles :—16·50
Population :—5,747
Revenue :—Rs. 80,000 nearly.

Nasvadi—Thakor Ranjitsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth :—24th March 1905
Date of succession :—13th September 1927
Area in square miles :—19·50
Population :—4,197
Revenue :—Rs. 33,000 nearly

Palasni—Thakor Indarsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth :—16th August 1885
Date of succession :—30th May 1907
Area in square miles :—12
Population :—1,765
Revenue :—Rs. 22,000 nearly

Sanjeli—Thakor Pushpasinhji Pratapsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth :—11th December 1892
Date of succession :—1902
Area in square miles :—34
Population :—6,814
Revenue :—Rs. 82,000 nearly

Sihora—Thakor Mansinhjee Karansinhjee, Thakor of—
Date of birth—4th November 1907
Date of succession—13th June 1928
Area—18 sq. miles (approx)
Population :—5000 (approx)
Revenue :—Rs. 36,000

Uchad—Thakor Mahomadmia Jitabawa, Thakor of-
Date of birth—15th October 1895
Date of succession—24th June 1915
Area in square miles—8.50
Population—2,330
Revenue :—Rs. 41,000 nearly

Umetha—Thakor Ramsinhji Raisinhji, Padhiar, Thakor of—
Date of birth—19th August 1894
Date of succession :—1st July 1922
Area in sq. miles—24
Population—5,355
Revenue :—Rs. 73,000 nearly

Central India States

Alipura—Rao Harpal Singh, Rao of—
Date of birth :—12th August 1882
Date of succession :—26th March 1922
Area in sq. miles :—73
Population :—14,580
Revenue :—Rs. 70,000 nearly

Bakhtgarh—Thakur Rai Singh, Thakur of.
Date of birth :—3rd October 1889
Date of succession—30th May 1912
Area in sq. miles—66
Population—10,414
Revenue—Rs. 74,000 nearly

Garauli—Diwan Bahadur Chandrabhan Singh, chief of—
Date of birth—2nd April 1883
Date of succession—20th Dec. 1883
Area in sq. miles—31
Population—4,965
Revenue—Rs, 36,000 nearly

Jobat—Rana Bhim Singh, Rana of—
Date of birth :—10th November 1915
Date of succession :—25th May 1917
Area in sq. miles :—130
Population :—18,296
Revenue :—Rs. 1,08,000

Kachhi Baroda—Thakur Beni Madho Singh, Thakur of—
Date of birth :—4th October 1904
Date of succession :—13th June 1906
Area in sq. miles :—34.53
Population :—7,455
Revenue :—Rs. 55,000 nearly

Kathiwara—Rana Thakur Sahib Onkarsinhji, Rana of—
Date of birth :—5th December 1891
Date of succession :—8th June 1903
Area in sq. miles :—70
Population :—6096
Revenue :—Rs. 44,880

Kothi—Raja Bahadur Sitaraman Pratap Bahadur Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth :—26th July 1892
Date of succession :—8th August 1914
Area :—169 square miles
Population :—20,087
Revenue :—Rs 70,000 nearly

Kurwai—Nawab Sarwar Ali Khan, Nawab
Date of birth :—1st December 1901
Date of succession :—2nd October 1906
Area in square miles :—142
Population :—19,851
Revenue :—Rs. 2,64,000 nearly

Mota Barkhera—Bhumia Nain Singh, Bhumia of—
Date of birth :—7th November 1907
Date of succession :—4th June 1912
Area in square miles :—39
Population :—4,782
Revenue :—Rs. 53,000 nearly

Multhan—Dharmalankar, Dharm-bhushan, Dharm-Divaker, Shreeman Maharaj Bharat Sinhji Sahib, Chief of—
Date of birth :—1893
Date of succession :—26th August 1901

Area in square miles :—100
Population :—11,804
Revenue :—Over Rs. 1,00,000

Nimkhera—Bhumia Ganga Singh, Bhumia
Date of Birth :—1911
Date of succession :—27th March 1922
Area in sq. miles :—90
Population :—5,358
Revenue :—Rs. 62,000 nearly

Paldeo—Chaubey Shiva Parsad, Jagirdar of—
Date of birth :—1st March 1908
Date of succession :—3rd Oct. 1923
Area in sq. miles :—53.14
Population :—9,038
Revenue :—Rs. 50,000 nearly

Piploda—Rawat Mangal Singh, Rawat of
Date of birth :—7th September 1893
Date of succession :—5th Nov. 1919
Area in sq. miles :—35
Population :—9,766
Revenue :—Rs. 1,14,000 nearly

Ratanmal—Thakur Dasrath Singh, Thakur
Date of birth :—1894
Date of succession :—29th April 1899
Area in sq. miles :—32
Population :—1,790
Revenue :—Rs. 38,000 nearly

Sadakheri (Sheogarh)—Thakur Rai Singh, Thakur of—
Date of birth :—1897
Date of succession :—8th April 1920
Area in sq. miles :—30
Population :—5,043
Revenue :—Rs. 42,000 nearly

Sarila—Raja Mahipal Singh, Raja of—
Date of succession :—11th Sep. 1898
Area in sq. miles :—35.28
Population :—6,081
Revenue :—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly

Sarwan—Thakur Mahendra Singh,
Date of birth :—6th November 1909
Date of succession :—23rd April 1921
Area in sq. miles :—71
Population—7,199
Revenue—Nearly Rs. 60 000

Sohawal—Raja Bhagwat Raj Bahadur Singh, C.I.E., Raja of—
Date of birth—7th August 1878
Date of succession—23rd Nov. 1899
Area in sq. miles—213
Population—38,078
Revenue—Rs. 1,04,000 nearly

Tori Fatehpur—Rao Bahadur Diwan Arjun Singh, Jagirdar of—
Date of birth—1870
Date of succession—7th Feb. 1880
Area in sq. miles—36
Population—6.580
Revenue—Rs. 40,000 nearly

Central Provinces States

Bastar State—Maharaja Pravir Chandra Deo (Minor)
Date of birth :—25th June 1929
Date of succession :—28th February 1936
Area in sq. miles :—13,725
Population :—5,24,721
Revenue :—Rs. 10,65,164

Chhuikhadan—Mahant Bhudhar Kishore Das, of—
Date of birth :—April 1891
Date of succession :—30th Sept. 1903
Area in sq. miles :—154
Population :—26,141
Revenue :—Rs. 1,22,000 nearly

Jashpur—Raja Deo Saran Singh Deo,
Date of birth :—19th November 1893
Date of succession :—3rd January 1924
Area in sq. miles :—1,963
Population :—1,54,156
Revenue :—Rs. 3,67,000

Kanker—Maharajadhiraj Bhanupratap Deo, Chief of—
Date of birth :—17th September 1922
Date of succession :—8th January 1925
Area in sq. miles :—1429
Population :—1,22,928
Revenue :—Rs. 3,88,000

Kawardha—Thakur Dharmraj Singh, Chief of—
Date of birth :—18th August 1910
Date of succession :—4th February 1920
Area in sq. miles :—805
Population :—72820
Revenue :—Rs. 2,93,175 nearly

Khairagarh—Raja Birendra Bahadur Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth :—9th November 1914
Date succession :—22nd October 1918
Area in sq. miles :—931
Population ;—157,400
Revenue—Rs. 5,80,000 nearly

Korea—Raja Ramanuj Pratap Singh Deo, Raja of—
Date of birth :—8th December 1931
Date of succession :—November 1909
Area in sq. miles :—1,647
Population :—90,500
Revenue :—Rs. 7,00,199

Makrai—Raja Drigpal Shah Hathiya Rai, Raja of—
Date of birth :—24th September 1904
Date of succession :—30th October 1918
Area in sq. miles :—155
Population :—12,803
Revenue :—Rs. 2,01,000 nearly

Nandgaon—Mahant Sarveshwar Das, of—
Date of birth :—30th March 1906
Date of succession—24th June 1813
Area in sq. miles—871
Population—1,47,919

Revenue—Rs. 7,91,000

Raigarh—Raja Chakradhar Singh, Raja of
Date of birth—19th August 1905
Date of succession—23rd August 1924
Area in sq. miles—1,486
Population—2,41,634
Revenue—Rs. 6,46,000 nearly

Sakti—Raja Liladhar Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—3rd February 1892
Date of succession—4th July 1914
Area in sq. miles—138
Population—41,595
Revenue—Rs. 1,20,000 nearly

Sarangarh—Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—3rd December 1888
Date of succession—5th August 1890
Area in sq. miles—540
Population—1,17,781
Revenue—Rs. 3,14,000 nearly

Surguja—Maharaja Ramanuj Saran Singh Deo, C.B.E., Maharaja of—
Date of birth—4th November 1895
Date of succession—31st December 1917
Area in sq. miles—6,055
Population—3,77,679
Revenue—Rs. 6,14,000 nearly

Udaipur—Raja Chandra Chur Prasad Singh Deo, Raja of—
Date of birth—5th June 1923
Date of succession—8th December 1927
Area in sq. miles—1,052
Population —71,124
Revenue—Rs. 3,12,000

Gwalior Residency

Khaniadhana—Raja Khalaq Singh, Rao of
Date of birth—26th November 1892
Date of succession—1st November 1909
Area in sq. miles—63
Population—14,619
Revenue—Rs. 25,000 nearly

Madras State

Sandur—Raja Srimant Yeshwantha Rao Anna Saheb, Rao Sahib, Hindu Rao Ghorapade, Mamlukatmadar Senapati, Raja of—
Date of birth—15th November 1908
Date of succession—5th May 1928
Area in sq. miles—167
Population—11,684
Revenue—Rs. 2,03,000 nearly

Punjab States

Dujana—Jalal-ud-Daula Nawab Mohammad Iqtidar Ali Khan, Bahadur, Mustaqil-i-Jan, Nawab of—
Date of birth—20th Nov. 1912
Date of succession—21st July 1925
Area in sq. miles—100
Population—25,833
Revenue—Rs. 1,65,000 nearly

Kalsia—Raja Ravi Sher Singh Sahib Bahadur, Raja Sahib, of—
Date of birth—30th October 1902
Date of succession—25th July 1908
Date of investiture with full ruling powers : } 6th April 1922
Area in sq. miles—192
Population—59848
Revenue—Nearly Rs. 3,50,000/-

Pataudi—Nawab Muhammad Iftikar Ali Khan, Bahadur, Nawab of—
Date of birth—17th March 1910
Date of succession—30th Nov. 1917
Area in sq. miles—53
Population—18,097
Revenue—Rs. 1,40,000 nearly

Simla Hill States

Baghal—Raja Surendra Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—14th March 1909
Date of succession—13th Oct. 1922
Area in sq. miles—124
Population—25,099
Revenue—Rs. 1,00,000 nearly.

Baghat—Raja Durga Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—15th Sept. 1901
Date of succession—30th Dec. 1911
Area in sq. miles—36
Population—9,595
Revenue—Rs. 1,10,000 nearly.

Bhajji—Rana Birpal, Rana of—
Date of birth—19th April 1906
Date of succession—9th May 1913
Area in sq. miles—96
Population—14,263
Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly.

Jubbal—Rana Bhagat Chandra Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Raja of—
Date of birth—12th Oct, 1888
Date of succession—29th April 1910
Area in sq. miles—298
Population—27,124
Revenue—Rs. 8,50,000 nearly.

Keonthal—Raja Hemendar Sen Raja of—
Date of birth—21st January 1905
Date of succession—2nd Feb. 1916
Area in sq. Miles—116
Population—25,599
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly.

Kumharsain—Rana Vidyadhar Singh,
Date of birth—1895
Date of succession—24th August 1914
Area in sq. miles—97
Population—12,227
Revenue—Rs. 75,000 nearly.

Nalagarh—Raja Jogindra Singh, Raja of—
Date of birth—1870
Date of succession—18th Sept. 1911
Area in sq. Miles—256
Population—46,868
Revenue—Rs. 2,71,000 nearly.

Tiroch—Thakur Surat Singh, of—
Date of birth—4th July 1887
Date of succession—14th July 1902
Area in sq. miles—75
Population—4,219
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

Western India States

Bajana—Malek Shri Kamalkhan Jivankhan, Chief of—
Date of birth—6th December 1907
Date of succession—2nd February 1920
Area in sq. miles—183·12
Population—11,894
Revenue—Rs. 3,70,000

Bantwa-Manavadar—Babi Ghulam Moyuddinkhanji Fatehdinkhanji, Chief of—
Date of birth—22nd December 1911
Date of succession—October 1918
Area in sq. miles—221·8
Population—14,984
Revenue—Rs. 5,46,000 nearly

Chuda—Thakor Shri Bahadursinhji Joravarsinhji, Thakur of—
Date of birth—23rd April 1909
Date of succession—20th January 1921
Area in sq. miles—78·2
Population—11,333
Revenue—Rs. 2,11,000 nearly

Jasdan—Darbar Shree Ala Khachar, Chief of—
Date of birth—4th November 1905
Date of succession—11th June 1919
Area in sq. miles—296
Population—36,032
Revenue—Rs. 6,00,000 nearly

Kotda-Sangani—Thakur Shri Himatsinhji
Date of birth—17th September 1892
Date of succession—17th June 1913
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—9,239
Revenue—Rs. 1,30,000 nearly

Lakhtar—Thakore Saheb Shri Balavirsinhji, Karansinhji, Thakor Saheb of—
Date of birth—11th Januury 1881
Date of succession—8th August 1924
Area in sq. miles—247·438
Population—21,123
Revenue—Rs. 4,49,000

Lathi—Thakore Saheb Shri Pralhadsinhji, Thakor of—
Date of birth—31st March 1912
Date of succession—14th October 1918
Area in sq. miles—41·8
Population—8,335
Revenue—Rs. 1,86,000

Malia—Thakor Shri Raisinhji Modji,
Date of birth—14th February 1868
Date of succession—20th October 1907
Area in sq. miles—103
Population—12,660
Revenue—Rs. 3,02,000

Muli—Thakor Shri Harichandrasinhji, of—
Date of birth—10th July 1899
Date of succession—3rd December 1905
Area in sq. miles—133.2
Population—16,390
Revenue—Rs. 1,57,000 nearly

Patdi—Desai Shri Raghuvirsinhji, of
Date of birth—8th January 1926
Date of succession—25th October 1928
Area in sq. miles—39.4
Population—2,508
Revenue—Rs. 1,14,000 nearly

Rajpur—Chandrasinhji Mansinhji, of
Date of birth—18th October 1910
Date of succession—1st April 1918
Area in sq. miles—2·2 8
Population—2,252
Revenue—Rs. 87,000 nearly

Sayla—Thakore Saheb Shri Madarsinhji, Vakhatsinhji, Takore Saheb of—
Date of birth—28th May 1868
Date of succession—25th Jan. 1924
Area in sq. miles—222.1
Population—13,351
Revenue—Rs. 2,54,000 nearly.

Thana Devli—Darbar Shri Vala Amra Laxman, Chief of—
Date of birth—28th November 1895
Date of succession—12th Oct. 1922
Area in sq. miles—94·21
Population—11,348
Revenue—Rs. 3,00,000 nearly.

Tharad—Waghela Bhumsinhji Dolatsinhji Thakor of—
Date of birth—28th January 1900
Date of succession—19th Feb. 1921
Area in sq. miles—1,260½
Population—52,839
Revenue—Rs. 99,000 nearly.

Vadia—Darbar Shree Suragwala Saheb Chief of—
Date of birth—15-3-1904.
Date of succession—7th Sept. 1930
Area in sq. miles—90
Population—13719
Revenue—About 2 lacs

Zainabad—Malek Shri Aziz Mahomed Khanji Zainkhanji, Talukdar of—
Date of birth—21st June 1917
Date of succession—26th January 1923
Area in sq. miles—30
Population—3,456
Revenue—Rs. 1,200,000 nearly.

Chronicle of Events

January—June 1940

Chronicle of Events

January 1940

The outstanding feature of the month was the speech by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Orient Club, Bombay to end the constitutional deadlock in India. The Viceroy's speech was met with a mixed reception, while Mahatma Gandhi and the All-India Congress Committee found in the speech, "a step in advance" and a genuine note of sincerity for the amelioration of the political status of India. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, along with many others, struck a note of pessimism by stating that there appeared to be no chance of a settlement of the impasse, though the Viceroy's speech was "sweet". The Hindu Mahasabha, led by Vir Savarkar, on the contrary, maintained that the intention of the British Government with regard to the introduction of Dominion Status in India, as expressed by Lord Linlithgow, was clear and definite. He was strongly supported by Mr. N C. Chatterjee.

A conference of Congress and Moslem League representatives, to be followed by a round table conference in India was suggested by Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh of the United Provinces as a method of solving the political problem and communal differences. The delegates should be "almost entirely" elected Indians without excluding unreasonably representatives of the British Community.

In the House of Commons, Sir Hugh O' Neill, in reply to the debate on India on the 24th January, indicated that a conference would shortly be held in India with the object of solving constitutional difficulties and enabling India to take her place among the self-governing Dominions.

Sir Hugh O' Neill further stated that an inquiry, such as was proposed to be held into Mr. Jinnah's allegations against the Congress Ministries on the minority issue, was not in the interests of either party or of India as a whole. It would be protracted and would embitter communal feeling.

Speaking on clause 2 of the India and Burma Miscellaneous Amendment Bill, which dealt with the validity of provincial taxation, he described the United Provinces Employments Tax as a "Graduated income-tax" and as such beyond the jurisdiction of the provinces. Clause 2, prohibiting the imposition of such taxes in the future, was passed.

The Congress celebrated the Independence Day with the usual enthusiasm ; there was some alteration in the Congress pledge, having regard to the views of some oppositionists. The Moslem League Leaders instructed their followers to ignore the celebrations.

Another item of interest, in the political world of India, was provided by the differences between the Congress Working Committee and the Bengal Provincial Committee. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose of Bengal was requested to place the case of the B. P. C. C. before the Congress Working Committee, which finally ended in the decision of the Working Committee to the effect that the Working Committee were fully justified in the appointment of the ad hoc committee re : elections, and that there was no appeal agains the decision of the said committee to a referendum ; but Sj. Bose might appeal to the A. I. C. C., if he so liked.—A resolution was passed in the B. P. C. C. recommending the boycott of the said ad hoc committee.

1st. His Excellency the Viceroy and H. E. the Governor of Bengal attended the annual proclamation parade on the Calcutta maidan.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, drew the attention of the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to a report appearing in the Press on December 31, regarding the adoption of the resolution on the ad hoc Committee appointed by the Working Committee. The President asked for an explanation for the adoption of the resolution and stated that the latter might send a representative to appear before the Working Committee.

The General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, released for publication a lengthy resolution passed at the meeting of the Working Committee on the audit report of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee accounts. The resolution stated inter alia :—"The Working Committee consider this state of things to be extremely unsatisfactory and detrimental to the prestige and effecient working of the Congress organization in the province. The provincial executive cannot be considered to have discharged their duty properly and functioned in terms of the constitution of the B. P. C. C. which specifically requires that all monies should be duly banked."

2nd. H. H. the Maharaja of Nepal concluded his official visit to Calcutta and left for Nepal.

H. H. the Nawab of Rampur issued a firman announcing a new constitution, framed primarily on a functional rather than territorial basis :—By adopting the functional basis, the firman pointed out, the necessity of communal representation was reduced to a minimum and all important interests found representation in the legislature.

H. E. Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab, opened the second Indian Political Science Conference at Lahore. Dr. P. N. Banerjee, M. L. A., (Central) presided.

Rai Bahadur Bali Ram Dhawan, an advocate of Dera Ismail Khan and a prominent Hindu leader was shot dead at Lahore.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, instructed the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee not to withdraw Rs. 10,000 from the Bank account of the B. P. C. C.

H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur and the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Darbhanga were elected Pro-Chancellors of the Benares Hindu University for a term of three years.

3rd. His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by the Marchioness of Linlithgow left Calcutta for Raipur.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing the Indian Economic Conference at Allahabad, said :—"The present structure of the world is breaking up. We may not always be very clear as to what will replace it. But this much is certain that as far as world economy is concerned the problem of distribution has to be the main pivot in all planning."

In the Indian Science Congress in Madras, Mr. Jai Chand Luthia gave an interesting address on "some problems of crop production in India" to the Section of Agriculture.

The Bengal Legislative Council met after the Christmas recess.

H. E. the Governor of Madras opened the third session of the Indian Statistical Conference at Madras.—Professor Harold Hotelling (Columbia University, U. S. A.) presided and Professor P. C. Mahalanobis spoke on behalf of the Indian Statistical Institute.

4th. Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow attended the prize-giving ceremony of the Rajkumar College at Raipur. His Excellency observed : "One of the obligations of nobility, wheth r of class or character, is leadership, which in India or anywhere else in the world is not worth the name, and may even be a positive danger, if it is not inspired by sympathy, tolerance and understanding ; and these virtues are not plants which can be raised in the shelter of a green house, but in the open fields.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, rapid progress was made by the Council with the consideration of the Money-lenders' Bill as passed by the Assembly, amendments in respect of as many as 10 clauses of the Bill having been disposed of during the afternoon.

Pandit Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, in his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, Indian Economic Conference at

Allahabad, stressed the need for planned economy and imbibing by the people of an industrial psychology.

The Punjab Resources and Retrenchment Committee recommended retrenchment of the expenditure of the Punjab Government to the extent of about Rs. 50,00,000 a year and fresh or increased taxation to about the same extent.

5th. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, censured the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for "open defiance" of a number of resolutions passed by the Working Committee.—The President issued a statement containing a review of events from June 1939, when the A. I. C. C. at Bombay passed resolutions providing for the apppointment of election tribunals and laying down that Satyagraha was not to be offered or organized by Congressmen in an administrative province without the sanction of the provincial Congress Committee concerned. This was the signal for a protest by the B. P. C. C. and a demonstration against these resolutions was held in Calcutta.

Dr. Prasad further criticized the dissolution of the Executive Council and the election of a new one in its place, the appointment of an election tribunal and criticism of the Working Committee for its disciplinary action against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose.

The President laid down that the ad hoc Committee would continue to function and discharge the duties entrusted to it, and the Working Committee would have to consider what further action was called for.

A statement was issued by about 140 members of the B. P. C. C. calling upon Congressmen in Bengal to dissociate themselves from the meeting of the provincial executive.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a resolution suggesting the reunion of all Bengali speaking areas in the province of Bengal and alteration of the boundaries of the province on a linguistic basis was discussed : ultimately the resolution was put to the vote and lost.

6th. His Excellency the Viceroy in a speech at Nagpur referred to the situation in the Provinces formerly administered by the Congress Ministries and spoke with regret of the interruption in the orderly progress of India to that goal of Dominion Status which it was His Majesty's Government's wish to see attained at the earliest possible moment that circumstances rendered possible.

H. E. the Viceroy in opening the new High Court building at Nagpur, observed : "Justice administered without fear or savour is a true index of the freedom of a land in which it flourishes. It is the foundation on which freedom builds, and where it is lacking, material prosperity, disciplined patriotism or military might, are facades on lath and plaster, worth nothing at all. Of this we can today recognize only too clearly tragic proof in these parts of the world whence justice as we know it has been driven forth".

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, which met in Calcutta adopted a resolution defining its attitude to the ad hoc Committee, appointed by the Congress Working Committee for the election of delegates to the Congress session.

7th. Sir J. Raisman, Finance Member, in a broadcast talk from New Delhi, explained the effects of war on India's economic structure. He dwelt on the advantages to India produced by the war and gave a warning to the cultivating classes to prepare themselves for the inevitable reaction that would follow when the war ended.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League released the correspondence which passed between him and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru re : Congress League differences.

Mr. Jinnah, while hoping for a solution, reiterated the League demand for recognition as the "authoritative and representative organization of Moslems in India". Referring to the Congress demand for a declaration by Britain of her war aims, he said that the League could not endorse the demand as laid down in the Working Committee's resolution on the subject.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, defining the Congress attitude stated that the Congress regarded the League as an influential organization of Moslems, but not as the sole representative of the Moslems of India. Finally, the Pandit stated that as he and Mr. Jinnah had not found some common ground for discussion there could be no use continuing the negotiations.

The Governor of the Reserve Bank, in a letter issued from New Delhi, explained the need for the introduction of an Indian Banking Act.

8th. The executive committee of the Ramgarh Congress at a meeting held at Patna sanctioned the budget for the expenditure to be incurred on construction work, fixed the quotas for the collection of funds from the districts and decided on various other arrangements.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened a new wing of St. Mary's High School, Mazgaon, Bombay.

The report of the West Bengal Forest Committee was issued from Calcutta, containing a comprehensive scheme for the preservation of forests in West Bengal.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, there was a discussion—whether money-lending formed an essential part of the functions of a bank or merely an incidential one.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, issued a statement from Wardha in reply to the statement made by Maulavi Ashrafuddin Ahmad Chowdhury on the audit report of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee accounts. Dr. Prasad stated *inter alia* : "Mr. Chowdhury's statement is not in the form of objections to the auditor's mistakes, but a challenge to the auditor's honesty, a challenge to the honesty of the party appointing them and a challenge to the honesty of everybody all round, except Mr. Chowdhury himself.

9th. The Government of India addressed all provincial Governments on the question of changing the procedure relating to the compilation of statistics of pressed cotton.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Mian Abdul Haye, Education Minister, moved consideration of the Punjab Primary Education Bill as reported on by the Select Committee. The Bill provided for the compulsory attendance of children at primary schools.

A reception was accorded to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose who arrived at Ellore from Rajahmundry.

The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta in a communication to the Secretary to the Government, Commerce Department, raised a strong plea for the resumption by the Government of India of Indo-Afghan trade negotiations.

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief approved the addition to the training school for cadet officers at Belgaum of a branch for the advanced training of senior regimental officers of the Indian and British Armies.

10th. H. E. the Viceroy, speaking at a luncheon in Bombay, made a fervent appeal to "the leaders of the great political parties of India" to help to terminate as early as possible the constitutional deadlock in the country.

Lord Linlithgow reiterated that His Majesty's Government's objective for India was Dominion Status of the statute of Westminster variety and added : "I can assure you that His Majesty's Government's concern and mine is to spare no effort to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the achievment of Dominion Status."

The Government of Bengal issued a Press note fixing maximum prices in Calcutta and suburbs for certain imported medicines and medical supplies.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru addressing a meeting at Gaziabad, declared that there could be no question of a settlement with the Government or of the return to office of Congress Ministries till the question of India's freedom was finally settled.

11th. Under the general direction of Dr. T. E. Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Government of India, a memorandum was prepared stating that the burden of import duties pressed most heavily on goods of general consumption, less severely on luxury goods, and least on capital goods and raw materials.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, described the Viceroy's pronouncement in Bombay as "the clearest of all the declarations hitherto made", but argued in support of the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly.

12th. His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Annual Exhibition of the Bombay Arts Society. He observed : "I am optimistic enough to believe that out of the struggle in which we are engaged to-day a new world will be born—a world of security, confidence, prosperity and co-operation, a world in which the Arts of Peace can flourish. Let us hope so, at any rate, for, paradox though it may seem, that is what we are fighting for."

Mr. J. B. Ross, in his presidential address at the annual general meeting of

the Mining, Geological and Metallurgical Institute of India, in Calcutta, made several observations regarding the improvement of conditions in the Indian coal industry.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a resolution moved by Mr. Lalit Chandra Das (Congress) asking for an enquiry committee to investigate the causes of the strained relations between Hindus and Moslems in Noakhali, was defeated.

The Government of Madras in reply to Madura Sanatanists' representations urging the repeal of the Temple Entry Authorization and Indemnity Act stated that they were not prepared to repeal the Act nor was it possible to suspend its operation.

13th. Mahatma Gandhi, writing under the caption "The Charka", in the *Harijan*, reiterated his view by stating, "I dare not lead an army that does not answer the qualifications which I regard essential for success". He also added : "The first thing I would like co-workers to realize is that I have no hate in me for a single Englishman. I am not interested in driving him out of India. I am interested in converting him into a servant of India, instead of his being and believing himself to be a ruler or a member of the ruling race. I feel towards him precisely as I feel towards an Indian, no matter what his faith may be. Therefore, those who do not share this elementary quality with me cannot become co-Satyagrahis".

Mahatma Gandhi, in another article in the *Harijan*, expressed his opinion that M. L. A.'s in Congress Provinces were not under-paid.

Mr. M. A Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in Bombay.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Opposition Party in the Central Assembly, was also granted an interview by the Viceroy.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Madras ex-Premier, arrived at Wardha, together with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President. He went to Shegaon in the afternoon to see Mahatma Gandhi.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, addressing a public meeting of Moslems at Ahmedabad declared that the lure of power that was expected to have come but which had not yet come estranged the Hindus and Moslems and not religion.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in a Press interview at Bombay, stated : "I do not think it would be any use having a Leftist candidate elected as Congress President". The Ramgarh Congress, he asserted, would in effect be a Rightist Congress.

14th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru arrived in Lucknow after a tour in the north-western districts of the United Provinces. At rural meetings Pandit Nehru laid stress on rural problems and on the Congress' constructive programme. He explained the Congress' attitude to the war, and asked the people to prepare themselves for any step that the Congress might decide upon.

Mr. M. N. Roy supported Dr. Rajendra Prasad's statement issued after the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay. "All Congressmen", he said, "should endorse the reply that India wants independence".

Khan Bahadur Allabux, the Sind Premier, addressing a meeting of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, characterized as wholly untrue the report that he had advised Hindus in small villages predominantly occupied by Moslems to vacate the villages, as the Government could not afford their protection, and go to bigger villages or towns.

Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, presiding over the Berar Provincial Conference at Yeotmal observed : "The main task before us is not whether we shall accept office or not, but it is to achieve "Swaraj" by non-violent means and to evolve a new social order based on perfect equality.

Mr. R. A. Kidwai, a former Minister of the United Provinces, addressing a public meeting at Gonda, said that Mahatma Gandhi was preparing for the next step in Congress' struggle.

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Moslem League unanimously nominated Mr. M. A. Jinnah for the presidentship of the next session of the League to be held at Lahore.

15th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in the course of a statement (issued in Bombay) on the speech delivered by H. E. the Viceroy at the Orient Club, Bombay, said, "I feel no hesitation in noting that so far as a promise goes, the announcement made by His Excellency Lord Linlithgow regarding the intention of the British Government of introducing a constitution

granting India Dominion Status as envisaged in the Westminster Statue at the earliest date practicable was clear and definite"

Mr. Biswanath Das, ex-Premier of Orissa interviewed at Berhampur (Ganjam) said that the speeches delivered by H. E. the Viceroy at Nagpur and at the Orient Club, Bombay, were a "definite offer for consideration".

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Sardar Ballavbhai Patel and Mr. Bhulabhai Dessai met Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha.

Sj. Subhas Chandre Bose, in a statement to the Press (issued from Patna) giving instructions to the members of the Forward Bloc on how to observe "Independence Day", said, "The political significance that is being given to spinning now and the manner in which it has been quietly converted by the Congress "high command" into a method of political struggle need unequivocal condemnation, consequently, members of the Forward Bloc would be perfectly justified in organizing separate meetings and demonstrations on "Independence Day".

Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, inaugurating the proceedings of the Berar Political Conference at Yeotmal, Central Provinces, gave a review of the political development in the country. Appealing for unity within the Congress ranks, the Sardar said that the Forward Bloc had been threatening to do something for the past 12 months though nothing so far had been done.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the President (Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra) gave the ruling re : Moneylenders' Bill, that the provincial legislature was competent to undertake legislation relating to loan transactions by banking corporations.

16th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in the course of a circular to all town and district Congress Committees, said : "Certain criticisms have been made in regard to the new form of the independence pledge. It should be noted that the additions to the pledge are merely repetitions of the Congress programme which has so often been repeated in Congress resolutions".

In a resolution passed by the Bihar Socialist Party, strong disapproval was expressed of the new "Independence pledge" and of the khadi clause in particular.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, considerable part of the day's proceedings was devoted to discussion of reports of the Privilege Committee.

17th. His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a State banquet at Baroda, emphasized that preparations in connexion with Federation had merely been suspended but by no means abandoned.

His Excellency the Governor of the N. W. F. P. granted special powers to the Deputy Commissioner of Bannu, under the Frontier Crimes Regulation.

Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, former Acting Premier of the United Provinces, in the course of a speech at the Benares district political conference held at Chandauli, over which he presided, revealed that fresh effort for compromise between the British Government and the Congress were proceeding.

Speaking about the Hindu Moslem question, Mr. Kidwai said that this was the creation of those who found themselves in a hopeless condition, due to the growing support of the Indian people to the Congress. The Congress Governments had stood for the people and served all people.

The Working Committee of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha at a meeting, under the presidentship of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, decided to contest the election to the Bengal Legislative Council. The Working Committee appointed a special sub-committee consisting of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Rai Jatindra Nath Chowdhury, Sj. Sanat Kumar Roy Chowdhury and Mr. B. C. Chatterjee for nomination of candidates and the sub-committee was given final authority to select the candidates.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru left Allahabad for Wardha to attend the meeting of the Congress Working Committee there.

18th. Mr. R. B. Lagden, Chairman of the Indian Tea Association, speaking at the annual general meeting of the Terai Planters' Association at Bendhubi, said that the policy of the tea industry was to co-operate with the Government.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, addressing the Co-operative Conference, held in Calcutta, referred to the position of the co-operative movement in Bengal.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the consideration of the Bengal Moneylenders' Bill was concluded.

Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, in his inaugural address at the eighth annual session of the Raipur District Political Conference, held under the presidentship of Mr. D. K. Mehta, said, "India has no sympathy with Germany or what she stands for. We want that Britain should win the war. But India must secure the right of self-determination."

Sardar Patel reviewed the world situation, with particular reference to India, and said that war was due to brute force and lust for imperialism, based upon commercial rivalry. India was unable to defend herself against attack from outside.

19th. The Congress Working Committee which asssembled at Wardha, reviewed the political situation in India and made careful study of the points contained in His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay. It was generally held that the Viceroy's statement was an advance on recent declarations on Indian affairs made on behalf of the British Government.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose issued a statement on the controversy over the accounts of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee : "For the first time in the history of the B. P. C. C. that body was able to have an income for itself last year, for which the present executive can legitimately claim the credit. This was rendered possible because of two factors—first, that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held in Calcutta in April 1939 and secondly, that the amended constitution of the B. P. C. C. introduced in 1939, provided for the first time that a portion of the four-anna membership fee should go to the B. P. C. C. funds. The previous meeting of the A. I. C. C. held in Calcutta in October 1937, was organised by Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy's group, then in charge of the B. P. C. C. secretariat, and it left a very small surplus in the hands of B. P. C. C. Last year's meeting of the A. I. C. C. was arranged by Maulavi Asrafuddin Ahmed Chowdhury and his staff and it left a surplus of several thousands of rupees in the hands of the B. P. C. C. This was an eyesore to the Khadi-Roy group in the B. P. C. C."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru wrote in the *National Herald* : "Soviet Russia, their symbol of hope, has descended from the pedestal on which her ardent champions had placed her and has bartered away moral prestige and the friendship of so many of her friends for a seeming political advantage".

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Moneylenders' Bill and the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Bill were passed, and the Council was prorogued.

20th. Mahatma Gandhi in a leading article in the *Harijan*, entitled "The Dissentients", said, "I am not spoiling for a fight, I am trying to avoid it. Whatever may be true of the members of the Working Committee, I wholly endorse Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's charge that I am eager to have a compromise with Britain if it can be had with honour. Indeed, Satyagraha demands it. Therefore, I am in no hurry. And yet, if the time came and if I had no followers, I should be able to put up a single-handed fight.

"But I have not lost faith in Britain. I like the latest pronouncement of Lord Linlithgow. I believe in his sincerity. There are undoubted snags in that speech, many i's have to be dotted and many t's have to be crossed. But it seems to contain the germs of a settlement honourable to both nations.

"Those, thereafter, who work with me have to appreciate this side of me. Perhaps, from the stand-point of the dissentients, this compromising nature of mine is a disqualification. If it is, the country should know it."

The Congress Working Committee decided that with a view to ending the the political deadlock in India, Mahatma Gandhi "should seek from the Viceroy clarification of certain points" in His Excellency's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League was expected to be in Delhi about the same time as Mahatma Gandhi.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad issued a statement from Wardha regarding the observance of "Independence Day" : "The Congress Working Committee at its last meeting passed a resolution calling upon the country to observe Independence Day with enthusiasm and due solemnity. It prescribed the pledge to be taken on Independence Day."

21st. The Congress Working Committee concluded its three-day session at Wardha after hearing Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and Mr. Satyaranjan Bakshi, who had been deputed by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to present its view

on the Bengal Congress dispute and to press for the withdrawal of the ad hoc committee appointed to conduct Congress elections.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, of the Hindu Mahasabha, addressing a meeting at Dumka, said : "We want to co-operate with England, in this her hour of crisis, but on terms of honourable co-operation. The promise of the grant of Dominion Status as embodied in the Statute of Westminster in the shortest possible time makes honourable cooperation possible....."Dominion Status as embodied in the Statute of Westminster is practically independence. It makes India an autonomous State, not subordinate to England or another part of the British Empire in either domestic or foreign politics, and it makes India a free member of the Commonwealth of Nations."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting at Nagpur, said that there appeared to be no chance of a settlement of the impassee though the Viceroy's recent speech at Bombay was "sweet". The time had come, he said, when none dare speak against "Swaraj", even though he did not like it. Impediments were, however, being put in its way in the name of religion and the minorities.

22nd. Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, stated : "Independence Day is an annual feature in the Congress programme and is unconnected with civil resistance. Hence the forthcoming celebrations must not be mistaken for a declaration of civil resistance". He also said : "I am making a desperate effort to avoid a struggle. I believe in the sincerity of Lord Linlithgow".

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, Government of India, opening a conference of representatives of the Central and Provincial Governments and Indian States, at New Delhi, to discuss questions relating to labour, stressed the need for co-ordination of labour conditions between different parts of the country.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose left Wardha for Calcutta. Before his departure, Sj. Bose had detailed discussions with Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the political situation in the country and also the Bengal question. During his discussions with the Congress Working Committee, Sj. Bose in stating the case of the Bengal Congress Committee answered certain points raised in the resolution of the Working Committee on December 24.

Dr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar issued a statement from Calcutta on his return from Wardha, pointing out that he failed to appreciate the oposition to the spinning clause in the Congress independence pledge.

Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, addressing a meeting of the C. P. and Berar Congress Assembly Party at Wardha, said that new forces of opposition had recently come to the surface. Although these were seemingly communal they were not at all due to any cultural or communal differences. There was a desire to bargain for a share in the power that was yet to come.

At the annual general meeting of the Mahabodhi Society of India, in Calcutta, presided over by Sir M. N. Mukherjee, a resolution requesting the Governor of Bihar to hand over the management of the Bodhgaya temple to Budhists was adopted.

23rd. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the Press issued at Rajkot, said : "I find that even Congressmen are realizing that the Independence Day pledge, as amended or with the addendum, is a camouflage."

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose returned to Calcutta from Wardha. In his representation, he narrated a long series of facts to controvert the reasons given by the Congress Working Committee for appointing an ad hoc committee to conduct Congress elections in Bengal.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in a Press statement issued at Lucknow, said, "I received during the last few days numerous enquiries from members and sympathisers of the Forward Bloc as to what they should do on January 26. I have already announced that there is no objection to holding separate meetings and demonstrations on Independence Day. But whether they should actually be held separately or not is left entirely to the discretion of the members in each locality. In no case should there be any opposition raised or any discordant note struck by the members of the Forward Bloc in meetings organized by the official Congress Committees where the Gandhian pledge will be taken."

A conference of the Hindus of Sind, including representatives of a number of Hindu Panchayats in villages and towns throughout the Province was convened at Karachi by Mr. Nichal Das Vizirani, Minister, to consider the position of the minority community and to desire measures to safeguard their interests.

24th. The Sind Government decided to set up a Court of Inquiry to investigate the riots in the province particularly in respect of the causes of riots, measures taken by civil officers including the police to preserve peace immediately before the riots.

A proposal was made to the Calcutta Corporation, to make a capital grant of Rs. 100,000 out of municipal funds for the construction of "a library hall and rooms and a gymnasium" of the Mahajati Sadan (the House of the Nation).

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member to the Government of India, opening the Price Control Conference at New Delhi, referred to the economic and other difficulties attended upon the controlling of prices of primary commodities, and the dangers involved in un-co-ordinated efforts in the different parts of the country.

A concrete result of the two-day session of the Labour Conference was the general agreement that the Central Government should draft legislation on four impo tant subjects in the light of the discussion on them and send the draft to the provincial Governments.

25th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose issued a statement observing : "In connexion with the Independence Day celebrations, I have one thing to add to my previous statement. In reiterating the 1930 pledge in meetings convened by the Forward Bloc, the last sentence should be deleted. Even without this sentence the pledge will be a self-contained and inspiring one."

Mr. R. S. Ruikar, Vice-president, and three other members of the C. P. Provincial Forward Bloc, in a statement issued by them said : "The statement of Rajendra Prasad regarding the independence pledge is a distinct climb down with a definite concession to those who have serious objection to the portion relating to spinning and a constructive programme"

Mr. M. A Jinnah replying to the welcome intended to him by the President, Junagadh Jamiat, said : "Some Hindu leaders (Congress) are intoxicated and are out to crush the Moslems, but the latter are now alert and the Moslem League should be equipped with a Press to fight those who are in opposition, aa also with the necessary means for the purpose."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing the students of the Madras Christian College at Thambarak, said, "We should not allow posterity to say that a great opportunity was spoiled by internal differences.

In Sind, a serious crisis was threatened following a meeting of the Hindu independent members of the Assembly on the eve of the budget session of the Assembly. The party by a majority decided to withdraw its support to the Alla Buksh Ministry and go into Opposition.

Fifty shops were ransacked and five villagers were killed when frontier tribesmen raided a village near Bannu.

26th. "Independence Day" was observed in Calcutta. The celebrations went off peacefully. The morning was devoted to the hoisting of Congress flags and processions, while meetings were held in the evening when the Independence Pledge was read. The "Day" was observed in many other stations, when a similar procedure was adopted.

Dr. Nichaldas Vizirani and Dewan Dialmal Daulatram, the two Ministers in the Sind Cabinet tendered their resignation.

Mr. M. S. Aney, leader of the Congress Nationalist Party had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha. He discussed the political situation with special reference to the communal problem. He stressed the need of solving the problem by giving proper safeguards to minorities without any distinction in all provinces.

27th. Mahatma Gandhi in the course of an article in the *Harijan*, wrote on "Ahimsa and Practice". "I hold that the coming into power of the proletariat through violence is bound to fail in the end ; what is gained by violence must be lost before superior violence".

In the All-India Women's Conference Association at Allahabad, Begum Shareefah Hamid Ali, in her Presidential address, made several interesting observations. She said, "We have suffered from many Hitlers in the home in each generation. Let us pray devoutly that Hitlerism in every shape or form may be banished from the world."

The Excess Profits Tax Bill, sought to impose a tax of 50 p. c. of the excess of the profits made in any accounting period after April 1, 1939 over "Standard Profits."

28th. The Kashmir Durbar agreed to a temporary change in the trade treaty of 1870, signed between the British Government and the Maharaja of Kashmir, with a view to stimulating India's trade with Central Asia.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah made a statement regarding the British Government's attitude : "We are informed that London 'scouts' our just demands to appoint an impartial judicial tribunal, namely a Royal Commission, to inquire into our charges, of a very serious character, about the tyranny and oppression practised over Moslems in Congress-governed provinces."

The Government of India proposed to appoint two Price Advisory officers. one to be stationed in Bombay and the other at Calcutta, mainly to follow the activities of the speculative markets in jute and in cotton and to keep the Government of India informed of the tendencies in those markets.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* : "My belief is unshaken that without communal unity Swaraj cannot be attained through non-violence. But unity cannot be reached without justice between communities. Moslems or any other friendship cannot be bought with bribery."

29th. Donations amounting to Rs. 1 26,400 were announced when a fund called the "East India Fund for British war services", was opened at a meeting at the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

In the Punjab Assembly, Mir Maqbool Mahmud, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier, announced the Punjab Government's decision to take action against all communal volunteer organizations in the province.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in a press statement on the Bengal Congress affairs, said : "The Working Committee are unable to alter their previous decision. The ad hoc committee will conduct elections. It is hoped all Congress Committees including the Provincial Congress Committee and its executive council will co-operate with the "ad hoc" committee and thus ensure fair and impartial elections which is the intention behind the resolution of the Working Committee".

Sir Gulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Minister-in-Charge of Law and Order, Sind, informed the Assembly that the Government of Sind had incurred an expenditure of Rs. 59,000 for A. R. P. schemes and Rs. 31,000 for providing arms and clothing to the special police.

With a view to guiding the members of the Hindu Independent Party in the Sind Assembly a federation of the Hindu "panchyats" in the province was formed.

30th. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal at the annual dinner of the Calcutta Trades Association, said : "The ultimate implications of the war are just as serious for those in India as they are to those who live closer to the actual sense of conflict. The ideals we stand or fall by are ideals, the value of which India as a whole understands—ideals in which Bengal has shown in no uncertain way that she believes".

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in reply to Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose's telegram protesting against the Working Committee's decision and requesting the Congress President to hold a referendum of Bengal Congressmen on the issue, stated that the Congress constitution did not provide for an appeal against the Working Committee to a referendum, but suggested that Sj. Bose might, if he liked, appeal to the All-India Congress Committee.

31st. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, took exception to Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose's remark in a telegram that the All-India Congress Committee had a "packed majority to support your (the Congress President's) decision irrespective of merit". Dr Prasad declared that the remark was wholly unjustified and "unworthy and extremely insulting" to the Congress organisation in other provinces. Dr. Prasad maintained that the Working Committee was competent within the Congress constitution to appoint an ad hoc committee to conduct the elections in Bengal.

The Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting in Calcutta, passed resolutions protesting against the appointment of the "ad hoc" committee and calling upon the subordinate Congress organizations in the province not to co-operate with the above committee.

Dr. B. S. Moonje addressed a large gathering at Bombay. In his speech he pointed out that the Hindu Mahasabha was not antagonistic to the Congress. In fact the first session of the Mahasabha was held in the Congress Pandal at Gaya in 1922. He appealed to Mahatma Gandhi to lift the ban imposed on members of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose made an attack on the policy of the Congress High Comand at a meeting in Calcutta. He traced the history of the differences between the Working Committee and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee beginning from the Tripuri Congress, and said that the appointment of an ad hoc committee over the head of the B. P. C. C. was nothing but an attempt on the part of the Working Committee to suppress the Leftists of Bengal.

February 1940

The principal incident of the month was the meeting of His Excellency the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi,—Mr. M. A. Jinnah of the Moslem League was also invited to place the Moslem point of view—to remove the political deadlock in the country. Though the interview practically did nothing in the direction of improving matters, Mahatma Gandhi was optimistic enough to declare that he saw the germs of settlement in the Viceregal pronouncement in Bombay.

The next item of interest was the appeal of Lord Zetland, in an interview to a representative of the *Sunday Times*, to the leaders of the Indian Congress to "escape from the tyranny of phrases." The Secretary of State for India said that experience of the working of the constitution in the Act of 1935 had made it clear that the problem of the minorities must be taken in hand by Indians themselves. "Long range bombardment by leading personalities from platform and Press is little likely to lead anywhere. What is wanted is escape from the tyranny of phrases and a descent from idealism, from the abstract to the concrete."

He continued : "I believe that only by means of discussion among those who can speak with authority for their followers, informal and in confidence in the first instance, is helpful appreciation of their respective standpoints and difficulties inherent in them to be hoped for. If such a discussion is to be faithful there must be on all sides a genuine will to succeed and a real spirit of compromise. The British Government cannot compel these things ; they can only plead for them as I most earnestly do."

Both Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President expressed keen disappointment at the utterence of Lord Zetland.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah released for publication his correspondence with His Excellency the Viceroy, in which the latter made it clear that his Government realized the importance of the contentment of the Moslem Community in achieving constitutional progress.

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, called a conference of 15 Hindus and 15 Moslems to attempt to settle the communal problem in the Province. Mr. Huq further stated that the best solution for India's problems would be the forming of coalition cabinets in the Provinces for the duration of the war. Sir Sikandar Hyat also expressed his willingness to give the plan a trial in his Province if it would facilitate an All-India settlement.

In the Congress Presidential election, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad defeated his opponent Mr. M. N. Roy by a large majority—Bengal delegates took no part in the voting.

Military operations were launched in the "settled areas" between the Bannu Kohat road and tribal territory and in Ahmadzai Salient. The Faquir of Ipi was supposed to be ill and his followers were leaderless.

The dispute between the Congress Working Committee and the Bengal

Congress Committee continued. The B. P. C. C. disaffiliated three District Committees for co-operating with the "Ad Hoc" Election Committee appointed by the High Command. Following this action, the Working Committee at Patna decided to suspend the B. P. C. C. for "acts of defiance." The latter was also asked to show cause why it should not be disaffiliated. The Ad Hoc Committee was temporarily appointed to act instead of the B. P. C. C.

1st. A Baroda State proclamation announced the inauguration of the new Constitution embodied in the Government of Baroda Act.—The constitution stressed the fundamental identity of interests between His Highness the Maharaja and his people. His Highness earnestly hoped that the greatly increased opportunities for service which the new constitution conferred on the people would be utilised with a due sense of responsibility and in a spirit of mutual understanding and goodwill so as to enable it to help to advance the material and moral progress of his people.—The constitution provided for a Legislative Council (Dhara Sabha), consisting of 60 members, of whom 37 were to be elected and 23 nominated. Nine of the nominated members would be officials. There would be no distinction between urban and rural constituencies except in the case of Baroda City. The Dewan would be the ex-officio President of the Council.

Mr A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, and Mr B. C. Chatterjee, Vice-President of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha issued a joint statement urging the immediate necessity of a round table conference of representatives of the Hindu and Moslem Communities of Bengal.

In a joint statement issued by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Mr. N. K. Basu, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. Sanat Kumar Roy Chowdhury, Hindu leaders of Bengal described the communal Award as "the real cancer eating into the vitals of the public life of Bengal", and it should first be tackled by the proposed conference of representatives of Hindus and Moslems.

Dr B. S. Moonje, addressing a public meeting at Jamshedpur, said: "It is the duty of every Hindu to-day to join the Mahasabha and forget the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, who, as Dictator of Congress, has imparted them under the name of nationalism for the last 20 years."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, in his letter to Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose referred to the "defiance" by the Bengal Congress Committee of the All-India Working Committee. He said: "By saying that in the A. I. C. C. there is a packed majority, you have made the insult more pointed. The assertion is wholly unjustified and unworthy. I cannot imagine a greater insult to the members concerned and to the electorate which returned them."

The Punjab Assembly rejected by 42 votes to 28 an adjournment motion moved by Dr. Satyapal (Congress) relating to a hungerstrike by political prisoners in the Ferozepore district jail.

2nd. His Excellency the Viceroy presided over a conference at the Viceroy's House at New Delhi, when a general review was made of the Frontier situation.—The Commander-in-Chief, several officers of Army Headquarters, the Finance Member (Sir Jeremy Raisman) and the Governor of the North Western Frontier Provinces (Sir George Cunninghum) were present.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at New Delhi, observed that the first and fundamental point on which the Moslem League insisted was that the Government of India Act should go "lock, stock and barrel" and the whole constitutional problem considered afresh.

At a meeting of members of the Foreign Committee of the All-India Moslem League, certain "fundamental principles" on which in the opinion of Moslems, the future Indian constitution should be based were defined. Sir Abdulla Haroon presided at the meeting.

3rd. In an article in the *Harijan*, Mahatma Gandhi justified the clause in the Congress independence pledge relating to British rule in India. He referred to the objection raised by Mr. F. E. James against the clause in the Congress independence pledge relating to British rule in India. The clause stated that "the British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself upon the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually".

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, replying to the Congress President's letter, reiterated his statement that the All-India Congress Committee had a packed majority and referred to the prevalence of "violence and corruption within the Congress".

Referring to the objections raised by Dr. Prasad, to the taking of referendum, Sj. Bose said : "The technical objection pleaded by you is not enough to turn down a suggestion to appeal to the basic sanction of democracy. You take your stand on a narrow legalistic objection".

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, a member of the Working Committee, opening the Tamilnad Political Conference, referred to the Viceroy's offer of Dominion Status. Mr. Desai pointed out how in the Union of South Africa it was demonstrated that it could assert itself as evidenced by General Hertzog's resolution in the United Parliament. They in India were concerned more about the substance of independence. "Let us take them (Britain) at their word, and ask them to prove it in deeds."

Mahatma Gandhi, in the *Harijan*, answered certain objections raised against his *hijarat* advice to Hindus in Sind. He said : "My advice to migrate is for all who feel oppressed and cannot live without loss of self-respect in a particular place. If the Moslems, where they are in a minority, were really oppressed and sought my advice, I should give them the same advice that I have given to the Sind Hindus. But as a general rule they are capable of holding their own even when they are in a minority.

4th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, addressing the Commemoration Day celebration of the Ravenshaw College, Cutack, observed : "One word has obsessed us for the last 25 years, and it is "nationalism". The definition of nationalism is too narrow. We have to be some thing better than patriots. We must take the map of the world into consideration for every gesture of service to India."

The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League met at New Delhi and adjourned after passing several resolutions. One of the resolutions was : "The Working Committee deplores the firing by the police on Mohammedans at Burhanpur (Central Provinces) on January 15 and urges His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces to appoint an impartial tribunal to inquire into the incidents and take such steps as may be necessary for the conduct of an impartial and fair inquiry."

Mr. Fazlul Huq declared in New Delhi : "In the best interests of the country, the present deadlock must be solved. The solution to my mind would be the setting up of coalition governments in the provinces during the interim period of the war. I am prepared to take Congressmen into my Cabinet."

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi at New Delhi.

In the Punjab Assembly, replying to a question in connexion with the ratio of communal representation in Government services, Sir Sunder Singh Majithia, Revenue Minister said that the following proportions were fixed for future recruitment : Moslems 50 p.c. Hindus 30 p. c. and Sikhs 20 p.c.

5th. Mahatma Gandhi went to the Viceroy's House at New Delhi. He remained with His Excellency for about 2½ hours. Subsequently an official communique was issued, stating, "In response to an invitation from His Excellency, Mr. Gandhi came to see the Viceroy. A prolonged and very friendly discussion took place in which the whole position was exhaustively examined.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, presiding at the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, observed : "A true scholar is not bound by considerations of national or racial advantage. He seeks to add to the sum total of human knowledge and cultural advance.—The scholar has time to meditate upon the past, to consider its significance as affecting the future, and to him knowledge of the past makes the present jealousies and hatreds of mankind seem futile."

His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces, dealing with the political situation in India, in the course of a speech at Lucknow, declared : "It was a great disappointment to me to find on my return to India after a short holiday the extent to which the situation had deteriorated."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, the Mahasabha leader, in a statement from Jamshedpur, while welcoming the conference of Hindu and Moslem leaders of Bengal, proposed by the Bengal Premier, said, the idea could not come within the purview of practical politics unless : (1) Mr. Gandhi revised his attitude with regard to Moslems and cancelled his statement of his loyal acceptance of the Communal

Award. (2) The Congress and the Moslem League denounced the Communal Award. (3) Both the Congress and the Moslem League made up their mind to prevent "any intervention of the British Government in this domestic quarrel."

6th. His Excellency the Viceroy granted an interview to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, at New Delhi. A communique issued after the meeting stated : "In response to an invitation from His Excellency, Mr. Jinnah today came to see the Viceroy. The conversation, which lasted for over an hour, ranged over the whole position. Mr. Jinnah urged on His Excellency the great importance attached by the Moslem and other minorities to the safeguarding of their position in any settlement or discussions that might take place. His Excellency assured Mr. Jinnah that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the necessity for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities, and that he need be under no apprehension that the importance of those subjects would be lost sight of."

Mahatma Gandhi, in a statement regarding his conversations with the Viceroy said, "The vital difference between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's offer consists in the fact that the Viceroy's offer contemplates final determination of India's destiny by the British Government whereas the Congress contemplates just the contrary.—The Congress position is that the test of real freedom consists in the people of India determining their own destiny without outside interference."

In the Central Assembly, the Finance Member introduced a Bill to amend the Reserve Bank Act. Sir Zafrulla Khan, introduced another Bill to replace the ordinance to provide for the compulsory registration of European British subjects of military age in India which would expire at the end of February.

Sir Akbar Hydari, President Nizam's Executive Council addressing the State Legislative Council, at Hyderabad, said : "Our alliance with the British Government has stood us 200 years and the ties which bind us to the Crown are unbreakable. Hyderabad and the States have always insisted that our relations are with the Crown in the United Kingdom and this fact has now been recognized, the high office of the Crown Representative being symbolic of it. Any constitution for India, if it involved even in part a transference of those relations to any other authority, must necessarily require the assent of His Exalted Highness in so far as Hyderabad is concerned."

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee issued a statement warning the Congress units in Bengal of the consequences if they failed to abide by the decision of the All-India Congress Committee with regard to elections in the province.

In the Central Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, introduced the Excess Profits Bill and commended generally the social justice of making available to the community generally a part at least of the windfall that war brought to the few. Mr. Alex. Aikman, the leader of the European Group made a critical analysis of the Bill.

7th. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, interviewed regarding the communique issued relating to the interviews between His Excellency the Viceroy and Messrs Gandhi and Jinnah, said : "As for independence of any kind, it is, in my humble view, so far beyond the range of practical politics that it cannot be seriously debated in view especially of what is taking place all over Europe and Asia."

The Central Assembly agreed to circulation of Mr. Lalchand Navalrai's Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code so as to raise the age limit of a person, woman or man, in connexion with the offences of kidnapping and abduction, to 18 years, instead of the existing age limit of 16 years in the case of a girl and 14 years in the case of a male child.

8th. His Highness the Aga Khan, interviewed in Bombay, supported Sardar Ballavbhai Patel's suggestion to leave the outstanding political problem of the day to be settled by a conference of members of legislatures in India. He said, "It is an excellent suggestion. This is the most practical step towards a final settlement of all the problems before us—the communal problem, the relations between British India and Indian States and, finally with the British Government."

The Central Assembly passed without a division Sir Reza Ali's resolution recommending that early steps be taken to strengthen the air defence of India by providing suitable air training for Indian youths and establishing an auxiliary

Indian Air Force, commensurate with the size, populations and requirements of the country, to be manned by Indians.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee and Mr. B C Chatterjee, two leading members of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, issued jointly a statement criticizing the speech made by the Home Minister, Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, in the Bengal Legislative Council on January 12 on a motion for the appointment of a committee of of inquiry to investigate into the affairs of Noakhali. In the course of his speech the Home Minister declared that nothing was wrong with Noakhali and that the allegations made were without any foundation.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, the Liberal leader of Madras, in an interview stated : "I see no prospect of a peaceful settlement of the vital questions at issue between the Hindus and Mahomedans without any outside interference."

9th. In the course of a discussion, in the Central Assembly, Sir Cowasji Jehangir strongly criticized the Excess Profits Tax Bill and levelled a spirited attack—not on the proposals to tax excess profits arising from the war—but on what he described as the blind, faithful adoption, word section and clause of the English Excess Profits Tax Act of 1939 without any reference to Indian conditions.

Mr. M. N. Roy, in a Press statement issued in Calcutta, in connexion with his nomination as a candidate for the Congress Presidentship, said : "For me the contest is not against any individual, but between two sets of ideas and ideals."

10th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption "The task before us" : "There need be no disappointment among Congressmen, over the failure of negotiations between H.E. the Viceroy and me. We met to explore the possibilities of a settlement. I had seen the germs of it in the Viceregal pronouncement in Bombay."

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha at New Delhi, which discussed the political situation, passed resolutions urging that the communal problem be referred to the League of Nations for settlement. Mr. V. D. Savarkar presided.

The Government of Bengal promulgated an Ordinance called the Bengal Jute Ordinance of 1940, to regulate the growing of jute in 1940.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in the course of his reply to Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, stated : If you are keen on having the verdict of the primary Congress members, you can certainly have it, and I would invite you to try a chance at the A.I.C.C. which will be elected on February 15 by delegates who in their turn have been elected by the primary members, or at the open session of the Congress if you can bring up the matter in a suitable constitutional manner."

11th. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, a former President of the Congress, in a statement to the Press in Madras suggested that the leaders of the Congress and the Moslem League should meet to bring about a settlement of the communal and constitutional problems.

Mr. Amritlal Ojha, President of the Indian Colliery Owners' Association, addressing the seventh annual general meeting, said, "A survey of 1936 World Economy reveals that the world was not very happy from the economic point of view in the year just ended. The political troubles of 1938 continued and in some cases intensified, and the consummation was reached in September last when the present war was precipitated."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru inaugurating the All-Maharastra Congress Youth Conference in Bombay, appealed to the youths of the country to discard provincialism. Mr. N. V. Gadgil presided.

"Bengal Congress Day" was observed in Calcutta : a statement issued by the Secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, explaining the committee's present attitude in regard to the Congress Working Committee, was supported at a well attended public meeting held in Sraddhananda Park, Calcutta. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose presided.

Lord Zetland in an interview to the *Sunday Times*, made an appeal to leaders of the Indian Congress to "escape from the tyranny of phrases."

12th. The Central Assembly, by 65 votes to 7, referred the Excess Profits Tax Bill to a Select Committee.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, in a statement on Lord Zetland's appeal to Congress leaders which he made in his interview to the *Sunday Times*, said : "If we suffer from a tyranny of phrase the British Government with all

its vast experience of Government of men should not suffer from it and should be able to boldly accept the Indian demand." He continued, "British statesmen will do well to shed their patronizing tone and be prepared to deal with Indians on terms of equality."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in reply to Mr. M. N. Roy's request for postponement of the presidential election in order to enable the Bengal delegates to participate in it, stated that it was impossible to comply with the request as arrangements for the presidential election had already been made in the other provinces.

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, General Secretary, All-India Congress Socialist Party expressed his view on the Congress Presidential election : "To vote against Maulana Abul Kalam Azad would be to repudiate the leadership of Mr. Gandhi in the present crisis. We must, therefore, vote for Maulana Abul Kalam Azad."

Sir G. S. Bajpai, Education Secretary, informed Sir Ziauddin Ahmed that the state of their finances permitting and subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, the Government of India proposed to make a grant not exceeding Rs. 51 lakhs during the next 5 years to the Delhi University.

13th. The President of the Central Assembly, admitted resolutions recommending the preparation for a constitution for India on the basis of full Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an article written for "*Time* and *Tide*", elaborated his thesis that Western Democracy was totally unsuited to India, and that its imposition on India was the disease in the body politic. He demanded that a constitution must be evolved that recognized the existence of two nations in India both of whom must share the governance of their common motherland.

The Select Committee on the Excess Profits Tax Bill started work and it was expected that several of its members would champion Mr. Jinnah's claim that the proposed Rs. 20,000 minimum should be raised.

The Sind Ministry suffered a defeat in the Assembly, when a Congress amendment on the Agriculturists Marketing Bill was carried against the Government by 26 votes to 16.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, in reply to the Congress President's letter, stated what he characterized as the real reason of the conflict between the All-India Working Committee and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. He said : "I do not see how you can dispute the relevancy of my reference to Bihar Congress affairs and, more particularly to your own violence Enquiry Committee. The report of that Committee showed that in 1937, Congress elections in Bihar were conducted in a manner that left no doubt about the prevalence of widespread corruption, violence and unfairness in the Congress organization in Bihar, in spite of which there was no suggestion of intervention by the Working Committee".

14th. Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement to the Press on the interview given by Lord Zetland to the *Sunday Times* (London) : "I have been taught to believe that Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety is akin to independence and includes the right to secede. Therefore, I had thought there would be no difficulty about Britain allowing India to determine her own status. But Lord Zetland makes it clear that Britain, not India, has to determine it. In other words, the British hold on India must remain"

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, former Finance Minister of Bengal, addressing a public meeting at Chandpur, referred to the proposed conference in Calcutta convened by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq (Premier) to settle Hindu-Moslem problems.

Mr. H. C. Mookherjee, President, Indian Christian Association, at the annual meeting of that body in Calcutta, observed : "We are not a clamorous party, we do not raise a hue and cry ; but we are thoroughly alert and alive to the situation, and we are studying the currents and cross-currents that are going on in the country."

In connexion with the Ministerial crisis in Sind, the Governor sent for the leaders of the three Opposition Parties in the Assembly and discussed the question of the formation of an alternative Cabinet.

The Bengal Government issued a comprehensive document refuting the allegation made by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at its annual session in Calcutta in December, that the Ministry's policy was communal and reactionary.

15th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad led by 1841 votes to 181 against Mr. M. N. Roy in the Congress presidential election for the Ramgarh session. The result of voting in only one province—Sind—remained to be declared.

The Central Assembly passed with one amendment the Indian Arbitration Bill as reported upon by the Select Committee.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, presided over a meeting in Calcutta, in which a resolution was passed condemning the alleged repressive policy of the Government of Bengal and asking them to end it immediately and to restore the status quo which existed before September 1939.

At a meeting of the outgoing Working Committee of the Punjab Congress Committee—a resolution was passed inviting the A. I. C. C. to hold the next session of the Congress in the Punjab. Dr. S. D. Kitchlew presided.

Khan Bahadur Alla Baksh, the Premier of Sind, tendered the resignation of his Cabinet to the Governor.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly discussed and eventually passed the third reading of the Bengal Finance (Amendment) Bill.

Bengal's Budget Estimates for 1940-41, presented in the Assembly by Mr. Suhrawardy, Finance Minister, revealed a deficit—Revenue receipts were placed at Rs. 13 crores 97 lakhs and expenditure at Rs. 14 crores and 54 lakhs, or Rs. 57 lakhs more than revenue.

16th. The election of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, as President of the Congress, was announced by Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee. He secured a majority of 1,671 votes.—The Maulana polled 1,854 votes as against 183 secured by his rival Mr. M. N. Roy.

In the Central Assembly, the Railway Budget revealed a surplus of over Rs. 8 crores, and contained proposals for increases in freight and fares.

Mr. P. S. Macdonald, Chairman, Indian Jute Mills Association, at the annual meeting of that body in Calcutta, observed : "The war has mobilized the economic unity of the British Empire and reinforced all its material resources. India, in this world upheaval, stands in the favoured position of being a supplier of many important raw and finished articles so necessary for the conduct of the war."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose announced that he and the members of his party would defy the Defence of India Act and the rules made under it unless the Government made them inoperative—the said announcement by the leader of the opposition party was made in the course of a debate on an adjournment motion to discuss the orders of externment passed on certain labour, peasant and student workers under the Defence of India Rules.—The motion was defeated by 102 votes to 76.

In the Central Assembly, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Commerce Member, introduced a Bill designed to prevent the exposure of children to the risk of exploitation and employment in unhealthy and dangerous conditions.

17th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* : "I do not repent having visited the Viceroy and having had a prolonged talk with him. I am quite convinced that we would put ourselves in the wrong if, in our impatience, we precipitate a battle or, which is the same thing, bang the door on negotiations."

Mahatma Gandhi in an article in the *Harijan*, under the caption, "Is it war", said : "The view that if what Lord Zetland has said represents the considered view of the British Government then there is no meeting ground between the nationalists and the imperialists and it means a declaration of war on the nationalists."

Mahatma Gandhi, on his way to Santiniketan, Bolepur, accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi and his two secretaries arrived at Howrah station.

18th. The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India which met in Bombay, passed a resolution welcoming the Viceroy's announcement regarding the intention of the British Government to introduce in India Dominion Status of the Westminster variety at the conclusion of the war.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in an interview at Lahore, stated : "The present state of suspense cannot continue longer, and I can say that after the Ramgarh session the Congress must take a step forward. That step will surely take the form of a new struggle."

Mahatma Gandhi had a busy programme at Santiniketan. After attending several functions, he had a lengthy discussion with Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore on various questions.

Dr. W. A. Jenkins, special officer, Secondary Education, Bengal, addressing the delegates of the Dacca Education Week, on "control of Education with

special reference to Bengal", surveyed the educational control in Germany, France, Russia, Italy, America and England and pointed out that in those countries education was controlled by the Government.

The All-Bengal Government School Teachers' Conference concluded its deliberations in Calcutta—a number of resolutions were passed : one resolution recommending the issue of a journal devoted to educational topics was also passed.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, interviewed in Madras regarding the Congress election, observed : "Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who takes the rudder today at the request of practically all Congressmen in India is perhaps the most learned Indian in Islamic Scriptures".

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Mayor of Madras, speaking at the Maharaja's College at Ernakulam, observed : "Democracy was the most suitable form of Government for India, and when the separate electorates were abolished, communal majorities and communal minorities would become political groups."

19th. A bomb was thrown at a Mohurrum procession in Sukkur, resulting in one person being killed. Seventeen persons were wounded. The report of the outrage was officially confirmed.

Details of the action of the Frontier Constabulary in the encounter at Darwazgai with the gang that raided Musazgai on February 8, showed that shortly after the raid the District officer of the Frontier Constabulary at Darazinda ordered their platoons garrisoned at Zarkani to hold the Sheikh Haidar, Rang Tanvi and Khaorai Passes.

Khan Bahadur M. Khuhro, Leader of the Moslem League group in the Legislative Assembly (Sind) and Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani, former Minister and Leader of the Hindu Independent Party in the Assembly saw His Excellency the Governor by invitation.

20th. The seven-day session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference began at Malikanda with the opening of the Khadi and village industries exhibition by Mahatma Gandhi, who appealed for mutual toleration and freedom of opinion.

The Arya Prathinidhi Sabha's report on the Sukkur riots contained a suggestion to convene a conference of Hindu and Moslem leaders in Sind to reconcile the two communities in the province.

The Government of India, subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, decided to make a non-recurring grant to Delhi University of Rs. 8,00,000 spread over a period of 5 years, the maximum in anyone financial year being limited to Rs. 2,00,000.

In the report of the Board of Revenue, Bengal, on the Land Revenue Administration for the year 1938-39, a reference to the "no-rent mentality" created by the passing of the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill.

Provincial hopes of substantial gains from income-tax proceeds are to some extent disappointed by the Distribution of Revenues Amendment Order relating to the divisional net proceeds of income-tax.

Sir P. C. Roy, who presided over the foundation day celebration and prize distribution of the Medical College, Calcutta, emphasized the need for scientific medical research in India.

21st. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. W. A. M. Walker, leader of the European Group warned the Finance Minister that he would be well advised to pursue a cautious policy regarding a survey for the purpose of discovering new sources of revenue with a view to placing before the House proposals for fresh taxation. He also sounded a note of warning with reference to the proposed jute restriction policy.

In the Sind Assembly the no-confidence motion against the Allah Bux Ministry, tabled by Mr. Mohandas Daulatram, was admitted. All the Opposition groups—Congress, Moslem League and Hindu Independents—stood in support of leave being granted to the motion.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, speaking on the Congress adjournment motion relating to the order of the Punjab Government postponing the general elections to local bodies for a year, uttered a warning that they should be under no misapprehension that since the theatre of war was far away from India, there was no danger to this country.

Mahatma Gandhi in his speech at Malikanda, (Dacca) advised the members of the Gandhi Seva Sangha to "forget politics" and cease taking part in politics.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, commenting on the Madras Government's order making the study of Hindi optional instead of compulsory, declared, "I cannot both be out of office and at the same time quarrel with what is being done in our absence."

22nd. All members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, with the exception of the new Executive Committee, ceased to be members of the Sangh, in accordance with a resolution passed unanimously.

Military operations against hostile tribal gangs began in the Ahmadzai Salient.

The Budget estimates of the Government of Assam for the year 1940-41, were presented by Sir M. Saadulla, Premier and Finance Minister in both Houses of the Assam Legislature.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, in reply to Mr. Nur Ahmed, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister, stated that the Government did not propose to alter or modify the present allotment of seats in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the basis of the suggestions embodied in the Reforms Commissioner's report.

23rd. The Central Legislative Assembly passed five official Bills. The Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act ; the Bill to facilitate the changing of the date on which the annual accounts of the Reserve Bank of India close ; the Bill further to amend the Factories Act ; the Bill further to amend the Indian Emigration Act ; and the Bill further to amend the Reserve Bank of India Act, were the measures passed.

In the Council of State, the recommendation that India should build her own locomotives and the proposed increases in rates and fares, were the main topics of discussion, but the debate ranged over a wide field. Pandit H. N. Kunzru entered a strong protest against Government's refusal to give certain figures relating to defence.

Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, in the course of an informal talk with the members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, at Malikanda, Dacca, on the political situation in the country, said : "We have two policies to choose between—either to support the British Government unconditionally in the destruction of Nazism, or to demand independence in return for such support."

Troops returning from the Gumatti hills via the Barhundan Pass, were fired upon by a hostile gang concealed in a small village three miles west off Domel police station, on the Bannu Kohat road.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, some non-official Bills were disposed of. The more important of them were the Patni Taluks Registration (Amendment) Bill, the Abolition of Dowry Bill and the Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill.

24th. Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *Harijan*, replied to a correspondent who questioned the authority of the Congress to be generous to Moslems at the expense of Hindus, and who suggested that the Hindu Mahasabha was the competent authority to offer terms to the Moslems. Mahatmaji said that he admitted that the proper organization to enter into a settlement was the Hindu Mahasabha so far as Hindus were concerned. But the Congress endeavoured to represent all such communities. He said : 'It is not by design but by accident of Hindus being politically more conscious than the others, that the Congress contains a majority of Hindus. As history proves the Congress is a joint creation of Moslems, Christians, Parsis, Hindus, and the Congress inspite of all that may be said to the contrary, retains that character."

In the Central Assembly, the proposed increase in railway fares and freights was discussed.

In the Central Assembly, the power given to Railway Agents to spend up to Rs. 1,00,000 without the Railway Board's specific action on certain types of capital expenditure, was criticized, during a discussion on demands for grants under the Railway Budget.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the necessity of further taxation in order that the Government might be able to fulfil their obligations to the people was emphasized by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier, replying to the criticisms levelled against the budget during its general discussion.

25th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League reiterated the demands of the Moslem League which were placed before His Excellency the Viceroy. He said, *inter alia*, that the League had put a five-fold demand before the Viceroy. First, the League

had demanded a clear statement on behalf of the British Government that the present Act of 1935 would go lock, stock and barrel, and the entire scheme of constitutional reform would be examined *de novo* in the light of experience gained from the working of the constitution during the last two years, and in the light of experience which might be gained in future.

The fifty second annual general meeting of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce was held at Cawnpore, under the presidentship of Mr. R. Menzies.— He referred to the "subversive forces" at work among the workers, and to the several important Bills which the Government of India had under consideration.

The Sind Ministerial deadlock continued despite the efforts of the provincial Assembly parties to solve it.

Mahatma Gandhi, before leaving Malikanda, addressing a gathering, said : "Hindu Moslem unity, removal of untouchability, charka and prohibition are the four pillars of Swaraj as embodied in the four resolutions of the Nagpur Congress in 1921 and if we keep these pillars firm Swaraj is bound to come."

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, in a message to the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association and the Textile Labour Association, appealed to both sides to the dispute being referred to arbitrators.

26th. In the Sind Assembly, Khan Bahadur Alla Baksh's Ministry survived the no-confidence motion. The voting resulted in a tie, each side obtaining 29 votes. The Speaker gave his casting vote in favour of the Ministry.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the debate on the Jute Registration Bill, introduced by Mr. Tamijuddin Khan, Minister-in-charge of Agriculture and Public Health opened—all parties accepted the underlying principle of the Bill and the only objection that the Opposition took was that the provisions were not comprehensive enough.

At the annual meeting of the Bengal Presidency Council of Women, Calcutta, Her Excellency the Lady Mary Herbert said : "I cannot say how much I admire the unstinting and selfless efforts of those who are working for others."

In the Central Assembly, staff grievances and especially those of Moslem employees figured prominently in the resumed debate on the Railway Budget.

In the Council of State, Mr. Maneckji Nadirshaw Dalal was allowed to refer the Bill to amend the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act to a Select Committee. The President gave an important ruling to the effect that the rulings of the chair could not be discussed by the Council.

27th. The Legislative assembly agreed, after some discussion, to demands for supplementary grants in respect of Railways aggregating to about Rs. 1,50,00,000.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Finance Minister assured the House by saying : "Government will not go in for fresh taxation unless they have a well considered scheme and that all money so raised will be spent on nation-building departments and for furthering the prosperity of the province."

The Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society at its meeting at Lahore, discussed the Government of India's proposal to increase the railway rates, and the problems confronting newspapers as the result of the war.

Mr. G. L. Mehta, President, Indian Chambers of Commerce, presiding over the annual general meeting of the Chamber in Calcutta, urged the need for popular control of the fiscal policy of the Government of India.

28th. The Congress Working Committee met at Patna. The political impasse in India dominated the discussions of the Committee. Mahatma Gandhi, who joined the deliberations, gave particulars of his talks with the Viceroy at the earlier part of the month.

The Central Assembly discussed the transfer of Simla from the jurisdiction of the Punjab Government to that of the Government of India, the railway's financial policy, a proposal to establish a permanent exhibition of Indian Art, and a scheme of Indian reform.

In the Central Assembly, a series of questions were asked about the supply Department of the Government of India and the liaison officers appointed in connexion with industries with which the Department had relations.

29th. The Congress Working Committee at Patna, decided to suspend the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for "acts of defiance". The latter has also been asked to show cause why it should not be disaffiliated. The Working Committee failed to conclude its discussion on the main resolution on the political situation

In the Central Assembly, the Finance Member, in introducing the budget had to cover an estimated deficit of Rs. 7,16 lakhs in 1940-41 estimates. Rs. 300 lakhs would come from the tax on excess profits. A surplus of Rs. 91 lakhs would be carried forward form the current financial year and the balance would be made up by increasing the sugar excise from Rs. 2 to 3 per cwt.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose in a statement expressed the hope that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee would continue to function as before "regardless of any ukase that might emamate from Wardha, Patna and Allahabad."

March 1940

One of the leading features of the month was the continuation of the dispute between the Congress Working Committee and the Bengal Congress Committee. The B. P. C. C. disaffiliated three district committees for co-operation with the "Ad Hoc" Election Committee appointed by the High Command. Following this action, the Congress Working Committee at Patna, decided to suspend the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee "for acts of defiance." The latter was also asked to show cause why it should not be disaffiliated. The "Ad Hoc" Committee was temporarily appointed to act instead of the B P. C. C.

The Working Committee passed a draft resolution for the Ramgarh Congress on the constitutional issue. The resolution declared that the pronouncements of the British Government in regard to India demonstrated that the war was being carried on for imperialist ends ; that Congress could not directly or indirectly be a party to the war, or help in its prosecution with men, money or material ; that nothing short of complete independence would satisfy India ; that Dominion or any other status within the constitution of India should be framed by a Constituent Assembly, on the basis of adult suffrage.

A general strike broke out in Bombay, following the failure of the employers and the textile workers of Bombay to agree on the figure of a fair "dearness allowance" to cover increased prices in war time,—some 150,000 workers were affected. The conduct of the strike was peaceful.

The Madras Budget, framed on the assumption that prohibition was to continue, showed a surplus of Rs. 56 lakhs on revenue account and closed with a surplus of Rs. 82,000. The Government intended to support all schemes given effect to by the previous Ministry.

The Ad Hoc Committee, appointed by the Congress Working Committee, forbade Congressmen to take part in the Calcutta Corporation elections, though they were permitted to stand as individuals.

In his speech to the Chamber of Princes, His Excellency the Viceroy referred to His Majesty's Government's decision to hold in suspense the preparations for Federation, while retaining Federation as their objective.—Renewed affirmations of loyalty to the Empire were made at the session of the Chamber.

The Government of India decided to detain the principal leaders of the Communist Party of India, to prevent propaganda designed to prejudice the conduct of the war.

The Congress session at Ramgarh was the briefest on record on account of heavy rain. The Patna resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, no amendment succeeded in obtaining more than 30 votes.

Mahatma Gandhi addressing the meeting declared that he would not take the responsibility of launching civil disobedience unless the condition he had laid down were accepted, among which the principal item was charka.

On the same day that rain prevented the Congress session, Sj, Subhas Chandra Bose opened his "Anti Compromise Conference". The main resolution called upon Sj. Bose and Swami Sahajananda Saraswati to create an "All-India Council of Action" for intensifying "local struggle" and beginning a "struggle on an All-India front" on April 6.

A large party of Khaksars came into conflict with the Lahore police. The police were attacked and two constables were killed. The police opened fire killing 27 Khaksars. Later the Khaksar organisation was declared illegal by the Punjab Government, its leader was arrested under the Defence of India Act at Delhi and many other arrests were made.

The Moslem League at Lahore passed unanimously an official resolution declaring that no constitutional plan would be workable unless it was based on territorial readjustment and the creation of independent Moslem States ; and that, further, Moslem minorities in other parts of India should be protected by adequate and mandatory safeguards. Strong views were expressed for and against the plan all throughout India.

The Moslem League also deplored the loss of life in the firing incident between Khaksars and police, called for an impartial inquiry and demanded the removal of the ban on Khaksars.—The Khaksars were ordered by their Lahore Chief to refrain from disorder.

1st. The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution at Patna, declaring the determination of the Party to resort to civil disobedience unhesitatingly as soon as the organization was considered fit enough for the purpose or "in case circumstances so shaped themselves as to precipitate a crisis."—The resolution stated *inter alia* : "The Congress hereby declares again that nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India.—"Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of imperialism, and Dominion Status, or any other status within the imperial structure, is wholly inapplicable to India, is not in keeping with the dignity of a whole nation, and would bind India in many ways to British politics and economic structure.—"The people of India alone can properly shape their own constitution and determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage".

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a demand by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee (Congress) that the Government should compel mills and factories to grant to their employees at least 25 p. c. of their pay as war bonus was rejected by 111 against 58 votes.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners was raised by Mr. Lalit Chandra Das (Congress). He charged the Government with having failed to give effect to their promise regarding release of political prisoners.—the resolution was defeated.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Finance Minister, Mr. Manoharlal, when presenting the Budget Estimates for 1940-41 revealed a revenue deficit of Rs. 28 lakhs, which was covered by extraordinary receipts of Rs. 50 lakhs with no corresponding expenditure, leaving a surplus balance of Rs. 22 lakhs.

In the Central Assembly, when Sir Jeremy Raisman moved consideration of a Bill to amend the Reserve Bank Act, the drift of Reserve Bank Shares to Bombay and the serious decline in the number of shareholders were discussed.

2nd. Mahatma Gandhi in a statement observed : "The question has come from London as to whether the Congress has closed the door to negotiations and a compromise. My interpretation of the resolution is that the Congress has not closed the door. It has been closed by Lord Zetland. There can be no negotiation on his terms so far as the Congress is concerned. India will not be a helpless partner in her own exploitation and foreign domination. The Congress

will not rest till India is a free country as Britain is. And if India accepts non-violence as her settled policy she will be freer than Britain."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, in an interview at Patna on the Congress resolution, said : "So far as the British Government is concerned, it is still open to it to avert a struggle by conceding the universal and national demands of the people of India."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Patna, stated that Mahatma Gandhi like a true satyagrahi had negotiated and was always prepared to negotiate with the British Government. Referring to the Working Committee's resolution, he said that it was the call for preparation. After recalling the Satyagraha of 1920 and 1930, Pandit Nehru said that again the Congress Working Committee had come to a position where another struggle seemed imminent.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, when he addressed the convocation of Calcutta University, observed : Calcutta University now stands forth not only as the largest University in India, but also as a guide in several respects to other Universities, when we think of the large volume of its contribution to learning and high level of post-graduate teachings."

The Government of India's Standing Committee for Roads, in addition to approving a number of schemes, approved grants from the Road Fund amounting to Rs. 10,27,000 for the provinces.

3rd. Dr. B. S. Moonje, in his presidential address at the first Lucknow Hindu Youth Conference, made a statement that "The Congress has now outlived its mission and must make room for the Hindu Mahasabha.".

About 40,000 textile mill workers in Bombay struck work in anticipation of the general strike—over the 'dearness allowance" dispute.

Sir Mirza Ismail, replying to an address of welcome presented to him by the Calcutta Moslem Students Association, made a plea for communal unity between Hindus and Moslems in Bengal.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi, in the course of an interview in Bombay, said : "I support Sardar Ballavbhai Patel's suggestion, backed by the Aga Khan, that the Provincial Legislatures and their electorate through the Provincial Ministries should settle the future constitution of a free India."

4th. A general strike of textile workers commenced in Bombay. Sixty out of the sixty-eight mills in Bombay were closed and about 150,000 workers affected. The strike was over a dispute on "dearness allowance."

Mr. H. Dow, Director-General of Supply issued a statement on what it costs to maintain India's Department of Supply. He estimated that the total expenditure on the Supply Department amounted to Rs. 1,28,000 a month.

Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to a question, if he would exclude politics from the Harijan Seva Sangh, said : "All constructive organizations should eschew politics and ought not to fly the national flag, especially so when it has become a cause of quarrel between Moslems and Hindus".

The Council of State debated the Hon. Sardar Buta Singh's resolution that, "This Council views with great apprehension the price control policy of the Government, and recommends to the Governor-General in Council that no action be taken to arrest a normal rise in the price of agricultural produce."

The Budget Estimates of the Government of Madras for the financial year 1940-41 showed a surplus of Rs. 55,84 lakhs.—The Government, according to Budget estimates, proposed to raise a loan of Rupees one crore during 1940-41.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Jute Regulation Bill and the Moneylenders Bill were passed.

5th. In the Council of State, seven official Bills were passed—Trade Marks Bill, Amendment of the Indian Coinage Act (Coinage Bill), Reserve Bank (Amendment) Bill, were among the Bills which were passed.

The second day of the Bombay textile strike passed off peacefully. More mills were closed. In the evening, the rally of workers took place at Worli where several thousands of workers had gathered. They were told by their leaders to stand firm till their demand was conceded.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a series of incidents which led the Speaker to suspend the meeting for a quarter of an hour, and a walk-out by the Congress and Proja opposition, marked the proceedings, when demands for grants in connexion with the Budget came up for consideration. The first incident, in which Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal (Congress) and the Home Minister (Khwaja Sir

Nazimuddin) principally figured, occurred when Mr. Khagendra Nath Das Gupta (Congress) was speaking on two cut motions in connexion with a demand by the Home Minister for a grant of Rs. 1,19,26,000 for general administration.

At a meeting of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, Mr. Desai reviewed the political situation culminating in the resignation of the Congress Ministries and the deadlock over the demand for a constituent assembly to frame a constitution for India.

6th. In the Central Assembly, the Excess Profits Tax Bill underwent a number of important changes in the Select Committee whose report was presented to the Assembly.

The third day of the textile workers' strike in Bombay over the labourers' demand for a "dearness allowance" commenced with the closure of two more mills, one in the City and the other in the suburbs.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, due to continued obstructionist tactics by members of the Congress Opposition, the Speaker (Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque) was compelled to suspend the proceedings of the House more than an hour before the usual time.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, when replying to the discussion on the Budget in the Assembly, administered a stern warning that he would not spare any body who carried on an anti-recruitment campaign.

7th. Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, in a statement at Patna, made an appeal to the Leftists to close up their ranks and maintain unity in the Congress. He stated, "It is a matter of deep regret to me that in this hour of crisis when national and Congress unity is so essential there are so many disruptive tendencies at work. The task of maintaining unity in the Congress rests on the shoulders of the Leftists much more than those of the others. Unfortunately, Left wing infantilism is dragging the Congress to ruin. It is the duty of the Congress Socialists above every thing else to fight this disruption unmindful of the calamity that a section of the Left may heap upon them."

Mr. K. M. Campbell, presiding over the annual general meeting of the Chittagong Chamber of Commerce, paid a tribute to the services rendered by the people of Chittagong for the prosecution of the war.

8th. The Central Assembly discussed cut motions on the Budget By 43 votes to 22 Sir Raza Ali's cut motion to "discuss the importance of initiating a decisive policy of training Indians to undertake the defence of the country and of establishing a defence advisory committee" was rejected.

Maulana Zafar Ali, in the Central Assembly, suggested the creation of a buffer state from the Makran coast right up to Chitral, when he moved a cut in the estimates in order to discuss the forward policy of the Government in the North West Frontier Provinces.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.L.A. (Central) addressing a students' meeting in the Hindu College Hall, New Delhi, expressed the view that a struggle alone would lead them to independence. He said, "Mahatma Gandhi is the emblem of India's unity and if he (Mahatma) starts a struggle the whole country will be with him."

The Allahabad District Forward Bloc Conference was held at Allahabad under the presidentship of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose. One of the resolutions passed at the conference, expressed satisfaction at the resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at Patna in as much as it called upon the country to be prepared for the final struggle. The resolution, however, expressed regret at the lack of any preparations for the struggle and the "open door" policy. Another resolution strongly condemned "the action of those misguided people of Bengal who in their zeal of opposing Gandhian principles went out of their way to show discourtesy towards Mahatma Gandhi in his recent Bengal tour."

9th. At the annual general meeting of the Darjeeling Planters' Association, held at Darjeeling, Mr. F. J. Dumford in his presidential address narrated the Association's work in the past year and summed up the Darjeeling tea industry's progress during the first six months of the war.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Speaker, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, gave the ruling that the proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 6th March (Wednesday) in connexion with the Budget demand for "General Administration" were regular, valid and legal, and were not "ultra vires" or irregular ;—on the point of order raised by Mr. Santosh Kumar Bose (Deputy

Leader of the Congress Party) the previous day, questioning the legality of the Speaker's action on the 6th in putting the entire demand for "General Administration" to the vote without first disposing of the cut motions."

Mahatma Gandhi in an article in the *Harijan* declared : "The time for civil disobedience is not yet." The Mahatma also said : "The conditions for mass civil disobedience are discipline and non-violence within the Congress. These conditions do not exist and therefore, it would be suicidal to launch a campaign at the present juncture." He administered a stern rebuke to certain Congressmen who impatiently believed that the question of a struggle was a matter of days. There was nothing in the Patna resolution to warrant that belief. Mahatmaji added, as the author of the non-violent technique, he would only fight when he felt the urge from within. "Let it be clearly understood that I cannot be hustled into precipitating the struggle."

10th. It was officially announced that the Government of Bombay addressed a letter to the Bombay Millowners' Association on the dispute in the textile industry and the question of a bonus to workers if increased profits were made as a result of the war.

A general meeting of the Rulers and Ministers of States was held at New Delhi under the Chairmanship of His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes The Rulers and representatives of about 70 States were present. His Highness the Chancellor presented a review of the work and the financial statement for last year.

Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Leader of the Moslem League Party in the Madras Assembly, presiding over the Moslem League Conference at Rajgiri, declared : "If there is any political sagacity or realism left in the Congress, it will recognize the Moslem League as the sole representative body of Indian Moslems and come to a settlement with it."

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress in his annual report dealt with the stalemate in the Congress after the Tripuri session, the disciplinary action taken against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the war crisis and the resignation of Congress Ministries, the celebration of "Deliverence day" by the Moslem League and the beneficient measures undertaken by Congress Ministries.—The report gave a detailed account of the growth of political consciousness in the Indian States in general resulting in movements in various States for civil liberties and self-government.

11th. H. E. the Viceroy, who opened the meeting of the Chamber of Princes at New Delhi paid a warm tribute to the offers of service made by the Princes and assured them that these offers would be taken advantage of as soon as the opportunity arose. A joint declaration of loyalty to the King Emperor and pledge of support for Britain in the present war was made at the meeting moved in the form of a resolution, the declaration emphasized the determination of the Princes to every possible assistance in men, money and material in the war which had been forced upon the Empire. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, supporting the war resolution, said that any impartial and unprejudiced person who had followed events in Europe must in fairness recognize that the war was not of Great Britain's seeking, and that it had been forced on the Allies who had no alternative but to take up the challenge.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly met twice, once in the afternoon and again after dinner. Demands for grants in connexion with the Budget for 1940-41 were discussed in the afternoon, while the evening session was devoted to consideration of the Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Bill, 1940.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Tenancy (Third Amendment) Bill was referred to a Select Committee by 28 votes to 12.

In the Central Assembly, a cut motion moved by Mr. M. S. Aney, to discuss the "unsatisfactory nature of the declaration regarding the refusal of the British Government to declare their war aims and their effect on the political status of India and the non-insistence of the Government of India to obtain such a declaration" was lost by 54 votes to 10.

12th. In the Central Assembly, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, announced the creation of a Board of Scientific and Industrial Research and an inquiry into the liberalization of the Fiscal Commission's conditions relating to protection in order to encourage the expansion of Indian industry. Sir Ramaswamy acknowledged the Finance Member's generosity in placing a sum of Rs. 5

lakhs at his disposal to be spent on industrial research scholarships and other schemes for the promotion of industries.

The Chamber of Princes concluded its session after unanimously adopting a resolution on the future constitution of India in its relation to the Princes—His Excellency the Viceroy presided. The resolution which was moved by the Chancellor, the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and was supported by the Maharajas of Bikaner, Rewa, Dewas (Junior), Panna, and the Nawab of Bahawalpur, stated *inter alia* : "The Chamber of Princes while welcoming the attainment by India of its due place amongst the Dominions of the British Commonwealth under the British Crown records its emphatic and firm view that in any future constitution for India the essential guarantees and safeguards for the preservation of the sovereignty and autonomy of the States and for the protection of their rights arising from Treaties, Sanads, engagements and otherwise should be effectively provided."—The Jam Sahib was re-elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

Sir Arthur Hope, accompanied by Lady Hope arrived in Madras. Sir Arthur was sworn in as Governor of Madras.

In the Assam Assembly, Sir Muhammad Saadulla, Premier, explaining the policy of his Ministry with regard to the mass literacy campaign during the discussion on a cut motion under the head "Eucation", said : "It is a shame that in the countryside of Assam at least 5 percent of the population are not literate."

The textile mill strike in Bombay city continued. Fifty-three mills were completely closed and only 11 worked with a few hands.

13th. The Central Assembly began a general discussion of the Excess Profits Tax Bill as recommended by the Select Committee.—Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, commending the Bill to the House thought that the members would agree that the labours of the Committee had borne substantial fruit. The consensus of opinion through-out the country, he said, was that the measure was now greatly improved and he gladly acknowledged the assistance he had received in the committee,

At a special meeting of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, a resolution urging that the Mayor of Bombay should intervene in the textile labour strike in the city with a view to bringing about an early settlement of the dispute by mutual adjustment or arbitration was passed.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, strong condemnation of the amendment to the Government of India (Distribution of Revenues) order-in-Council, 1936, was expressed by representatives of the principal groups in the Assembly.—After a lengthy debate, the House accepted without opposition a motion by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker (former Finance Minister), that an address be presented to His Excellency the Governor through the Speaker, for communication to His Majesty-in-Council to revoke the amendment and to restore the *status quo ante* on the ground that the unsettlement of the Niemeyer Award again, a little over two years after its adoption, would seriously affect the finances of Bengal.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1940 was passed.

Sir Michael O' Dwyer, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, was shot dead at a meeting of the East India Association in Caxton Hall, London ; Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, was also wounded.

14th. Mahatma Gandhi opened the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition at Ramgarh.

In the Central Assembly, on the Excess Profits Tax Bill, Mr. F. E. James remarked : "Behind the men in the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, economic and financial resources must stand fully mobilised. A tax on new profits arising during the war is fully justified provided that it is levied equitably, that it does not hinder industrial enterprise and that the people who are paying can feel sure that their money is being employed effectively in the prosecution of the war. The constitutional issue has been raised. I would ask members to realize that once the war is won, India can grasp the substance of freedom."

In the Assam Assembly, the reduction in the subvention granted to Assam by the Niemeyer Award formed the subject matter of a question, when the Premier informed the House that the Annual Subvention of Rs. 30 lakhs was not proposed to be reduced.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, various problems confronting the depart-

ments of Public Health and Local Self-Government in Bengal were discussed by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, the Minister-in-Charge, in a statement in connexion with the budget for the departments under his charge.

In the Sind Assembly, the Allabux Ministry sustained the first defeat of the Budget session, when the combined opposition succeeded in turning down the demand under civil works by 30 votes to 27.

15th. In the Central Assembly, attempts were made by the Congress Nationalist Party, during the detailed discussion on the Excess Profits Tax Bill, to reduce the percentage of the tax.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a detailed account of the activities of the Public Health Department and the progress made with the various schemes Government had taken in hand, was given by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, the Minister-in-charge when he moved for a grant of Rs. 47,12,000 for the Department.

The Congress Working Committee held its first meeting at Ramgarh. The view was held that there should be only one resolution for the Congress session in view of the critical political situation.

A Press Note stated from New Delhi: "The Central Government has had cause, for considerable time, to view with grave concern the activities of the communist Party of India. Although the party has been declared an unlawful body, there is ample evidence to show that it continues to operate through a widespread "underground" organisation."....."The Central Government, in discharge of its responsibility for the defence of India and the prosecution of the war, has therefore, found it necessary to pass orders for the detention of the principal communist leaders under the Defence of India Rules".

Sir Badridas Goenka, in his presidential address at the third session of the All-India Marwari Federation at Cawnpore, declared: "India is entitled to demand and insist that the powers given to the other Dominions should be given to India too."

16th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "Dominion Status even of the Westminister variety cannot suit India's case. Confusion arises from my oft quoted letter to Mr. H. S. Polak in which I had said in 1937, that if Dominion Status with the right to secede were offered, I for one would accept it. I had no authority to bind any one else to that statement.....Needless to say the offer was never made. Whatever may be said of me, no charge of change of policy can be brought against the Congress so far as I am concerned I have changed. Experience since gained and maturer reflection have led me to think that Dominion Status even of Westminster variety cannot suit India's case."

The Congress Working Committee met at Ramgarh. It reviewed the political situation and adhered to the main resolution adopted at Patna without making any alteration.—Dr. Rajendra Prasad made a detailed study of five schemes propounded by leading Moslems. He was of opinion that four of the schemes proceeded on the assumption that there was no single nation in India, did not visualize independence for India and ignored the existence of any but the Hindu and Moslem communities.—Dr. Prasad insisted that India was one country and one nation.

The executive committee of the All-India Congress Socialist Party at Ramgarh, considered the political situation in the light of the Congress Working Committee's resolution adopted at Patna and subsequent developments.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, president-elect of the Anti-Compromise Conference, arrived at Ramgarh and inspected the Kishan Nagar (the Site of the conference) and opened a labour and students' camp.

17th. The first sitting of the Congress Subjects Committee was held at Ramgarh. The sitting began as a meeting of the A.I.C.C. to which the annual report and accounts were submitted, after which it was converted into a meeting of the subjects committee. Dr. Rajendra Prasad moved the resolution on the political situation that the Working Committee had adopted at Patna. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru seconded the resolution. Dr. Prasad narrated the events which had led to the political deadlock in India, and said that India was the only component of the British Empire which had been made a belligerent without its consent. Pandit Jawharlal said that he had stated years ago that Dominion Status would never suit India.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution condemning the Caxton Hall outrage.

A similar resolution was passed at a meeting of the Punjab States Council held at Lahore, with His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in the chair.

Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad, Education Member, Government of India, presiding at the annual convocation of the Delhi University, observed : "Spare no efforts to preserve that greatest but most elusive of gifts, the unity of India, by keeping under close restraint the dark forces of racial, religious and political bigotry and by giving free play to the generous spirit of fair dealing and of sympathetic understanding."

18th. In the Central Assembly, a motion for the creation of a Standing Finance Committee was introduced by the Finance Member. Sir Jeremy Raisman had previously intimated that he would move for the appointment of a finance committee or an estimates committee and Mr. F. E. James urged his preference for an estimates committee which would enable the House to achieve a continuous and detailed examination of departmental expenditure.

The Council of State adopted a motion for the establishment of birth control clinics in the centrally administered areas.

The subjects committee of the 53rd session of the Indian National Congress at Ramgarh, adopted the Working Committee's resolution on the political crisis in India. The committee accorded overwhelming support to Dr. Prasad's resolution—there were only 10 opposition votes. Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, in supporting the resolution observed : "I see people are ready for disobedience but not for civil disobedience. Since 1934, when civil disobedience was suspended, I have not seen any other programme put into action. What you have heard today are only platform programmes. They only come up when A.I.C.C. meets."

Mahatma Gandhi declared in an address at Ramgarh : "I have accepted the need for a fight, but I shall exercise restraint. If I am the General, then, just as a general wants to prepare for a fight before he gives orders to his soldiers, I shall do the same. I do not find anything to suggest that we are ready for a fight immediately."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the agrarian policy of the Government of Bengal was explained by Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Minister for Revenue, when he asked the Assembly to vote a grant of Rs. 28,08,000 for his Department.

The resignation of Allabux Cabinet was accepted by His Excellency the Governor, and Mir Bundeh Ali Khan, Revenue Minister in the late Cabinet and leader of the Nationalist Party, formed a new Cabinet.

19th. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, at the Anti-Compromise Conference held at Kishannagar (Ramgarh) said : "Persistently hostile propaganda all over the country has had to be faced and counteracted by the organizers of this conference. The most surprising and painful part of this propaganda was the determined endeavour of a section of Leftists (or shall I say pseudo-Leftists) to make this conference impossible by openly condemning it and also by trying to sabotage it.—"The present world crisis had put Indian leadership to the test and it had been unfortunately found wanting. Today our leaders are wobbling and the vacillation has demoralized a section of the Leftists as well."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru moved the Patna resolution at the open session of the Indian National Congress at Ramgarh. Acharya Kripalani seconded it.

Twenty-three Khaksars and two constables were killed in a serious clash at Lahore. It was alleged that a large number of Khaksars attacked the police who then opened fire.

In the Central Assembly, an important amendment in the Excess Profits Tax Bill, namely, the raising by the exemption limit (from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000) was accepted by the Government.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar, Minister for Irrigation, Works and Communications described various irrigation projects, both big and small, which the Government had in view or which were in actual process of execution, when he moved for the budget grant of Rs. 31,60,000 for "Irrigation-Working Expenses."

20th. In the open session of the Indian National Congress at Ramgarh, the Patna resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. Mahatma Gandhi made it clear that the country was not yet ready for a struggle and that none but those who plied the charka would form his army : He added : "I have never known defeat for the word defeat does not occur in my dictionary."—Pandit Jawharlal Nehru asserted that few who had used heroic words would be in flight when it

came. He said that the amendments were counter-revolutionary, that they represented adventurism and that every one who stood for precipitating matters was guilty of treasonable conduct.

The personnel of the new Congress Working Committee was announced and the three new members were : Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Syed Mahmud, and Mr. Asaf Ali. The Committee comprised of Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Nehru, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Shankar Rao Deo, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mr. Asaf Ali, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Acharya Kripalani.

The Central Assembly passed the Excess Profits Tax Bill.

The Orissa Budget Estimates for 1940-41 showed a deficit of Rs 4,67,000. The total revenue was estimated at Rs. 1,95,21,000 and expenditure charged to revenue at 1,99,88,000.

Peaceful conditions were restored at Lahore, where a serious clash occurred on the 19th between the Police and Khaksars—217 persons were arrested ; death role rose to 29 including 2 police constables.

21st. In the Central Assembly, Sir Zafrulla Khan, Law Member, introduced a Bill designed to bring European British subjects in this country as far as possible into line with those in other parts of the Empire in respect of service in His Majesty's Forces during the present war.

In the Assam Assembly, two of the four no-confidence motions against the Saadulla Ministry, of which notice had been given previously, were withdrawn and the other two were not moved.

A Punjab Government communique announced the appointment of a committee of two High Court Judges to inquire into the circumstances leading to police firing at Lahore.

22nd. Mahatma Gandhi, who arrived at Wardha from Ramgarh, later left for Sevagram.

At the annual session of the All-India Moslem League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his presidential speech suggested the division of India into "autonomous national states" to give the major nations separate homelands, and that appeared to him to be the only solution of the problem of the country's constitutional future. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, also spoke on the main resolution.—Mr. Jinnah said : "The fundamental difference between Hindus and Moslems were so wide as to make them separate nations. Any hope of uniting them under a democratic system such as that envisaged in the India Act was only a dream. The only solution for India was the establishment of two national states, each autonomous but bound together by international agreements".

23rd. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption "Another Englishman's Letter". "The Congress has never taken up an uncompromising attitude and within the four corners its demand has always shown its readiness for a settlement".

The subjects committee of the All-India Moslem League which resumed its sitting, adopted the main resolution for the session. A number of amendments were moved by representatives of Moslem minority provinces in connexion with safeguards. The resolution stated *inter alia* : "While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League, as indicated in their resolutions dated August 27, September 17 and 18 and October 22, 1939 and February 3, 1940 on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Moslem League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Moslem India."

The first session of the All-India States Moslem League was held at Lahore, under the presidentship of Sardar Mahammed Aurangzeb, Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Legislative Assembly.—In a speech at the conference Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung said that whereas the Congress had extended its activities to the States in order to secure its position in the Federal Assembly, the Moslem League completely ignored State Moslems and even excluded them from its constitution. He expressed his disappointment at this apathy towards the State Moslems, who were included among the Moslems of India whose rights the League claimed to safeguard.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in his presiden-

tial address at the first Tamil Nadu Hindu Mahasabha Conference held at Salem, stated : "The objective of the Hindu Mahasabha was the consolidation of the Hindus with the ultimate goal of absolute independence for India. Hindus did not mind if Moslems considered themselves a separate race, but the proposal to divide the country could not be permitted."

24th. The twenty-seventh session of the All-India Moslem League concluded at Lahore. The main resolution recorded the considered view that no constitutional plan would be workable unless it was based on territorial readjustment and the creation of independent Moslem States. The next resolution deplored the loss of life which occurred in the clash between the Khaksars and the police on March 19 at Lahore and requested the Punjab Government to institute an impartial inquiry into the police firing and to remove the ban on the Khaksar organization. Khaksars were reported to have instructed their local leader at Lahore to suspend all demonstrations.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi, at a meeting in Madras, said : "Mr. Jinnah wants what even the Mogul Emperors did not want. Since the Ramgarh Congress Mr. Jinnah has not spoken out. And the Moslem League wants to divide India geographically into Hindu and Moslem India. It is an impossibility from the point of view of India, of England and of the world."

25th. The Central Provinces and Berar Budget for 1940-41 showed a revenue surplus of Rs. 22,000.

Mr. Jinnah, in the course of an interview at Lahore, declared : "I am for a compromise and an honourable settlement between Hindus and Moslems and the minorities, but sooner the idea of any organization, however great, representing all-India is given up, the better."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, addressing a large gathering at Tilak Ghat, Madras, declared that the Hindu Mahasabha could not tolerate and would oppose with all its might the Moslem idea of dividing India into two zones. Mr. Savarkar blamed the Congress leaders for stating that Swaraj could not be achieved without Hindu-Moslem unity. Hindus had come to realise that it was not only spiritual and cultural greatness that could save the nation, but that they must produce warriors and leaders equally great.

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, in a circular to the Provincial Congress Committees said that the sending of Indian soldiers abroad "without the consent of the Central Legislature", the amendment of the Constitution Act, the "refusal" of the British Government to state clearly its war aims, and the arrest of Congressmen and Communists "go to prove that the Government is out to consolidate its position and perpetuate its hold on India". "The only answer," he added, "that the nation can give to this offensive is the starting of civil disobedience. This can be done when the nation has made itself ready for the fight on terms of the requirements laid down by Mahatma Gandhi".

A council comprising of certain prominent Leftist leaders would be formed after the All-India Kisan Conference at Pagassa in order to give effect to the main resolution of the Anti-compromise Conference at Ramgarh.

26th. The Council of State devoted the whole day's sitting to the consideration of the Excess Profits Tax Bill, as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Abdur Rahman, M. L. A. Chief Whip of the Government Party (Assam) in the course of a Press statement at Shillong, commented on the withdrawl by the Opposition of the no-confidence motions tabled against the Ministry.

The annual report on the working of the Assam Domiciled People's and Settler's Association (Central) contained the following observations : "We appeal to our Assamese friends and brethren not to look upon us with distrust. We have formed this association not to quarrel with th m but to have a rightful share in the ordinary spheres of civil life."

The Punjab Assembly rejected by 93 votes to 43 the adjournment motion relating to the firing on Khaksars at Lahore.

27th. The Council of State passed the Excess Profits Tax Bill as passed by the Central Assembly.

In the Central Assembly, the Government accepted Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang's resolution urging steps to bring about the removal of disabilities of Indians in various parts of the British Commonwealth.

In the Sind Assembly, Mir Bunde Ali Khan, Premier, made a statement on the Sind Ministry's policy and programme of work.

Mr. A. C. Sen, presiding over the first annual general meeting of the All-India Tea Growers' Federation in Calcutta, indicated the opportunities that India had in developing her tea export trade with markets such as America.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. Mukunda Behari Mullick, Minister-in-charge, when he presented the demand of Rs. 15,25,000 for the Co-operative Department, described in detail the various steps that were taken by the Bengal Government in furtherance of the "policy of consolidation" and its "expansion on steady and cautious lines."

28th. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, President of the National Liberal Federation of India, in a statement from Bombay appealed to the Congress and the Moslem League "to give up their extreme positions, and to the Government to do their best to rally all moderate opinion in the country by taking steps to put India on the road to freedom and especially to make India able to undertake its own defence in co-operation with the other members of the British Commonwealth."

The Moslem League's suggestion for the partitioning of India was expressed by various leaders : Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. Asaf Ali, Sir C. Setalvad, Mr. M. C. Chagla, Sir H. Mody and Master Tara Singh.

The Committee appointed by the Punjab Government to inquire into the firing at Lahore consisted of the Chief Justice, Sir Douglas Young of the Lahore High Court (President) and Chandhuri Niamutullah, lately a judge of the Allahabad High Court.

In the United Provinces Assembly, the main features of the Budget Estimates for 1940-41, were a small revenue surplus of Rs. 22,135 increase in the duty on opium, charas and ganja and continuation of prohibition in districts where it was already in force.

Rao Bahadur D. D. Thacker, the Chairman of the Indian Mining Federation, speaking at the annual meeting in Calcutta, referred to the war's repercussions on the Indian coal industry.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Minister for Finance, Commerce and Labour, declared a policy that cheap electricity should be provided for the people of the province had been formulated.

29th. The Central Assembly passed the Finance Bill with only one amendment in respect of sugar duty.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Abolition of Dowry Bill was finally recommitted to the Select Committee.

Mr. Baijnath Bajoria, M. L. A. (Central) in his presidential address at the 12th. session of the All-India Varnashram Swaraja Sangh at Nagpur, said that if India was to attain Dominion Status, adequate arrangements for her defence and the abolition of the Communal Award must be its precursors.

Sir Sundersingh Majithia, Revenue Minister, Punjab, in a resolution passed at a meeting of the Khalsa National Party at Lahore, expressed the view that the division of India into Hindu and Moslem independent States, as envisaged by the resolution of the Moslem League was fraught with the most dangerous consequences.

30th. Dewan Bahadur Ratnasabapathi, in his presidential speech at the annual meeting at Delhi of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, welcomed His Excellency the Viceroy's declaration that India's political goal was the attainment of Dominion Status of the Westminster statute variety.

Sir Jagadish Prasad in acknowledging the tributes paid to him in the Council of State which held a special session at New Delhi to bid him farewell uttered a solemn warning against violence in India and made an exhortation to the country to help those in whose hands the supreme decision rested to find a peaceful solution of the deadlock.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Home Member (Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin) defended the work of the Press Censor and of the precautionary measures undertaken by the Government against possible air raids. The matter arose in connexion with the supplementary budget demand for 1939-40 in which there were two items of Rs. 5,900 and Rs. 84,800, for expenditure for the Press Censor and air raid precautions respectively.

In a message issued in connexion with the observance of the "National Week" Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that he expected that every Congressman and Congresswoman and every supporter of the Congress would contribute in a practical manner to the success of the weak.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, speaking on "Peace, Communal and International", in Bombay, said : "Peace is not maudlin sentimentality ; peace is dynamic, peace that is founded on justice and equity for all, and to bring about this peace is the duty and destiny of woman."

31st. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement from New Delhi, made an appeal to Hindus and Sikhs to give serious consideration to the Moslem League scheme of partition of India, and replied to the critics of the scheme and explained its implications.

At the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi, a change in the policy of discriminating protection and the appointment of a permanent Tariff Board were strongly urged.

April 1940

The principal incident of the month was a broadcast by Lord Zetland referring to Britain's policy towards India. Britain's goal, he said, "is to aid the people of India to acquire a measure of political unity which will enable her to take her place as a great self-governing Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations" but no lasting settlement will prove possible "without real reconciliation between Moslems and Hindus". Referring to India's war efforts, he said that, considerable as had been the forces sent overseas, they were only an earnest of what India was prepared to do.

In the Central Assembly, a Bill provided for national service for Europeans was passed.—The Bill empowered boards to consider the qualifications for service and dispensability from industry of Europeans and inquire if they were willing to serve. Compulsion was not introduced.

The Bombay mill strike continued with occasional instances of violence.

India mourned the death of Mr. C. F. Andrews, the well known missionary, who for many years was a co-worker of Mahatma Gandhi in Africa and a colleage of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore at Santi Niketan.

The news of German invasions had an immediate effect on the markets, prices of war industry, shares being marked up considerably. The India Government, in common with other parts of the British Empire, temporarily prohibited sailing of Norwegian and Danish vessels or dispatch of goods to those countries.

In Bombay, Prohibition was declared *ultra vires* by the High Court. It had been enforced by executive notification under Akbari Act and not by special legislation. To remedy this, the Governor used his special powers to register a Governor's Act, which in effect gave legality to the Congress Government's notifications.

The Drugs Bill was passed and became law.

There was a debate in both Houses of Parliament dealing with the Governor's Provinces. Since the emergency measures taken had to be ratified within 6 months, Lord Zetland, reviewing the situation, paid a tribute to the four provinces within which the constitution was still operating. Rebutting Mahatma Gandhi's assertion that he had closed the door on negotiation, Lord Zetland said that he had never desired to close any doors, but it was only too obvious that that had been done by others. If the vision of a united India was to become a reality, he said, substantial agreement among the communities was essential. The steps taken to carry on the administration was approved by both Houses.

Duties on cotton fabrics from the United Kingdom ware reduced in accordance with the terms of the Indo-British Trade Agreement, in return for surrender of preference on general imports. The object was to ensure a stable market for India's surplus cotton exports.

The Punjab Government outlined the terms for lifting of the ban on the Khaksar movement They included an undertaking not to disturb public tranquillity or to defy the order banning the carrying of weapons such as bolchas, and that the movement should be under the control of responsible persons.

Fresh trouble with the Khaksars occurred on several occasions in the Punjab, but without any serious clash. Khaksar funds were forfeited by both the Punjab Government and the Government of India. The inquiry into the Lahore firing continued.

1st. In the Central Assembly, when Mr. A. De C. Williams moved consideration of the National Service (European British subjects) Bill, Mr. F. E. James of the European group expressed profound disappointment that it had not been found possible to apply to the European British Community in India the same methods of compulsory national service applied to their fellow countrymen elsewhere.

Choudhury Sir Chhotu Ram, Development Minister, Punjab, while addressing the All-India Jat Conference at Sonipat (Rohtak), said: "I can assure you that Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan is not going to accept the Premiership in any purely Islamic Government. In fact, he would, I am sure, refuse to accept Ministership or any position of responsibility in such a Government."

In the Central Assembly, the Bill to make provision for service by European British subjects in the armed forces of, and, in a civil capacity, under the Crown encountered much opposition from the Moslem League and Congress Nationalist Parties. Resentment was expressed at what was regarded as discrimination in favour of European British subjects as against Indians in the matter of civil and military service during the war. The provision, which would have the effect of permitting European British subjects from the Dominion and colonies, where Indians were not properly treated, to occupy civil and military positions of authority in India was strongly attacked.

The motion for consideration of the Bill, moved by Mr. A. De C. Williams, Defence Co-ordination Secretary, was pressed to a division and passed by 41 votes to 22. The Moslem League and Congress Nationalist Parties joined in voting against it. The European Group, nominated and Government members, voted for the motion.

2nd. In the Central Assembly, the Defence of India Act came in for much criticism, when the House passed the Bill to amend the Act. The Congress Nationalists pressed a division on the Defence of India Amendment Bill as a protest against the administration of the Act, but they secured only 8 votes against the Government's 43 ; the Moslem League, while supporting the Congress Nationalists, abstained from voting.

The Council of State considered the motion on the Finance Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. R. W. Mellor, in his presidential address at the annual general meeting of the Indian Paper Makers Association in Calcutta, described how the war had considerably altered the position of the pulp and paper industry in India. Mr. Mellor also discussed certain outstanding problems relating to the industry, and said that, following the outbreak of war, imports from manufacturing countries abroad had been either entirely stopped or seriously curtailed.

3rd. The Council of State passed the Finance Bill.

Lord Zetland declared in a broadcast, in which he touched on the political relations between Britain and India and the country's war effort: "I am convinced that no lasting settlement in India will prove possible without real reconciliation between Moslems and Hindus. Let me say, that whatever the difficulties standing in the way we shall continue to labour whole-heartedly and to the best of our ability for such a reconciliation. The goal we have set ourselves is to aid the people of India to acquire a measure of political unity which

will enable her to take her place as a great self-governing dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations." He continued : "Nazis had made capital impasse in India but the truth was that India disdained Nazi sympathy, stood united in her hatred of the Nazi regime and was contributing magnificently towards an Allied victory."

In the Council of State, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, announced in the course of his speech, that he would consider the question of setting up an Advisory Council on the lines suggested by some members of the House, but he emphasized that Government could not relinquish responsibility for policy.

The Indian Sugar Syndicate took decisions of far reaching character and communicated to the Governor of the United Provinces for information. The syndicate was convinced that in order to save the industry from a crisis it should adopt restrictive measures and look beyond the borders of India for the sale of surplus sugar.

4th. The Central Assembly debated on the Drugs Bill. The Select Committee expressed the opinion that the provisions relating to the importation of drugs should be postponed long enough to allow the interests concerned full time to adjust themselves to the altered conditions, while with regard to the control of manufacture, sale and distribution of drugs the simultaneous introduction of legislation in all provinces was considered highly desirable.

The Central Assembly passed the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act.

The death occurred of Mr. C. F. Andrews in a Calcutta nursing home.

5th. In the Central Assembly, the Drugs Bill was passed. The exclusion from the Bill's provisions of the Unani and Ayurvedic systems of medicine was strongly criticized and the opinion was expressed that Government had an opportunity which they disregarded to build up the country's indigenous drugs industry.

The Council of State took up the European British subjects National Service Bill to make certain provisions relating to service by European British subjects in the armed forces of, or in a civil capacity under, the Crown, as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

The Metropolitan of India in a broadcast talk from Calcutta, on the late Mr. C. F. Andrews, observed : "If all of us Europeans had lived as near to Christ as Charlie Andrews, we too should have won the same unstinted affection that is his meed."

It was announced from New Delhi, that India was doing her share of the work of "demagnetizing" merchant shipping in order to deal with German magnetic mine menace.

6th. Mahatma Gandhi in an article in the *Harijan*, under the caption "A Baffling Situation", expressed the view that the step taken by the Moslem League at Lahore had created a baffling situation, but that he did not regard it so baffling as to make civil disobedience an impossibility. Mahatma Gandhi added :—"Let me, however, say in parenthesis that until the conditions I have mentioned for the starting of civil disobedience have been fulfilled, civil disobedience cannot be started in any case.

Mir Bundeh Ali Khan Talpur, the Premier of Sind, in a statement to the Press on Lord Zetland's broadcast, expressed the view : "At a time when Britain is engaged in a gigantic war for liberty and freedom, it is my conviction that her prestige will rise tremendously and the cause she is fighting for will receive a great momentum if she could solve the Indian problem now."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, addressing a meeting in Calcutta, in connexion with the celebration of the "National Week", made an appeal to the warring Congressmen of Bengal to compose their differences and prepare themselves under a common banner for carrying on the "fight for Indian freedom."

The Vidya Mandir Scheme, which caused wide interest in educational circles all over India, did not cost more than Rs. 2,80,000 during the three years 1938-39 and 40 according to the calculations of the Department of Education, Central Provinces.

In Bombay, there was an improvement in the attendance of the workers at the textile mills the total attendance rose to 27,000.

7th. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, President of the All-India National Liberal Federation convened an informal meeting of certain prominent politicians in Bombay (at

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's residence) to consider the question of forming a central party in India whose object it should be to bring pressure on the British Government to accelerate the pace of India attaining Dominion Status and to see that India was not plunged into another civil disobedience movement.

Kumaraja Muthia Chettiar of Chettianad, leader of the Opposition in the Madras Assembly, speaking as President of the Coimbatore District Conference of the South Indian Liberal Federation (Justice Conference) at Erode, said : "We have already declared openly and in unmistakable terms that we will support without question Great Britain at this hour of grave world crisis. That is our stand even today and there will be no departure from that resolve until the Allies completely win the war."

8th. Brigadier-General G. N. Molesworth, Director of Military operations and Intelligence at a meeting at New Delhi, attended by party leaders and prominent members of the Central Legislature, gave an explanation of the phase which the war was expected to enter and India's strategical position.

Sir Jogendra Singh, a former Punjab Minister, in a Press statement, expressed the view that the immediate implementing of the India Act of 1935 with an assurance that any weaknesses revealed in its working would be removed, was the only solution of the constitutional problem.

Sardar Ballavbhai Patel addressing a meeting at Ahmedabad, declared : "A fight is inevitable. The question is when to start the fight. Mahatma Gandhi will not be hustled or bullied into a fight though a cause for a fight is being daily given."

The Council of State passed the Bill to make better financial provision for the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Tenancy (Third Amendment) Bill as modified by the Legislative Council, came up for consideration. The Bill among other things, sought to place mortgages by conditional sales on the same footing as complete unfructuary mortgages, namely. to limit their period to 15 years.

In the Council of State, reference to the new squadron of the Indian force was made by Sir A. P. Patro in the course of questions, when he asked for details about the "Army Co-operation Squadron."

9th. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, referring to the Indian political situation, when he unveiled the statue of the late Sir Dinshaw Wacha, in Bombay, deplored the prospects of a civil disobedience movement and the demand for a partition of India.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the order of the Government of Bengal banning the publication of news in connexion with the celebration of the "national week" as organized by the suspended Bengal Provincial Congress Committee formed the subject of an adjournment motion. The motion was defeated by 104 voted to 73.

The Millowners' Association, Bombay, decided to declare a "lockout" in all the textile mills in the city. The step, it was explained, was taken to conform to certain legal technicalities of the Trade Disputes Act.

10th. In the Council of State, the Budget session of the Legislature was brought to a close. The Bill to regulate the import, manufacture, distribution and sale of drugs was passed.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in an article in the *Harijan*, "Nobody probably knew Charlie Andrews as well as I did. When we met in South Africa, we simply met as brothers and remained as such to the end. It was not a friendship between an Englishman and an Indian. I want Englishmen and Indians, whilst the memory of the death of this servant of England and India is still fresh, to give thought to the legacy he has left for both."

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Commerce and Finance Minister, Bengal, presided at the Pabna and Natore Moslem League Conference held at Chatmohar (Pabna). Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Public Health Minister, opening the Conference, referring to the Moslem League scheme of partitioning India, said : "Whatever may be the moral criticism of this scheme, there is no doubt from the standpoint of reason that it is unimpeachable. Mr. Gandhi has said that the majority of Indian Moslems are against the scheme but it is assuredly one of his many unfortunate political blunders, in which the bigger and greater cause of the nation has been more than once submerged. Mr. Suhrawardy, in his speech, remarked that the Moslem League was the only organization which truly represented the Moslems of India.

11th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the Press, in Bombay, replied to the criticisms by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachariar of the Moslem demand for the partition of India. He said *inter alia* : "My attention has been drawn to the discourses of Mr. Gandhi in the *Harijan* in the week end. I am really sorry to notice that it is so full of contradictions that one cannot make out what he really wants or stands for. But his analysis clearly proves that there are two nations in this country." Regarding Rajagopalachariar's criticism in his Salem speech, Mr. Jinnah said, "I am really pained that occupying the position as he does, he should have held me up before the Hindu public as one who wants to cut the cow into two because of my proposal that independent States should be constituted in the north west and eastern zones of India."

In the House of Commons, the Rev. R. W. Sorenson (Labour) asked the Minister of Labour (Mr. Ernest Brown) whether he was aware of the difficulties arising through Indians resident in England who on conscientious and political grounds might refuse to obey their calling-up notices and that the existing arrangements respecting conscientious objectors did not cover this type of Indian political objector. Mr. Ernest Brown replied that Indian British subjects ordinarily resident in England were liable to be called up for service under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act. They had the same rights under the Act to apply for registration as conscientious objector as all other British subjects. "I have no power to make special provisions for them."

12th. Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, presiding at the annual meeting of the Church Education League in Calcutta, dealt with some of the problems that faced schools due to the war. He said: "European schools in India desired much of their guidance and inspiration from what was done in England and would be considerably affected by what was seen today. "Schools must give the spirit of the state. Can schools teach democracy? Democracy is not something positive, a set of rules ; it is a spirit, a way of thinking and feeling, an attitude to life. Schools cannot teach it. But they must somehow make the conditions in which young people may catch or learn that spirit."

13th. Mahatma Gandhi, replying to a question from an American friend, said: "I fear that the chances of non-violence being accepted as a principle of State policy are very slight, so far as I can see at present. I believe that a State can be administered on a non-violent basis if the vast majority of the people are non-violent. So far as I know, India is the only country which has a possibility of being such a State."

Mr. Narayandas Girdhardas, Member, Council of State, presiding at the annual meeting of the Andhra Chamber of Commerce in Madras, made an appeal for India's unqualified support to Britain in the war.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, made a declaration that as a man of non-violence, he could not forcibly resist the proposed partition if the Moslems of India really insisted upon it, but he could never be a willing party to the vivisection, and that he would employ every non-violent means to prevent it.

The general strike of textile workers in Bombay.—About 70,000 workers resumed work and the rest were expected to do so within a few days.

Mahatma Gandhi, witing on the Khaksar movement, expressed the opinion that the bringing into being of rival organizations was no remedy but it only multiplied the evil. He added: "I am sure that the Punjab Government will not permit the Khaksar organization to be revived in its original form. I quite agree with my correspondent that, if the Khaksars are permitted to function as before, the Sikhs and others will have to be treated likewise. This cannot but lead to clashes."

At the All-Bengal Public Health Conference in Calcutta, various aspects of the health problem of the province were discussed. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister of Agriculture, Industries etc., Bengal, opened the conference.

14th. Sir Sultan Ahmed in his presidential address at the first Shia All-Parties Conference at Lucknow, said: "By supporting the cause of freedom and democracy India will have established her rights to both. It is not yet too late to concentrate our united efforts on assisting the Democracies in winning the war. Let us do so without any hesitation.

The "Hindu Nation Day" was observed in Calcutta. A meeting was organized by the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, Sir Manmatha Nath Mookherjea presided.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President met Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha. Later, the Maulana in an interview stated that they took stock of the political situation in the country and discussed the agenda before the Working Committee.

H. H. the Maharaja Sir Yadavendra Singh of Panna (Central India), presiding at the All-India Kshatriya Mahasabha Conference at Patna, said: "India cannot be divided into States and British India. She is an inseparable whole and will remain so. Any attempt to split her on any basis will be nothing short of criminal."

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, presiding over the Ninth Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference at Ranchi, observed: "We want communal harmony and amity. We fully recognize that this country must continue in future, as it has been in the past, to be the home of many people other than Hindus. We beg of them to treat this country as their fatherland, and identify themselves with the joys and sorrows of the people of India."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued a statement calling upon Moslems in India to observe April 19 as the day "confirming the declaration of Moslem self-determination and Moslem independence day."

15th. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha to review the political situation in the country since the Ramgarh session of the Congress. The Committee agreed to the creation of a "Women's Department" of Congress. This department would be housed in the All-India Congress Committee office and would be put in charge of a leading woman worker, under the supervision of the General Secretary and the President. The Committee also decided that all Provincial Congress Committees should appoint election tribunals before May 5, failing which the Working Committee would appoint such tribunals. Discussions covered a wide field including the Hindu Moslem question, the possible repercussions of the civil disobedience movement on relations between the two communities, the recent arrests and preparations for Satyagraha.

Master Tara Singh, presiding at the first U. P. Sikh Conference at Lucknow said: "If the Moslem League want to establish "pakistan" they will have to pass through an ocean of Sikh blood." Master Tara Singh further said : "Opposing the 'Pakistan' scheme, some Sikhs have lost their heads and are preaching establishment of Sikh rule. This will simply be adding to the confusion already created by the Moslem League. The 'Pakistan' scheme may prove to be a declaration of civil war and therefore, the proposal is mad."

The Shia All-Parties conference, which met at Lucknow under the presidentship of Sir Sultan Ahmed, concluded its session after passing two important resolutions with regard to the demands of the Shia community and their attitude to the Madhe Sahaba agitation. The first resolution expressed the community's fears that events showed that the rights and privileges of Shias were in danger and that necessary steps should be taken to secure certain rights. The second resolution protested against the U. P. Government's communique of March 31, 1939, which the conference held, created a big gulf in the Moslem community and injured the feelings of Shias.

The Subjects Committee of the All-India Kshatriya Mahasabha adopted a resolution condemning the Moslem League scheme to divide India into two separate zones.

Mr. M. S. Aney, leader of the Congress Nationalist Party in the Central Assembly, addressing a public meeting at Jubbulpore, said : "Destructive and hostile forces would spring up from unexpected quarters leading the country into unprecedented chaotic conditions if Satyagraha was launched by the Congress at this inopportune moment."

16th. The Congress Working Committee, at Wardha, had another prolonged discussion on the political situation with particular reference to the Hindu-Moslem question and the situation created by the Lahore resolution of the Moslem League. The Committee also discussed the question of organising an All-India volunteer corps and asked Mr. R. S. Pandit to submit a report by May 15. A resolution on the death of Mr. C. F. Andrews was also passed. A special subcommitee consisting of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Acharya Kripalani was appointed to go into the question of election of delegates from Indian States.

Dr. H. Thomas, Inspector of European schools, Bengal in an address, in Calcutta, on "The Teacher and His Approach to his work", made an appeal to

the public to give the school teachers of the province every opportunity of doing their work well and to treat them as worthy members of society.

The conditions on which the Punjab Government were prepared to consider the rescission of the order declaring the Khaksars an unlawful association were stated in a communique issued by the Punjab Government. The Government, the communique stated, wanted to be satisfied that (1) the Khaksars would do nothing to disturb the public tranquillity or interfere with the maintenance of law and order and (2) the Khaksar Association would give satisfactory guarantees that its activities would be confined to lawful pursuits, (3) the movement would be under the control and direction of law abiding and responsible persons.

Sir Gulam Hussein Hidayatullah, in a statement to the Press from Karachi, declared: "The British people are now engaged in a life and death struggle on which will hang issues, which are momentous not only for the British people, but to the whole world including our country, and this is the time for us to render every possible support towards the success of the cause which is as much ours as theirs."

17th. Sir Henry Craik's term of office, as Governor of the Punjab, was extended by six months. Sir Bertrand Glancy was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Craik.

The Congress Working Committee at Wardha had another discussion on the political situation in the country—the Congress Executive and Mahatma Gandhi wanted to have the fullest discussion on all view-points so that no false step might be taken.

18th. Lord Zetland reviewed the position in India during a debate in the House of Lords. The debate was occasioned by Lord Zetland's request that the proclamations under Sec. 93 of the India Act by which the Governor assumed the power of Government in seven provinces when the Congress Ministries resigned be extended for "such further period not extending 12 months, as developments may show to be necessary."—Lord Zetland paid a tribute to the provinces of Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and Assam, where the popular ministries had continued to function. He said: "This was a matter of satisfaction to those anxious to see India progressing smoothly towards her goal."—Lord Zetland said, referring to Mahatma Gandhi's accusation that he had closed the door on the Congress position, "I have never desired to close any door. However, it was only too apparent, that the door was being closed by others. A substantial measure of agreement among the communities of India is essential if the vision of a United India is to become a reality. I shall labour for a reconciliation between those two great communities—Moslems and Hindus. But the fact of the matter is that the Congress party has raised in the minds of many Moslems apprehensions which only they themselves can allay. Will the Congress refrain from closing the door upon unity in India? Upon their answer hangs the future fate of that coutry."

19th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in an interview in Bombay, said, "Lord Zetland's statement does not carry us any further and I don't think it necessary to say anything about it. My concern is, work in India and preparation for the coming event in India, what is said in Parliament, is of no consequence.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan in a Press statement issued in Calcutta, said: "Lord Zetland's statement though more accommodating is not likely to satisfy Congress leaders. To postpone the attainment of Dominion Status to an undated future is not helpful. That is what Sir Hugh O'Neill's statement indicates. 'How short or long a time it will be before India can attain the goal of Indian self-Government, it is possible to predict with certainty'. To argue that India demands "complete severance from all association with the rest of the Empire, banishment of the Crown from any place in the Indian constitution" is to dogmatise in the very premises of the debate."

Mahatma Gandhi admitted that a constituent assembly might vote for Dominion Status or something less than that even. When the Congress declared that India should not be a unit 'within the orbit of British imperialism' it meant that full and free extension of democratic rights to India would change the very character of the Empire. The Congress objection was to an imperialist Britain and not to a democratic British Commonwealth.

At a meeting of Moslems in Calcutta, in connexion with the observance of "All-India Moslem Independence Day", speeches supporting and explaining the Moslem League scheme for the partition of India into Hindu and Moslem States were made.—Mr. Syed Badroddoja presided.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad issued a statement appealing to Sunni leaders to persuade those organising Madhe Sahaba procession, not to insist on its continuance.—Referring to the Shia-Sunni dispute over Tabarra and Madhe Sahaba in Lucknow, the Maulana said : "I have not the slightest hesitation in admitting that the U. P. Government's communique of March 31, 1939 regarding the Madhe Sahaba procession was based on inadequate appreciation of the situation and therefore an error of judgment."

20th. Mr. H. S. Town, presiding at the annual general meeting of the South Indian Branch of the European Association held at Coimbatore, said : "I feel that Congress made a capital mistake in resigning and that the constitutional and more balanced elements therein must today be of the same opinion."

Mr. S. C. Mookherjee, President, Indian Christian Association, Bengal, made an appeal in Calcutta to the Indian Christian community throughout India to unite in order to make their voice felt.

Dr. S. C. Law in his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Sunderban Landholders' Association, in Calcutta (British Indian Association Hall) stressed the urgent need of some consideration from the Government of Bengal.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing under the caption, "Danger Signal" referred to the order issued by the Ajmere authorities directing the organizers of the Khadi Exhibition to haul down the "national flag" within an hour "as it had caused annoyance to some of His Majesty's subjects" and said that it was a matter for the central authority to investigate.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, "The civil disobedience movement is being delayed for want of preparation."

21st. At a meeting of the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Moslem League at Karachi, strong criticism was made of the Bundeh Ali Ministry's acceptance of the Sind Hindus' 21 demands, including introduction of joint electorates in local bodies throughout the province.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier, made a statement on the Khaksar situation in the Punjab, in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Sir Sikandar said that Khaksars had been coming into the Punjab and into Lahore from other provinces, presumably with the object of taking part in an agitation to persuade Government to cancel the restrictions imposed on them.

Three people were killed and about 50 injured in Shia-Sunni clashes at Lucknow. The police had to open fire on one occasion.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, former Madras Premier, addressing the Progressive Group in Bombay, made a statement that the Indian problem was capable of solution provided British statesmen approached it without any mental reservation.

22nd. Mr. F. E. James, M. L. A. (Central) addressing the Coonoor Branch of the European Association at Ootacamund, said : "Unity in the country which is so essential at this time appears to be receding and would recede for ever unless men in influence had sufficient courage to call halt to disintegrating tendencies in Indian politics."

The South Indian Branch of the European Association at its annual meeting at Coimbatore, passed important resolutions bearing on the political situation in India.—It also strongly condemned "the preparations which are being made by the Indian National Congress throughout the country for a civil disobedience movement which are unjustified and calculated to hinder the effecient prosecution of the war."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, issued a statement on Lord Zetland's speech in the House of Lords on the situation in India : "Lord Zetland's speech leaves things where they have been since the breakdown of the negotiations between Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Gandhi in February. I can only say that every difficulty that the Secretary of State raises is completely met by the proposed constituent assembly. The issue is simple. Is the British Government prepared to admit the right of self-determination for India ? If she is, then there can be only one proper method of finally deciding all the problems, that is, they should be referred to the elected representatives of India. Only such an assembly can deal with problems relating to Hindus and Moslems and the Indian States."

23rd. For the first time since the Khaksar agitation started, a batch of nine women in veils, three of whom were carrying belchas, held a demonstration at Lahore.

A large crowd followed them but as soon as the police appeared, the women entered the Golden Mosque.

24th. The Punjab Government and the Delhi Government forfeited over Rs. 1½ lakhs, which had been deposited in various banks by the Khaksar Association. The money was deposited in the name of Allama Mashraqui, leader of the Khaksars.

A Gazette notification recorded appreciation by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal of the work of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission.

The Government of Bengal amended the departmental rules for the training of newly recruited members of the Indian Civil Service, Bengal Civil Service and Bengal Junior Civil Service, in order that officers might be better equipped to render more useful service in rural areas.

At a meeting of Council of Representatives of the Nagpur Textile Union, the decision to call off the strike was taken.—A resolution passed by the Council stated that the Nagpur Textile Union would only co-operate with the inquiry committee, to be appointed by the Government.

25th. The General Secretary of the All-India Moslem League issued a statement regarding the observance on April 19, of the Moslem "Independence Day", from New Delhi, stating : "According to reports that have directly reached the central office of the League and information that has been received through Provincial League, it is estimated that over 10,000 meetings were held throughout the country on April 19, to observe the Moslem Independence Day".

Mr. M. N. Roy issued a circular letter from Patna, to members of the Radical Congress League, containing instructions not to sign the 'satyagraha pledge' and not to resign membership of any Congress Committee.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly passed the third reading of the Factories (Punjab Amendment) Bill without division.

In defiance of the Punjab Government's ban, six Khaksars, wearing uniforms and carrying Belchas, marched through different bylanes of Lahore.

26th. In Madars, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari replied to critics who urged an unofficial conference of leaders to arrive at an agreed decision on the constitutional problem before Britain could be asked to commit herself to accept the principle of self-determination for India. Mr. Rajagopalachari claimed that it had been proved to the hilt that Mahatma Gandhi's alternative of a duly elected representative body for deciding principles on which the constitution should be framed could not harm British interests or the interests of any others, including minority communities.

The Judicial Committee, consisting of Sir Douglas Young (Chief Justice) and Chaudhri Niamutullah (a former Judge of the Allahabad High Court), which was appointed by the Punjab Government to inquire into the police firing on Khaksars on March 19, adjourned till May 6.

27th. Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *Harijan* under the caption "Civil Disobedience", declared that as far as he could see at present, mass civil disobedience was most unlikely because in the face of the lawlessness that prevailed in the country, civil disobedience would easily pass for lawlessness.

Khan Bahadur Alla Bux, in his presidential speech at the Azad (Independent) Moslem Conference, at New Delhi, said: "It is this conference and this conference alone which is in a position to evolve a constructive scheme to bring the political deadlock to an end. "If you can come to an agreement as regards the basis of a communal settlement, the Congress which is undoubtedly the most influential and powerful organization in the country today, is bound to consider your proposals as the one golden bridge which leads not merely to communal and political harmony in the country but to the ultimate goal, namely, India's independence."

Sir Jagadish Prasad, a former member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a statement on the Indian political situation expressed the belief that there could be no reasonable solution of the communal problem so long as Congress Ministers remained out of office. The view was also supported by Sir N. N. Sircar, a former Law Member of the Government of India.

Mahatma Gandhi, reproduced in the *Harijan*, an interview granted to the *New York Times*. He said : "The legal status of India, whether it is Dominion Status or some thing else, can only come after the war. It is not the question at present whether India should be satisfied with Dominion status for the time

being. The only question is what is the British policy ? Does Great Britain still hold the view that it is her sole right to determine the status of India or whether it is the sole right of India to make that determination."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, presiding over the 16th session of the Baroda State Praja Mandal (people's party) at Mehsna (Baroda), advised the people of the state to work the reforms, inadequate and unsatisfactory though these were. He also criticized the policy of the Moslem League in Indian States.

28th. The Azad (Independent) Moslem Conference, at New Delhi, discussed a resolution declaring that India would have geographical and political boundaries of an indivisible whole and, as such, was the common homeland of all the citizens irrespective of race or religion. The resolution stated that Moslems owned equal responsibilities with other Indians for striving and making sacrifices to achieve the country's independence.

Nawabzada Liaquatali Khan, Secretary, All-India Moslem League, presiding at the Shahjahanpur Moslem Political Conference uttered a categorical denial of the impression in some quarters that the Moslem League thought only of Mohammedans aud had no thought of the country as a whole.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, interviewed in Madras, said : "Let me give an assurance to all communities here—Hindus, Moslems, Christians and others—that the best way in which I can repay the kindness which they have shown me is by striving for complete unity between the various sections of the people so as to have the way for a united India".

At a meeting of the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference at Lucknow, a decision to appoint a committee of two Hindus and a Shia to inquire into the Lucknow riots was reached.

29th. Mr. A K. Fazlul Huq in his presidential address at the first session of the Malabar District Moslem Conference at Calicut, made statement that Indians themselves and not the British, were to blame for the communal differences in the country. Mr. Huq, referring to India's future, said that he would resist any constitution which aimed at replacing "white autocracy" by any other autocracy.

The All-India (Independent) Moslem Conference at New Delhi, passed unanimously the Pakistan Scheme, characterizing it as impracticable and harmful to the country's interest generally, and of Moslems in particular. Khan Bahadur Alla Bux was in the chair.

Haji Sir Abdulla Haroon, President, Sind Provincial Moslem League in a statement to the Press on Khan Bahadur Alla Bux's presidential address at the Azad (Independent) Moslem Conference at Delhi, challenged the Khan Bahadur to seek re-election from his constituency to the Sind Assembly on the Pakistan issue, and offered to resign his own seat in the Central Assembly and contest the former's seat.

In the Punjab Assembly, the speaker, Chaudhury Sir Shahabuddin, ruled out of order an adjournment motion tabled by Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta (Congress) seeking to raise a discussion on the "failure of the Lahore Police to arrest Khaksars who have been holding demonstrations and parades in uniform within the precincts of certain mosques in Lahore."

30th. The All-India Azad Conference passed a resolution favouring a constituent assembly for framing the future constitution of India.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, at the conclusion of the Malabar Moslem League at Calicut, suggested a conference of provincial Premiers, past and present, to solve the Hindu and Moslem differences.

The Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics in India, called a meeting of various Chambers of Commerce to discuss the questions relating to the revision of the tariff values of various foreign articles and restorations of such tariff-valued items.

May 1940

One of the leading incidents of the month, was the anxiety caused by the Khaksars in the Punjab. Subordinate Khaksar leaders refused to negotiate without the authority of Inayatullah who was in prison and Khaksars continued to use mosques as cover ; at times remaining inside them in a state of semi-siege.

At Lahore, as a further step to force the Khaksars, who had taken refuge in three mosques, to surrender to the police, the blockade was intensified.

Mr. I. V. Ramaswami Naicker, Leader of the Justice party, presiding over a public meeting in Madras, observed : "Moslems had every justification for demanding a partition of India, even as the Dravidians in the south had for asking for a separate political existence."

The meeting of Rulers of States held in Calcutta, considered a proposal to have a "High Court for the States comprising the Eastern Agency. A special committee of 15—eight Rulers and seven Ministers—was appointed to draw up a scheme for the proposed joint High Court to be submitted to the Council of Rulers.

The conference called by the Bengal Government of representatives of associations interested in jute concluded its sittings in Darjeeling. It was stated on behalf of the Government that the fullest consideration would be given to the views expressed by the various interests represented.

The Shop Assistants' Association attached to the Cawnpore cloth market launched picketing of the cloth shops to compel the employers to grant the employees two holidays on Sundays in a month.

6th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in a speech at Poona said that neither the Moslem League nor the Hindu Mahasabha had a positive programme. He characterized the Pakistan scheme as foolish, declaring that it would not last 24 hours. Besides it was highly anti-national and pro-imperialist which no freedom-loving man would accept.

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Dewan of Cochin, presiding over a meeting held under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A., Coonoor, observed : "The mentality that sympathises with the war aims of the allies, and yet refuses them co-operation in the prosecution of that war, was one that could be understood only by *avatars* and not ordinary human beings."

Dr. B. S. Moonjee, vice-President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a Press interview at Lucknow, welcomed the proposal for the meeting of a small committee for a preliminary discussion on India's future constitutions.

7th. One hundred questions were asked in a questionnaire which was issued in Calcutta, to over 5,000 educational experts throughout India by the committee appointed at the last session of the Moslem Educational Conference. The questions which were drafted by Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University dealt with a variety of aspects in their bearing on Moslem education.

8th. A communique, issued from Simla stated, "His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. H. J. Twynham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., at present Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to act as Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar during the absence of His Excellency Sir Francis Wylie, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., who has been granted leave out of India for a period of four months from June 1, 1940."

A public meeting of Hindus, in the Calcutta Town Hall, convened under the auspices of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, to condemn the Pakisthan scheme of the Moslem League and the League-Bose pact in the Calcutta Corporation, ended in a fight between two sections of the audience.—Several persons were injured.

9th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, issued a statement in which he explained why he could not negotiate with the Punjab Government for settlement of the Khaksar trouble. He said, *inter alia* : "I wish to inform the public and the Moslem League members specially that I have no authority or power given to me by the Khaksar organization or those who are its leaders now and are guiding that movement. I have spoken to many of them, who came to see me but none can speak with authority or give me the authority to bring about a just and honourable settlement with the Government."

The police pickets outside the Golden, Unchi and Neevan mosques, where the Khaksars took refuge were withdrawn following the assurances given to the Punjab Premier by a deputation of 70 leading citizens of Lahore that they would persuade the Khaksars to give up their unlawful activities.

10th. Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview with the special correspondent of the *Times of India*, said : "I would welcome a settlement which ensures peace with honour. The Viceroy knows I am always ready." He explained, "I am not

averse to coming to terms with Britain on matters like defence and commercial interests, and I am fully prepared that these adjustments should be referred to a constituent assembly as part of an agreed settlement."

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in commenting on the invasion of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, said : "This serious development in the European war cannot but bring home to those, who have hitherto refused to believe that an extension of hostilities could seriously jeopardise the peace and liberty of India, that this fresh exhibition of Nazi brute force constitutes a serious threat to the peace and freedom of the whole world including India"

Mr. P. R. Das, a former judge of the Patna High Court, made some suggestions to the Indian leaders, particularly to Gandhiji, to Mr. Jinnah and to Mr. Savarkar :—1. "While not giving up their respective points of view, the Hindus and the Moslems should give themselves a communal holiday for the duration of the war and one year after." 2. "The Congress and the Moslem League should withdraw their opposition to the war and offer their services to defeat the forces of Hitlerism". 3. "Coalition ministries should be formed in all the provinces." 4. "Meanwhile organize, organize, organize, so as to make the masses politically conscious."

Sir Thomas Stewart, Governor of Bihar, presiding at the prize-giving ceremony of the Ranchi Training School, said : "It is good news that in the school it is the spirit of community rather than of communalism which holds sway and it is to that fact, I have no doubt, that the present high standard of discipline is in no small measure due.

His Excellency Sir John Hubback, Governor of Orissa, addressing the annual meeting of the Samiti in the Cuttack Club, referred to the problems facing the Utkal Go-Mangal Samiti (Orissa Cattle Welfare Association) in improving the breed of cattle in the province.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, President of the National Liberal Federation, issued a statement from Bombay, saying : "The war has taken an even more fateful turn by the unprovoked invasion of the Low Countries by Germany. It is clear that no liberty, either actual or prospective, would be left anywhere in Europe or or Asia if Hitler succeeds. If Britain were to go down before this harmful doctrine of force, then India will also have to bid good-bye to all her aspirations for the future."

The National Planning Committee, in resolutions adopted by the Committee, recommended Nationalization of the Reserve Bank and "deeinking" of the rupee from sterling.

11th. Lord Sinha emphasized the value of social service in his address at the twentieth anniversary meeting and prize-giving ceremony of the Sisir Kumar Institute in the Calcutta University Institute Hall.

Mr. W. A. M. Walker, President of the Indian Jute Mills Association and Leader of the European group in the Bengal Legislative Assembly observed that the decision of the Government of Bengal to fix minimum prices for jute and hessians at Rs. 60 and Rs. 13 respectively was "viewed with concern by the trade in general."

12th. In a joint statement from Simla, on the Indian impasse, Mr. T. C. Goswami, M. L. A. (Bengal) and Dewan Chamanlal (Punjab), stated that "to use a topical phrase, it is not wise to miss any more buses. Opportunities fraught with the gravest consequences are being lost. India could produce the greatest, the finest national army and air force in the East, in the shortest possible time. The hour calls for the boldest step forward in sagacious statesmanship concerted and measured in sympathy and human comradeship. It should therefore be implicit in any honourable and workable understanding with Britain that India should no longer remain unarmed and debilitated."

13th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, at a Press Conference at his residence at Lahore, addressed a call to the Punjab Press to give a lead to the public on the imminence of the danger of war to India.

The Premier stressed the imperative necessity of concentrating all forces to ward off a possible threat to India from an extension of hostilities to the Balkans, and appealed to all political parties in India to give up internal strife and call a truce during the war.

The National Planning Committee, in Bombay, considered the reports of the housing and insurance sub-committees. On the report of the housing sub-committee, the Planning Committee recommended the creation of a central

housing and planning board, which would be concerned with general principles, policy, programme, finance, technique, standardization on broad lines of the problem.

14th. Mr. Hafiz Syed M. Ishaque, I. C. S. in an address in Calcutta, explained the problem of rural reconstruction in Bengal and the steps taken by the Government to deal with it.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, M. L. A., in the course of a telegram sent to the All-India Hindu League at Lucknow, said, "War is knocking at the door. Hindus although emasculated by the Arms Act and other similar measures of the present Government must come forward to support democracy by becoming strong and undertaking the defence of their own country. It is the sacred duty of Hindus to defend Hindustan."

15th. Mr. Asaf Ali, member of the Congress Working Committee, in a statement from New Delhi, declared: "The time has come when given an honourable understanding with Great Britain a national coalition Government responsible to the people can be immediately formed in India."

The Bihar Labour Inquiry Committee recommended: "Contract labour whenever that system prevails, will have to give its workmen the same facilities regarding minimum wages, which are given by direct employers of labour. Thus, for instance, colliery labour working under a contractor will receive the same minimum wage, both in the case of loads and mines, as in the case of surface labour. They will not, however, be entilted to provident fund for the worker's benefit like other employers."

16th. The report of the Land Revenue Commission (Floud Commission) was published.—The majority of the members recommended changes of a far-reaching character, in the land tenure system in Bengal. The most important of their recommendations was that legislation should be introduced enabling Government to acquire the interests of all rent-receivers down to the actual cultivator of the soil in all revenue free, permanently settled and temporarily settled estates. It was suggested that compensation should be paid at a flat rate for all interests at a rate of ten times the net profits of the proprietor and tenure holders. The compensation should be paid in cash, if possible, otherwise in bonds redeemable after 60 years. They recommended the imposition of a tax on agricultural incomes as a transitional measure.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi, M. L. A., (Central) addressing a public meeting at Ootacamund stated that it was the ardent wish of Mr. Gandhi, and Congress, and every right thinking Indian that Britain should triumph in the war. He added that Britain who stood for justice and fair-play in Europe, ought not to have a different policy with regard to India.

Mr. Satyamurthi advised Congressmen, whether Hindu or Moslem, not to join any communal organisation.

17th. Maulana Hafizur-Rahaman, member of the A. I. C. C. and of the Working Committee of the All-India Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Hind presiding over the Jamiat-ul-ulema of the Frontier Provinces at Peshawar, criticized the Pakistan scheme of the Moslem League.

Sir Gulam Hussain Hidayatullah, former Premier of Sind issued a statement from Karachi, stating: "None of us needs to be reminded that our fortunes are linked with the fortunes of the British Empire and the cause for which the Allies are fighting is the cause of the civilized world. Let us all, therefore, sink differences in a united effort to assist the Empire at this critical juncture."

18th. The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha in Bombay, passed a number of resolutions concerning matters arising out of the international situation and the political situation in India. The committee reiterated that the Congress could not speak on behalf of the Hindus and called upon the Government to give a definite undertaking that no pact entered into by the Congress and Moslems between themselves, to which the Hindu Mahasabha was not made a party and which was not sanctioned by it, could be binding on the Hindus as a whole.

Mr. Jinnah, in the course of an interview in Bombay, observed: "Mr. Gandhi's proposal for a preliminary conference of Indians and Englishmen contains nothing concrete or practical. It is enigmatical.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, member of the Working Committee, presiding

over the Murshidabad and Birbhum Districts constructive workers' conference held at Jijigram (Birbhum) made an appeal to Congressmen not to weaken the organisation in any way.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa made an offer to His Excellency the Crown Representative to contribute grain worth Rs. 1,00,000 towards the War Relief Fund.

His Highness the Nawab of Baoni offered to contribute for war purposes Rs. 500 monthly for the duration of the war.

On the eve of his relinquishing the office of Secretary of State for India the Marquess of Zetland, in a cable to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, expressed his good wishes for the welfare of the people of Bengal of which his lordship was once the Governor.

19th. A Press Note issued from Simla stated : "So vast is the expenditure on war equipment and war supplies, which have to be bought by the Allied Powers from countries overseas, that it is extremely important to secure that their resources of overseas currency are most carefully husbanded and not dissipated on less essential purchases." It also stated, "with this end in view, His Majesty's Government and the Government of India have decided that the time is ripe for the introduction of similar restrictions in this country."

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister, Government of Bengal, presiding at a Moslem League Conference at Habiganj, Sylhet, urged every Indian to contribute his mite for the success of the Allied Forces.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, which met in Bombay, condemned the Pakistan Scheme of the Moslem League. The scheme was described as "fundamentally anti-Hindu and therefore, anti-national."

Mr. Kamaraj Nadar, President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, presiding over the fifth Madras District Political Conference held in Madras, observed : "Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress demand a Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution of this country. I cannot, in fact nobody can think of any alternative method of producing a self-determined constitution."

The United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, at Lucknow discussed at length the latest developments in the international situation and India's duty. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and Acharya Narendra Deo in an impassioned appeal for patient preparation, refuted the suggestions that Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee were delaying their programme. The Committee sent its deep sympathy to the peoples of Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, who became the innocent victims of the struggle.

20th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in an interview at Lahore, welcoming the move on the part of leading citizens of the Punjab, to bring about amity and communal harmony, declared that India would shortly be in a position to lend its full and whole-hearted support to the British and their Allies in the present war.

A Bihar Government Press Note discussed a Government proposal for minor reorganization of the Bihar Secretariat on account of the expansion of work during the last three years as well as after the declaration of war.

21st. It was announced from Simla that the Government of India were fully alive to the possibility of "Fifth Column" activities in India and already took certain steps to meet the menace.

A message to the House of Commons from His Majesty stated that he would comply with the request praying that the Government of India Adaptation of Acts of Parliament Amendment Order of 1940 should be made in the form of a draft to be laid before Parliament.

22nd. The Maharaja Bahadur of Ramgarh gave Rs. 50,000 to His Excellency the Viceroy to help the Allies and for the defence of India.

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, President of the Punjab Forward Bloc, in a statement to the Press from Lahore, suggested that the Congress should immediately return to office in view of the international situation.

Sir Abdul Hamid Ghuznavi, M.L.A. (Central) presiding over the Executive Committee of the Central National Mohammedan Association, Calcutta, in a resolution requested the Government to declare the forms of service which might be required of the various sections of the people, due to the war emergency.

The *Manchester Guardian* commenting on Pandit Jawharlal Nehru's opposition

to the launching of immediate civil disobedience, said : "It is heartening at this grave moment to have this knowledge, but since common danger has evoked this response, the Government of India should take advantage of it."

23rd. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, in a statement to the Press, made an appeal to "all who occupy leading positions in Indian Society" to forget their political differences and emulate the noble example set by political opponents in Great Britain, who were united with singleness of purpose to fight the Nazi menace.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, replying to questions in the House of Commons, declared : "The attainment by India of full and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth is the goal of our policy. We recognize, that as my predecessor made clear in his speech on April 18, that it is for Indians themselves to play a vital part in devising a form of constitution best adapted to India's conditions and India's outlook. The promise already given that the present scheme of the Act of 1935 and the policy and plans on which it is based are to be open for re-examination at the end of the war necessarily implies discussion and negotiation, and not dictation. "We have no desire to delay any of the steps that may pave the way towards an agreed settlement that will take account of the legitimate claims of all communities and interests. On the contrary, we have been, and are only too anxious to make our contribution towards such a settlement."

The U. P. Government telegraphed to the Government of India welcoming the latter's proposal to hold a sugar conference at Simla to review all the problems connected with the future of the sugar industry.

24th. Mahatma Gandhi, referring to Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons, said : "I would leave no stone unturned to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement of the present deadlock. While butchery is going on in the west and peaceful homes are being destroyed, I have no heart to say anything publicly in regard to Mr. Amery's statement in answer to Mr. Wedgwood Benn."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru said : "The Secretary of State for India speaks in a tone which is no doubt meant to be conciliatory, but the content of his utterance has no relation to facts in India or Europe." We are out to assert and gain our freedom and we cannot give that up because the war situation has developed to England's disadvantage. Our internal policy must be governed by one consideration only.....the freedom of India and the attitude of Britain towards that freedom. Any other course would be against the honour and disunity of India. The British Government must give up completely its conception of being the patronizing overlord of India, genorously allowing us to have a say now and then. We realise fully the serious implications of the present world situation and its possible consequences in India. I wish the British Government would realize this also as well as we do and fashion their course accordingly by giving up an idea of empire and domination."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar observed : "It would be better to await events than to comment on such a statement."

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, President of the National Liberal Federation said : "The statement by the Secretary of State contains nothing new but reiterates the sympathetic attitude of the British Government towards India, which, in the present grave war situation, appears to be all that is possible. In my opinion we should cease to question the bonafides of the Government, but take such steps as are practicable while the war is going on." "India's political progress is dependent on the success of the Allies, and all the devoted work of Indian leaders for 100 years in the cause of Indian nation-building will be utterly wasted if the Allies are defeated."

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, in an interview at Simla suggested a compact and representative body of 31 members, including the premiers of the 11 provinces and presided over by the Viceroy to settle communal questions and the basic principles of a constitution for India.

Mr. R. L. Nopany, Senior Vice-president of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, when presiding over the first quarterly general meeting of the Chamber, discussed the effects of war on India's economy.

The Rajah of Mahmudabad, in his presidential address to the Bombay Presidency Moslem League Conference at Hubli explained the Moslem League partition scheme.

25th. Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *Harijan*, under the caption "Our Duty" made the assertion that he would do nothing wilfully to embarrass Britain. Several correspondents had suggested to him that non-violence demanded that while not resisting in the least from its position the Congress should in view of the present international situation defer all thoughts of civil disobedience for the time being and make a declaration to that effect. Commenting on the suggestions made, Mahatmaji said that the Congress was already making the greatest gesture in its power in that it created no trouble in the country and that it refrained from the pursuance of its own policy.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in an interview at Naini Tal on Mr. Amery's statement, observed : "It is to be regretted that there is not the slightest shadow of a change in the angle of vision of the British Cabinet about India."

Prof. Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, presiding over the special session of the Bengal Provincial Conference which met at Dacca, observed : "Today the country needs a leader who can lead the awakened masses to their cherished goal of freedom."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a meeting a Coimbatore, declared that the granting of freedom to India should be treated as one of the war issues and should not be construed as a political question.

26th. India observed "a day of national prayer on behalf of the Empire, their Allies, and of the cause in which they are united," in accordance with the wish expressed by His Majesty the King-Emperor. There was a wide response to His Majesty's appeal and special prayers for victory and peace were offered by Christians, Hindus and Moslems alike. Churches, temples and mosques were thronged with worshippers, praying for the successful issue of the war.

His Excellency the Viceroy broadcast a message of unity, courage and faith to India from Simla. His Excellency said : Let us count it in these testing times a sacred duty to the land we love to suppress all differences that divide us. In unity let us find strength." The Viceroy spoke of the steps to speed-up India's defence, including the Indian Air Force, and assured that no effort would be spared to "respond to the anxiety so widely felt to contribute to the outcome of the war."

Mr. S. Satyamurthi, Mayor of Madras, observed : "I pray that God may give victory to democracy, freedom and liberty not only in Europe but also in the whole world including India and China."

The Khaitan Committee, appointed by the Governments of Bihar and the United Provinces to inquire into the working of the sugarcane rules and labour conditions in sugar factories, made far-reaching recommendations.

27th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued a statement from Matheran : "I fully realize that the internal and external situation is very grave. The question is, what is the Moslem League expected to do immediately ? Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war. The Provinces where Moslem League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government."

The Defence Department of the Government of India decided to make known the extent to which India was meeting the Allies' demand for munitions and other supplies.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, in a statement on "The Defence of India and the Neglect of England" stated : "Dominion Status and more so, independence, would be shadow unless the country is well equipped in all areas of defence. There should be compulsory military training and service for all adults as is the case in Japan. If that is done, the whole situation will alter and India will attain her full political stature. The test of England's sincerity is not in her convening a constituent assembly as Congress leaders say, but it lies in the trust she is prepared to place on India by making her fit to repel any aggression by her own forces."

About 20 leading men of the Punjab, in the course of a statement to the Press, made an appeal to all classes and communities to sink their differences for at any rate the time being, and devote all their attention and energy to the maintenance of peace and the safety of the country. The signatories were, Sardar Ujjal Singh, Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Sir Abdul Quadir, Raja Narendra Nath etc.

28th. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Sir John Herbert, replying to an address of welcome presented to him by the Anjuman Islamia, Darjeeling, paid

a tribute to the achievements of the Anjuman and referring to "wider and all-engrossing questions" asked his audience not to be dismayed. The reverses served to "harden the determination of the Empire and its still unbeaten Allies."

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, ex-Premier of Sind, in a statement from Karachi said : "I am in favour of a conference composed of representatives of the various interests in the Legislative Assemblies to be elected by these Assemblies, in all the provinces and in the Centre. An emergency session of the Legislative Assemblies in all the provinces and in the centre should be convened for this purpose, even where the constitution has been suspended. The advantage of this will be that elected members of the Assemblies, representing as they do their own electorates, will represent the opinion of the people at large."

A mass meeting of European British subjects was held in Bombay, under the auspices of the European Association. Details regarding the British War Savings Movement were also explained to the meeting.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee presided over the 10th session of the Assam Educational Conference at Shillong. He said : "Let us remember that international strifes which are creating critical situations today can be solved only by a spirit of tolerance and brotherhood, of true liberty and not by a doctrine of "might is right," which are great lessons handed down to us by the ancient sages of India."

29th. Two persons, one reported to be a Khaksar, and the other a passerby, were killed and three others wounded when a sub-inspector of police was compelled to fire three or four rounds from his revolver on a party of Khaksars near the Golden Mosque at Lahore.

A communique issued from Darjeeling, stated : "The Government desire to make it clear to the public that the finances of the Government of India and of Provincial Governments and of the Govenment of Bengal in particular are in no way jeopardised by the war situation in France and Belgium, and there is no justification for any anxiety regarding the soundness of our finances."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, in an address at the Central Planters' Association, Travancore, said : "The services of the entire armed forces of Travancore have been offered to Britain for utilization in connexion with the war and those forces will be kept in readiness for such work as may be assigned to them."

30th. As a precaution against possible disturbances at Lahore, due to the firing on a party of Khaksars, troops were called out and were standing by the City Kotwali.

The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting of the Working Committee at Lahore, expressed concern at the accentuation of communal tendencies in the province.

The Orissa Government's review of the appropriation accounts and finance accounts of the province for 1937-38 and the audit reports for 1938 were published. The review stated *inter alia* : "The budget of the year was framed under peculiar difficulties. The province had come into existence less than a year before and it had inherited three different systems of administration and three different sets of staff, some of whom were gradually reverting to their parent province. The budget was framed before any Ministry came into power under the new constitution, which came into force on the 1st April 1937.

The Raja Sahib of Atgarh, inaugurating the first session of the Atgarh Praja Samity in the Atgarh State Durbar Hall, expressed the hope that the Praja Samity would help him in his administration and that the grievances of the people would be better represented through the Samity.

31st. His Excellency Sir Robert Cassels, the Commander-in-Chief, in his broadcast from Simla, reviewed India's outstanding contribution of arms, ammunition, equipment and stores to the Allied resources and the country's plans for the strengthening of the defence services.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, Sir Roger Lumley was engaged in the discussion of the intensification of the war effort throughout the province with both officials and leading citizens.

Mr. R. S. Ruikar, the labour leader, in a Press statement from Nagpur, said : "It is high time that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President should try to set up a national executive to guide India at this critical juncture and should cease to look at all problems from the Congress and non-Congres standpoint."

June 1940

The principal item of interest of the month was the announcement of His Excellency the Viceroy stating that district war committees were to be formed in every Province. There was also to be formed a civil guard to assist the police in maintaining order, for air raid precaution and internal defence, and to prevent sabotage.

There were no serious incidents in Waziristan, and the tribes rendered useful help to the Government in capturing hostiles.

Italy's declaration of war was followed by a round-up of Italian citizens all over India. One ship was taken at Calcutta. Appeals for courage and confidence were issued by the Governor of Bengal, Mahatma Gandhi and others.

The Punjab Government undertook to clear out of the mosques those Khaksars who had been defying its authority from sanctuary there. The Khaksars resisted furiously in spite of the use of tear gas. On two occasions the police were forced to fire in self-defence. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan issued a statement saying that there were clear indications of connexion between the Khaksars and Britain's enemies and appealed to Moslems to have nothing to do with them.

The Congress Working Committee issued a statement intimating that the Congress realized the necessity for defending India militarily from external dangers and that the ideal doctrine of non-violence was in-applicable under the prevailing circumstances. Mahatma Gandhi was absolved from responsibility for the decision and was left free to pursue his ideal in his own way. As regards the internal national struggle the Congress would continue to adhere to the principle of non-violence. The demand that India should function as a free and independent country was reiterated and Congressmen would not participate in war committees or subscribe to war funds pending a solution.

Parliament enacted a Bill giving the India Government the power to legislate on matters normally outside its purview, to permit the Government of India to exercise full powers in the event of a rupture of communications with Great Britain. The first effect of the new Act would be to permit the issue of an ordinance for compulsory national service for European British subjects ; British Indian subjects would not be affected. The Act might also, in an emergency, permit a political settlement arrived at in India to be given effect to.—His Excellency the Viceroy resumed talks with Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah.

1st. Mahatma Gandhi in an article in the *Harijan*, said : "If the British Government will not *suo motu* declare India a free country, having the right to determine her own status and constitution I am of the opinion that we should wait till the heat of the battle in the Allied countries subsides and the future is clearer than it is. We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence." Mahatma Gandhi added by saying : "But we shall have many opportunities of demonstrating our power if we really have it. We can make it felt at the time of peace, which must come, whichever party wins."

A provincial war Board was formed in the United Provinces, with the Governor as chairman and the Deputy Secretary and Under Secretary, Information Department as joint secretaries of the Board.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Srinagar, organized by the National Conference, deprecated the idea of dividing India into Hindu and Moslem States. He referred to the fate of the smallest nations in Europe in this connexion.

Mr. Asaf Ali, Secretary, Central Assembly Congress Party, in a statement to the Press, remarking that the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast was intended to be both an appeal for co-operation, and a reassurance that India's defence was not neglected, said : "It can scarcely be a consolation to those, who are burning with the desire to defend their country, that the defence force is going to be expanded by another 100,000 men and that the Indian Air Force will be raised from three to twelve flights, and that Indians will be given their full share in the scheme designed for the provision of officers."

2nd. Pandit H. N. Kunzru, member of the Council of State, in a statement to the Press from Poona, said : "The new defence policy announced by the Commander-in-Chief in his broadcast address does not seem to go far enough. The Government of India have moved forward no doubt, but very grudgingly.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari replying to an address in Madras, said : 'There ought to be responsible Government in each province at this juncture. Only ministers enjoying the confidence and support of the people would be in a position to allay any possible panic and maintain order."

Sir Sultan Ahmed, President of All-Parties Shia Conference and a member of the Working Committee, Moslem League and Mr. A. Q. Ansari, President of the Bihar Momin Conference issued statements from Patna laying stress on the need of communal truce and joining of all parties to help the Allies in winning the war.

A Khaksar was killed and several others, including eight police constables, received injuries in a clash between the police and Khaksars which was reported to have taken place at Khanewal (Punjab) in a railway compartment.

3rd. Describing India's currency position, it was stated from Simla that India's position was probably the strongest of any country in the world, barring perhaps America, which had an "embarrassingly large gold hoard". "Behind every curreney note", it is emphasized, "stands at the present moment full value in gold, easily realizable sterling, silver rupee or obligations of the Government of India which are realizable at a moment's notice. It is almost impossible to imagine a currency position of greater strength."

A communique, issued by the Orissa Government, stated : "It is said that rumours are going about that the Government of India are likely to issue orders soon, stopping all payments from Government banks. This has led to a large number of withdrawals from the postal savings banks at Puri. The Government of Orissa are in a position to declare that the rumour is entirely incorrect and they assure the public that no order alleged have ever been issued nor will they be issued. Persons spreading false rumours themselves are liable to punishment under the Defence of India Rules.

A communique issued from Darjeeling, stated : "The Government (of Bengal) have decided to take the further step of giving their support to the market in old crop (jute) by taking up sellers' offers of Ready L. J. A. First (London Jute Association's First Mark)—old crop—below a minimum rate.

5th. His Excellency the Viceroy announced the formation of a civil guard—a body of a volunteer character to assist the police—and the immediate appointment of district war committees. The civil guard would collaborate with the police in the maintenance of public order, in air raid precautions and anti-sabotage work and in other important spheres of internal defence.

There was a brief announcement from Simla stating that the question of manufacture of aircraft in India, was under active consideration.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Liberal leader, in a statement to the Press, referred to Mahatma Gandhi's article in the *Harijan* regarding war and said : "He (Mahatma Gandhi) does not realize or at any rate acknowledge, that if the Nazis win, there will be an end of freedom and independence for India for as long a time as one can envisage. As I have said more than once before, the charge-sheet that India can legitimately bring forward against England is long and grave, but in the present situation in Europe, the fate of India is bound up with that of England and that the instinct of self-preservation dictates that India should whole-heartedly support England in winning the war.

6th. H. E. the Governor of Assam and the Premier, Sir M. Saadulla issued a joint appeal for contribution to the Assam War Fund.

The European Association in Calcutta, passed three important resolutions in connexion with the War, dealing with man power, prompt Government

action against dangerous persons and right enforcement of the Defence of India Act to deal with the menace of alarmist rumours.

The Nawab of Bhopal in a statement on the Viceroy's statement said : "I greatly value the generous terms in which His Excellency has referred to the contribution already made by the Indian States. It is hardly necessary for me to repeat the assurance that Bhopal will continue to strain every effort to assist the Imperial Government in the present struggle."

A Press Note issued from Lahore, said : "Recent developments in the international situation have led very naturally, to a quickening of public interest in the measures taken to protect the civil population in the Punjab against possible air raids from the north-west."

7th. A new order entitled the Petroleum Premises (Fire Protection) order published in a gazette of India Extraordinary prescribed to be taken to deal with outbreaks of fire in petroleum storage tanks and to prevent its spread.

The Bengal Government's decision to take the further step of giving their support to the old crop by taking up sellers offers of ready L. J. A. First (London Jute Association's First Marks) below the minimum price, was criticized by the Secretary, Indian Jute Mills Association, in a letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Agriculture and Industries Department.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement from Naini Tal, said that he did not call for a conference of former Premiers of Congress Governments to discuss the question of resumption of office by the Congress.

8th. Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of an article in the *Harijan*, gave advice that people in India should not get panicky, but should go on with their work in the usual way, and not withdraw deposits from banks or make haste to turn paper into cash.

The Industrial and Scientific Research Board met at Simla. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar presided. A general discussion took place on the research schemes received from the leading universities and scientific institutions in India.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, replying to a question whether he would welcome the rise of a dictatorship which would with the minimum use of force, "Soap the rich, give justice to the poor, and so serve both", said, "I cannot accept a benevolent or any other dictatorship."

Mahatma Gandhi dealt with the position of Congress Moslems *vis a vis* a Congress Moslem League rapprochment, in the *Harijan*. He said : "I have never understood the reason behind the demand for the recognition by the Congress of the Moslem League as the sole and authoritative Moslem body. Why should such an admission be demanded or expected ? How is it compatible with a genuine desire for a settlement ? The Congress attempts to represent all. But it has never demanded recognition as such from anybody. The Congress has never claimed that it represents the whole of Indian Moslems. It has not claimed to represent any single community wholly. But it does claim to represent every single national interest irrespective of class, caste, colour or creed."

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in a statement from Kurseong, expressed the opinion that Hindus and Moslems should put forward a joint demand for a provisional National Government at the Centre.

9th. His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras presiding over the annual meeting of the Y. M. C. A, (Ootacamund) said : "There are far too many people going about in this country saying that it makes no difference whether England or Germany is the ruler ; that it makes no difference who wins this war ; and that India will be a thing apart."

"If we lose this war any chance of freedom or independence or Dominon Status would be gone, and gone for ever."

His Excellency Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam, and Sir M. Saadulla, Premier of Assam, issued a joint appeal to the public to contribute to the War Fund.

H. E. H. the Nizam in a *firman* appealed to all persons to refrain from subversive activities during the war and help to achieve internal unity in the face of the grave situation.

Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, a former Madras Congress Minister, addressing a public meeting at Villupuram, said : "We do realize fully well that Hitler's success would mean the annihilation of liberty in all countries. We all realise that the Allies must win this war."

His Excellency the Governor-General decided to extend the life of the Legislative Assembly for a further period of one year from October 1, 1940 when the extension effected in his order dated August 19, 1939 would expire.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, presiding over the Tinnevelly district political conference at Ambasamudram, said: "I consider it our duty, however unpleasant and unreasonable it may appear on the surface, to reiterate with all the force we can command. our claim that Britain should at this supreme hour of her difficulty declare India once and for all time free and independent, and then India should declare herself a new-born ally on the side of England and France."

10th. The Under-Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Supply, in a letter addressed to the Bengal Millowners' Association, said that the Government of India were taking steps to alleviate the hardship experienced by the cotton mills in the country due to the situation arising out of the shortage in the supply of dyestuffs. They were actively investigating the alternative sources of supply and in many cases were able to suggest such sources to firms, to whom enemy stocks could not be released.

An amendment to the Defence of India Rules published in a gazette of India Extraordinary, prohibited refusal to accept coins or notes in payment of a debt or otherwise.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting at Srinagar, Kashmir outlined the position of Indian States in a free India as visualized by the Congress.

Italy declared war on the Allies.

11th. Police forces carried out simultaneous raids on nine mosques at Lahore in accordance with the Government decision to round up all Khaksars who were making use of religious buildings for their activities which the Government considered subversive. In some mosques Khaksars offered resistance and eight police officers and two constables received injuries.

Mr. H. L. Humphreys, speaking on the British War Savings Movement in Calcutta, emphasized the importance of regular contributions to the National Saving Movement and appealed to the public to help in the war effort by purchasing National Defence Bonds.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner issued a statement appealing to all political parties "to lay aside their suspicions and hesitations and unite in the face of a common enemy for the defence of India and the Empire and all the traditions of civilized life which we hold dear."

12th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, addressing a public meeting at Naini Tal, presided over by Sj. Govind Ballabh Pant, former Premier of the U. P., declared: "If Germany committed the greatest crime in history by her aggression, Italy has committed the second greatest crime by extending the war."

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, in a broadcast speech from Calcutta, made an appeal for courage and cooperation to meet the situation in the war crisis.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, in his address to the Expert Advisory Council at Simla, referred to the message of Mahatma Gandhi ("we may hear of reverses but we will not hear of demoralization") and said, "your greatest internal enemy —the biggest danger to the commercial interests of this country is this scaremongering and panicky section." Sir Ramaswamy emphasized, "there is absolutely no reason whatever for panic for, in every way, the position is sound financially and commercially."

The Director of Information Bureau, Punjab, in the course of a Press communique, issued from Lahore, said: "Do Khaksars aim merely at social service or are they trying to organize themselves as a fighting force? If the former, the notification of February 22 does not at all affect them. If the latter they deserve to be checked in the interest of peace and order."

Sir Mohammad Yakub in a statement to the Press from Moradabad, said: "The fateful announcement that Italy has joined the war agrinst the Allies has at last been made. She has betrayed the Allies now as she betrayed Germany and Austria during the last Great War. India is now much nearer the danger zone than she was at the beginning of the war. Our duty as Indians has now become quite clear and definite. We have to unite and present a solid front if we want to live in the world like an honourable and self-respecting people."

13th. Waziristan had a peaceful week. The progress of the war remained the chief topic of interest among the tribesmen.

Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner

in Baluchistan, at a meeting of representatives of political, religious and commercial organizations, held in the Residency Gardens at Quetta, gave advice to the people not to be led astray by false and panicky news generally spread by mischief-mongers who wanted to embarrass the British Government.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab arrived at Mr. Asaf Ali's house and met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President at New Delhi. Maulana Azad had an informal talk regarding the political situation and Hindu-Moslem problems.

15th. The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League met in Bombay. A statement issued by the Committee, said : "The Committee has been discussing the internal and external situation for the whole of the day and no decision has been arrived at." Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, and Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister of Bengal, had before the meeting informal consultations with Mr. Jinnah.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing under the caption. "Two parties", in the *Harijan*, said : "Private and public appeals are being made to me to call all parties together and arrive at a common agreement and then, they say, we shall get what we want from Great Britain. These good friends forget one central fact. The Congress, which professes to speak for India and wants unadulterated independence, cannot strike a common measure of agreement with those who do not. To act otherwise would be to betray its trust. In the nature of things, therefore, there can be no "all parties conference" unless all have a common purpose. The British Government would not ask for a common agreement, if they recognized any one party strong enough to take delivery."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Chairman of the Managing Body of the Punjab Red Cross, issued an appeal for gifts in kind and cash to relieve the distress of the 5 million Belgian, Dutch and other evacuees and refugees in France.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, in a Press statement, said : "The need of the country demands that India must not miss the bus, and I am using all my influence to bring about unity and create a united front."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, opening the North Arcot District Political conference at Vellore, said : "The Hindus and the Moslems are the two eyes of the nation, and if both eyes were to be focussed together on the Swaraj image under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, freedom would be theirs ere long."

16th. The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League, in Bombay, passed a resolution authorizing Mr. Jinnah, the League President, to enter into communication with the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize India's resources for intensifying war effort and the defence of the country.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, broadcasting from London on the anniversary of the signing of Magna Carta, traced the development and spread of British democratic ideals and referred to India's political future. He said, "In the case of India, we have made manifest our sincere desire, that she should, as a willing partner, attain the same status in the British Commonwealth as is enjoyed by the Dominions or, for that matter, by ourselves."

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, re : arrests under the Defence of India Act : "Every arrest evokes my mental protest. But I am not in the habit of reducing all my thoughts to writing. I believe our thoughts too produce effects though not known to us, or the world. I felt that any public protest by me would be ineffective. All things are legitimate and illegitimate in war time. I regard war itself as illegitimate. But as yet I have no effective remedy against war.

Sir H. P. Mody, in a Press statement from Simla, said : "The war is fast coming nearer our door and no time is to be lost in equipping the country more adequately for the defence of its liberties and existence."

A notification was issued by the Government of India instituting a system of export control over all commodities shipped from India to the United States of America, the Phillipine Islands, and all territories under the sovereignty of the United States of America and Switzerland.

17th. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha ; general discussions were held on the European situation in relation to India in which most of the members participated.

The Committee of Ministers of the Chamber of Princes met in Bombay. The first item on the agenda was a statement from the Chairman of the committee

(Sir Akbar Hydari) which was read on his behalf. He said : "The situation is grave, but it has intensified the grim resolve of the best in the British Commonwealth of Nations to concentrate on the successful prosecution of the war. The Indian States, big and small, share that resolve.

Mr. S. N. Mehta, Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur, convened a meeting of the citizens of Nagpur, in connexion with the formation of a district war committee.

18th. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha : the Congress President informed the Press that the Committee held a further general discussion on the international situation.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, presiding at the second session of the All-India Forward Bloc conference at Nagpur, suggested the establishment of a provisional National Government in India. He stressed the need for complete national unity with a view to putting forward the country's demand to the British Government. Sj. Bose, said : "If India could speak with one voice today, our demand will be wellnigh irresistible. It follows as a consequence, that we should try to develop national unity and solidarity to the maximum limit."

Mr. Arthur Moore, speaking on the war, in Calcutta, made a strong plea for according Dominion Status to India at once.

19th. His Excellency the Viceroy, broadcasting a message from Simla, referred to the gravity of the situation in the west and Britain's determination to continue the struggle. He assured the people that no effort was spared to bring the defence arrangements of India to the highest pitch and urged them not to yield to panic but to be full of courage and confidence.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the Moslem League President, expressed divergent views over the Moslem League Executive's mandate calling upon Moslems not to serve on war committees that were being formed in the provinces.

The Congress Working Committee at Wardha. further discussed the draft resolutions on the political situation with particular reference to the Congress attitude towards civil guards. Discussions were also held on the advisability of forming Coalition or National Governments.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyenger of Madras prepared a scheme for solving the Hindu-Moslem problem and handed it over to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President at Wardha. The scheme contemplated an equal proportion of Hindu and Moslem Ministers at the centre and in all provinces with additional Ministers to represent special minorities in certain provinces as, for example, Parsis in Bombay and Sikhs in the Punjab.

20th. Unflinching support for the war effort of the British Empire was expressed at a representative public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta held under the chairmanship of His Excellency Sir John Herbert.—There was a large gathering.

The Government of Bengal proposed to amend the Bengal Alluvion and Diluvion Act of 1847 to enable the revenue authorities to assess revenue on alluvial re-formations within an estate, where an abatement of land revenue had been allowed at the time of diluvion.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose returned to Wardha after his interview with Mahatma Gandhi and addressed a public meeting. He said : "I was naturally anxious to know at first hand his (Mahatma Gandhi's) appreciation of the present critical situation and his advice to his countrymen, and also wanted to acquaint him with our present policy and programme."

21st. The Congress Working Committee after five days' deliberation at Wardha, reached the decision that they were unable to extend to the region of national defence Mahatma Gandhi's creed of non-violence. The decision was reached on the international situation and the possible danger to India from external aggression or internal disorder. The Committee, however, recognized that Mahatma Gandhi should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way and therefore absolved him of all responsibility for the programme which might be adopted for the future. The Committee also made it clear that non-violence remained the basic policy in regard to the fight for independence and was in no way affected by the changed attitude towards problems of defence and internal security.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Finance Minister, Bengal, in a Press statement, reiterated the determination of the Government to continue its efforts to prevent panic from spreading and the market from feeling its worst effect.

Hyderabad's share in regard to the joint scheme proposed between the Hyderabad and Madras Governments for utilization of the Tungabhadra waters for irrigation and electric supply purposes would amount to seven crores of rupees.

22nd. Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, under the caption, "How to combat Hitlerism", said: "Whatever Hitler may ultimately prove to be, we know what Hitlerism has come to mean : it means naked, ruthless force, reduced to an exact science and worked upon with a scientific precision."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha. Regarding his interview, Maulana Azad said : "There is nothing new in Mahatma Gandhi's attitude regarding non-violence. He has been emphasizing this fact for a long time through the columns of the *Harijan* and in his speeches. Mahatmaji will continue to give his advice and guidance and direction whenever necessary to the Congress Working Committee."

Seth Ram Krishen Dalmia, addressing the annual meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Lahore, said : "The present war, most unfortunate though it is, has offered an opportunity to our country for the proper development of industries. It is only under the present circumstances, that the Government of the country has been touched to the quick regarding the needs of industrial development, the manufacture of machines, and a strong defence for the country. Our leaders have been crying hoarse for these things all these days, but unfortunately, the Government was never so much appreciative of our real needs."

His Excellency the Governor of Bihar, presiding over the inaugural meeting of the Provincial War Committee at Patna, said : "In these days when the fate of civilization is trembling in the balance it has been heartening to receive from all cities so many expression of sympathy with the cause of the Allies and such generous offers of assistance, both material and personal."

23rd. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru issued a statement from Bombay, on the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee on Mahatma Gandhi's creed of non-violence. "The Working Committee (he said, in the course of the statement) have rightly taken the people into their confidence about the basic problems that confront them and about the future which seemed so distant and is now so near. The Working Committee's resolution makes it clear that in spite of war developments the Ramgarh resolution stands, as indeed it must, and our policy and action must be fashioned accordingly." "The difference between Gandhiji's approach and that of the Working Committee must be understood and must not lead people to think that there is a break between him and the Congress. The Congress of the past twenty years is his creation and child and nothing can break this bond. I am sure that his guidance and wise counsel will always be available to the Congress".

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye presided over the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India which passed a resolution at Poona, containing an appeal to leaders to sink their differences and form National Governments both in the provinces and at the centre thus securing Indian national interests and ensuring the full cooperation of India in the prosecution of the war.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, speaking at a banquet at Mount Abu, said : "If we in India do not contribute all our material and human resources to save civilization and freedom of the entire world, we shall have no moral right to claim a share of that freedom."

24th. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in a Press interview in Bombay, on the war situation said : "There is no cause for despondency, despair or panic, and personally I have not for a moment wavered in my faith that in the end Great Britain and her vast Empire with all their resources, even fighting alone, will secure a decisive victory over the enemy."

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the A. I. C. C., in a circular letter from Allahabad, to provincial Congress committees, explained the implication of the statement issued by the Congress Working Committee on June 21. He said : "The statement does not seek to change any of the fundamental principles and policies the Congress has followed under the leadership and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi for the last 20 years for the attainment of the goal of Purna Swaraj. These continue to be based upon the principles of truth and non-violence."

25th. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Commerce Member met at Simla representatives of oil interests and reviewed the question of prices of petrol and kerosene oil

on the basis of the understanding arrived at in Delhi that the position be examined every six months.

Mr. C. E. S. Fairweather, Commissioner of Police and Vice-chairman of the Civil Guard sub-committee, appointed by the general meeting of the war committee for the city of Calcutta, issued a statement regarding the constitution and explaining the aims of the Calcutta Civil Guards.

26th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, revealed the decision of the Government, in the House of Commons, when he introduced a new legislation, which in the main was designed to overcome difficulties of a technical nature in the event of complete interruption of communication between India and British. "The Government of India has come to the conclusion that for the purposes of urgent expansion of India's war effort it has now become necessary, indeed urgent, to follow the example of Britain and introduce compulsory service for military and in certain cases for civil and industrial purposes." The Bill passed through all the readings within 90 minutes and was then sent to the House of Lords.

Sir K. V. Reddi, Chairman of the recruiting subcommittee of the Provincial War Committee, speaking on "War and our Duty" in Madras, observed : "If we do not go to the rescue of Great Britain with our man power and resources, the curse of God and also the curse of generation after generations will be upon us."

27th. The India and Burma Bill was given Royal Assent. Earlier, the House of Lords took up and passed all 16 stages of the Bill.

The reconstruction of the old War Supply Department (India) was made necessary by the enormous pressure of demands on India's productive capacity and the urgent importance of complete unification of the control of raw materials and the utilization of the country s manufacturing capacity. The president of the new War Supply Board would be Sir Zafrullah Khan and his Vice-president would be Mr. Hugh Dow.

The central office of the All-India Independent Moslem Party's conference in a statement stressed the need for a permanent and national solution of the Hindu-Moslem problem. Co-operation between Hindus and Moslems and all others should be secured and pressed to the highest creative effort of the country. It was to this task that the Azad Conference had to bend all its most earnest efforts.

28th. The Government of India issued an Ordinance from Simla, providing compulsory national service for Indian and Anglo-Indian technicians to supplement voluntary recruitment of technical personnel for factories engaged in war production.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League in a statement on the Khaksar problem, from Simla, said : "I personally have not concealed my sympathy with the Khaksars generally, and I would like to repeat that if the Khaksar leaders put their heads together and enable me with authority to serve them and follow my advice, I shall be prepared to do all I can to find an honourable solution of the present impasse."

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, in a broadcast statement from Simla, explained the Ordinance providing compulsory national service for Indian British subjects.

29th. Mahatma Gandhi's interview with His Excellency the Viceroy took place at Simla. The interview which began at 3 p.m, lasted three hours.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption "Both happy and un-happy," discussing the break between himself and the Congress Working Committee over the issue of unadulterated non-violence as the Congrees policy. He said : "For me non-violence is a creed, I must act up to it whether I am alone or have companions. Since propagation of non-violence is the mission of my life, I must pursue it in all weathers." Mahatmaji said that he could no longer guide the general policy of the Congress when fundamental differences were discovered between the Congress and himself. The Congress, according to Mahatma Gandhi, in taking its decision, had made a tremendous sacrifice—the sacrifice of the prestige that the Congress had gained in the world for unadulterated non-violence.

Notes on Indian History

and

India In Home Polity

JANUARY—JUNE 1940

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. It 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, philologist and anthropologist.

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific line 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 distinguish 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 Punjab 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 later "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 shortlived 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 cards. 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 consideration 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 consideration of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

Of the immense back-ground of India History which is represented by the Vedas (Samhitas, Brahmins, Aranyakas and Upanishdas), 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 standpoins, 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.

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 fifth century—when the White Huns from Central Asia 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 ascendancy—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 "caste" and the four Ashrams or "stage" 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 Budhism, 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 and 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 and 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 Mohammedan era, the Hindu genius was not at its best but it was not quite decadent.

The Mahammedan Rule

The Mohammedan conquerors, again, from Mahomed Ghori who 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 autonomy 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 thenceforth 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 legislature), 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 land their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resoultion 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

Defeat & capitulation of France

The first six months of the year 1940 have opened before the world prospects of hopelessness, of catastrophic changes, of the overturning of States that have few parallels in recent history, in the history of the world since 1918 when the First World War of the 20th century came to an end. We are witnesses to a scene wherein the forces released by the French Revolution may be said to have come to grips with dictatorships, with "military socialism", to use the words of Walter Lippmann, one of the greatest of United States publicists. The defeat and capitulation of France in the middle of June, 1940, startled the world to a realisation of the vast transformation that faces it. Countries, free and unfree, peoples, great and small, came to understand by this development that a new theory and practice of State-life have come forward to successfully challenge those which had been familiar these one hundred and fifty years. In a vague, unconscious way we felt that France had stood for the former, and that her overthrow required of us a new habit of thought and action. Men and women who were not French, whom seas and oceans separated from France, had felt a strange kinship with this country on the Atlantic border of Europe. To many of them she had been the creator of the modern age, the path-finder which lit the way in 1789 to a life of increasing self-respect for an increasing number of human beings. To peoples struggling to be nations, France has been "the first of nations, and has remained the norm of nations." To men and women who are aware of the fruitful movements of human history, France has been an inspiration of world significance. This feeling found expression through the following lines of Rudyard Kipling's "France", written during the last war :

> "Broke to every known mischance ; lifted over all
> By the light, sane joy of life—the buckler of the Gaul,
> Furious in luxury, Merciless in toil,
> Terrible, with strength she draws from her tireless soil.
> Strictest judge of her own worth, gentlest of man's mind,
> First to follow truth, and last to leave old truths behind :
> France—beloved of every soul that loves and serves its kind."

Their various causes

The break-down of such a centre of the world's hopes, the fountain-head of creative streams of life, sent a thrill through the world. Since then men of affairs, men of thought, have been trying to understand and explain the causes of such a catastrophe. They have spoken of the perfection of the German technique of war, of the "mental confusion, contradiction of feeling, indecisiveness, panic" that filled the Allied countries and characterized their leadership. They have been stigmatizing the activities of men and women who betrayed their countries, the self-interest and self-respect of their nations to Nazi and Fascist invaders. It has been held that the reason why within the short period of nine weeks Germany was able to over-run and over-throw Norway,

Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France was to be sought for and found not in the strength of Germany but in the disunity of those defeated peoples. Explaining this change in further detail it has been asserted that class antagonism has above everything else been responsible for the emergence of the "Quislings"—*the Bibhisans*—in the countries that have fallen under the Nazi onslaught. If what has been said of France as an explanation of her capitulation be the sample for other countries, that the masses in France did not feel that it was "their war", that they were not prepared to risk their life and limb for the benefit of "200 Families", that the "200 Families" were prepared to bow down to the Nazis rather than make their peace with their own people—if these interpretatious be true, then we must revise our definitions of words like "patriotism" and learn anew the meanings imported into them by the Communist interpreters of social history.

We can carry on a recriminatory controversy with regard to the causes of German success. But there will be a certain amount of economy of temper if we be prepared to accept certain facts of European life that stare us in the face. 25,00,00,000 people in that continent have almost bloodlessly surrendered all guarantees of personal liberty, have gone over to "totalitarian governments". Free speech, free press, free public meetings, the right of trial by jury—these rights, these intellectual and spiritual liberties—had been won by them through struggles during about two centuries. In economic life, the system of free private enterprise had been much prized—the right of men and women to choose their own callings, to acquire and retain the fruits of their labours for the security of their families and of their old age. But men and women in Europe have given up this "democracy" in political and economic life as they came to despair of the arrangements made for solving the problems—political, economic and social—that today infest their life. They gave up hope of any way out except by the acceptance of a dictator who might force a way through "the labyrinth of difficulties in which democracy seemed to have lost itself". As Herbert Hoover, ex-President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt's predecessor at the White House at Washington, has said in course of an article in the *American Mercury*,

The surrender of liberties

> "...the stupendous revolution in ideas and government in these many nations had been made at the will of the people themselves. Dictatorship was welcomed as relief from confusion, and was established by powers conferred by parliamentary leaders or confirmed by electoral action. Every important dictator in Europe to-day obtained his right to rule by legal delegation from once-self-governing peoples. Liberty committed suicide."

The question has naturally to be asked—why did men and women who and whose predecessors had suffered and sacrificed for democracy and liberty, why should they feel impelled to sacrifice this tradition, to go back on a great human endeavour, and to hug to their bosom the dictatorship that denies these and rejects their amenities? It has to be recognised that none of these peoples started or accepted dictatorships with the intention of sacrificing democracy and liberty. It was when "free government" failed to ensure order, discipline and productivity that

Clash of class conscious interests

a dictator was set up. A study of the rise of Nazism supports this thesis. It has been suggested that

"...the single-party form of government (as it obtains in Germany) is really a vehicle for the political self-assertion of a hitherto politically and impotent social class—the lower ranks of the white-collared and black-coated of our modern western, urban, society. Hitherto this lower middle class has been crushed between the upper mill-stone of organised capital and the lower mill-stone of organised labour.....To-day this class, driven to desperation by the sharpness of the turn of the screw during economic crisis is retaliating.....by sweeping the old political machines away.....in order to create its own new-fangled political instrument for making itself master of the State in a naked class warfare with capital on one side and labour on the other."—*Foreign Affairs* (*American Quarterly*). *April, 1934.*

Despair of 19th century pure science

This economic interpretation cannot be accepted as adequate, as it does not explain all the discontents and dissatisfactions of the modern world. Philosophers like Banedetto Croce and Bertrand Russel, publicists like Walter Lippmann, and scholars like Prof. Joad, to speak of only a few, have all tried to understand and explain the various factors, material and mental, that have contributed to the making of the crisis through which the world has been passing. All seem to be agreed that we are witnessing "a return to unreason", an "abandonment of reason", a "despair of 19th century pure science." Why should the European mood of high hopes, of belief in the inevitability and permanence of progress—hopes and beliefs created by science—why should these have faded and weakened ? These questions raise debates and controversies that add to the confusion of the modern age. Men and women are afraid and terrified as they sense the inadequacy of present contrivances to ensure them equality, employment, and peace. And in their fear they set up dictators who will save them from the conflicts and competitions of modern life. This seeking for protection in beings other than ourselves is a natural human instinct. Europe which one World War has left distracted and weak, and another threatens with complete chaos, Europe weakened by the loss of Asiatic markets, by poverty, faction and revolutionary changes, appears to be sounding a retreat, and retiring into reservations where dying races lick their wounds.

"A philosophy in flames"

Students of tendencies of modern thoughts and activities have been striking these pessimistic notes. The present war which Germany and Italy have been claiming to wage so that a new Europe and a new world may be re-built on the ruins of "plutocratic democracy" has to be accepted as the death pangs of one pattern of conduct and the birth pangs of another. We have indicated above certain of the features of this vast change. The masses in all countries are anxious and apprehensive except those who have been made class-conscious. The classes which supplied the rulership of countries have become aware that "A philosophy is in flames, a way of life is in peril.....", to quote the words of Mr. Wendell Willkie, Republican candidate put forward for the Presidency of the United States of America. This awareness that the war in Europe and its consequences will affect and influence all peoples in the world, that a revolution in ideas and practices is imminent not only among belligerent peoples, is a development which has been made possible by the technological improvements in the contrivances of inter-

communication. These have made the world smaller, brought the countries physically and mentally nearer to one another, and rubbing against one another. This nearness and rubbing generates heat. Therefore is it that the conquering march of Totalitarianism has sent dread and uneasiness to the major part of the world. This is at the back of the words of Mr. Wendell Willkie about the philosophy and practice to which they had been habituated being "in flames". This philosophy and practice began with the Reformation in Europe, the revolt against Roman Catholicism, popularly known as Protestantism and its offshoots or branches—Lutheranism and Calvinism. This philosophy and practice was built on the idea of the individual's unique relation with God, separate from one another, while the old philosophy and practice had sought individual good in a society reaching contentment through the associated work of all. This "individualism in religion led insensibly, if not quite logically, to an individualist morality." While the old ideal had been inspired by the belief that man must seek his fulfilment and salvation as a member of society, the new inspired the belief that man and woman as individuals must stand face to face with the "Great Taskmaster" and wrest from the "Dread Mystery" his or her salvation. By an inner urge of the logic of this belief, the individual was taught to believe and act on the belief that in the unavoidable conflicts and competitions of existence in the material and the spiritual fields, he must fight for himself and forge ahead by himself. From this analysis the late Prof. Dicey was led to indicate the manner in which "the appeal of the Evangelicals to personal religion corresponds with the appeal of Benthamite Liberals to individual energy".

Appreciation of British Imperialism

It is this individualism that is being challenged and attacked by the rise of Totalitarianism. Democratic and liberal States have recognised this threat at long last, and accepted the challenge. They appear to have lost in the first round. The hordes of Nazi Germany rolling over Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and France testify to this defeat. The British Empire and the United States of America are thus left as the last upholders of "free economy" in State, in economic life. The former, after the *debacle* in France, has been fighting alone against the totalitarian tendency, and the United States has been helping her in all manner of ways short of actual participation in the war. It is not material ties alone that have bound these two peoples. They are inheritors of common traditions, and if world developments are any help to our understanding of the future of international politics, it can be said with a certain amount of precision that there is a community of "ultimate destiny" between the United States of America and the British Dominions including Britain. It is this community of interests, of habits of life and thought, that has been moving the former to help the latter in the way she has been doing in this supreme crisis of her life. The public men and the publicists of the "New World" have been declaring that Britain, the British Navy, has been their first line of defence, that any weakening of these will throw on their own shoulders added responsibilities for the defence of their material and spiritual liberties. They have at long last come to acknowledge their debt to Britain which since the days of George Canning has been

standing guard over these as against the rising imperialisms of Europe. The Monroe Doctrine (1823) was inspired from the British Foreign office. By adopting it the United States has been able to successfully maintain for one hundred years and more "a splendid and very inexpensive isolation". The events of April, May and June of 1940 have placed the ports of Europe from Narvik to Brest at the disposal of Germany and created doubts whether or not Britain will be able to maintain the proud position that has been hers for about 400 hundred years as the mistress of the seas. So that every country whether in the west or east, north or south, has been feeling that isolation or a hermit existence has become impossible. that either for offence or for defence the peoples have to fight or to go totalitarian, bow down to Totalitarians of the various brands—Communism or National Socialism or Fascism or the "Imperial Way" of Japan.

By the United States.

Threatened by this choice the present war has been becoming one of ideologies. And we in India, whether we like it or not, cannot escape the consequences of this war. Though the majority of the people of India know nothing of the Reformation in Europe and of its consequences, this ignorance or unconcern have not saved them from the social, economic and political effects of that event. British methods of administration and enlightenment have disrupted the moulds of India's traditional life, and have tried to make three or four generations of Indians in the image of Europeans. Even free nations other than European or American—Japan for instance—have succumbed to the good or evil influences of the Euro-American pattern. This has been so for the last two hundred years. And in the middle of the 20th century we are face to face with Totalitarianism and its threat to the integrity of civilised life as it has evolved under the impact of modern science and technology. The *debacle* of France has brought this threat nearer to our doors. And the cruelty of the situation that confronts us has been made bitter by the policy adopted by the British Government in relation to India's capacity for self-defence against internal discord and external attack. The most powerful and the richest nation of the world publicly expresses fear of the Totalitarian menace centred in Europe :

'Since 1914 British command of the seas has been gravely challenged, and the period of our splendid isolation has ended. We now face the prospect of living alone in a hemisphere of weak States amid a world of gigantic conquering military States. Within the orbit of our influence and interests from Alaska to the Netherland Indies and from Canada to Brazil, lie lands whose natural wealth is surpassed only by their small populations and feeble defences..."(Walter Lippman in *Life, a U. S. A weekly*)

Fear of anarchy— *Matsyanyaya*

When United States public men and publicists can speak and write like this, express their fears in language like this, what language but that of helplessness and resentment at their own helplessness can be uttered by Indians ? To understand this psychology of despair one has but to go over the map of the East Mediterranean area, of Arabia, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan in the west of India, over the map of Indo-China, Thailand (Siam) Burma and the islands, big and small, to the south and south-east of these countries. It has become a common-place with

British politicians and journalists to draw our attention to the fact that if the defences built up by Britain in the East Mediterranean area and round about the Malaya Archipelago break down under the pressure of Italo-German-Japanese attacks, no country in Africa and southern Asia will be immune from anarchy, from *matsyanyaya,* the condition in which big fish eat up the smaller ones. The thesis that India has her effective frontiers in Egypt, in the Suez Canal area and in Palestine and in the Mid Pacific, that for the defence of India the *status quo* in these areas has to be maintained and strengthened, we are told, is justified as the full implications of the victory of Germany in Europe are being soaked into the minds of the people, near and far. It may appear as a strange and sinister commentary on the political conscience of moderen humanity that for the defence of India countries as far as 2,000 or 2,500 miles distant from it should have to have stationed in their territories alien armies and the other apparatuses of war, that the national self-respect of Egyptians, Palestinians, Arabs, Iraqis, Iranis, Afghans, of Indo-Chinese, of Thailanders, and of Burmans should have to be trampled upon so that India may sleep and work in peace and with honour !

Constructive possibilities behind destruction

The theory of the State that draws sustenance from biological research as presented in Darwin's *Origin of Species* did not support the validity of the idea, of the world-view, that there was a natural harmony of interests as between nations, classes and groups. It sustained on the other hand the idea that the powerful were justified in trampling over the less powerful. Therefore the developments in Europe wherein we find Britain and Germany struggling for the hegemony over Europe have opened out the flood-gates of vast changes that threaten to disturb our peace of mind, of our habits. The destructive tendencies inherent in the situation, the sure destruction of many things that we prize most, we can no longer ignore. A contemplation of this dark side of things has become habitual to the modern world since 1914 and the years that have followed it. But it is in human nature to try to detect the silver linings in the banks of clouds that overspread the sky. So, amidst the encircling gloom of destruction of life and property, of the instruments of civilised life, of the beautiful and imposing necessities and luxuries built up by science, amid these disheartening circumstances, one may try to detect signs and indications of purposes or possibilities of construction in this welter of passions and hatreds, of ambitions and conceits. Every body in this war-scarred world has been thinking and talking and writing of a "new order" to be established on soil made fertile by the blood and tears of men, women and children. Mr. Chamberlain as British Premier has spoken of such a "new order"; Herr Hitler has also repeated the phrase ; in the east of Asia Japan has been bleeding herself to bring nearer such a "divine event". Most of us have been made cynics and sceptics by the hollow words uttered by kings and captains. But without investing these words with a supernatural virtue that transubstantiates their whole meaning, we can yet detect a purpose and a possibility in the present war. Alfred Rosenberg, one of the prophets of the Nazi cult, has indicated this in the following words :

"It (Germany) is fighting against an unholy division of the old and venerable European continent into dozens of pigmy States."

Hermann Rauchnigg in his book—*Voice of Destruction*—has quoted Herr Hitler as saying :

"In addition to the Greater Germany resting on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Western Poland, there will be an alliance of.....vassal States with no army, no separate policy, no separate economy .."

"I shall have a Western Union of Holland, Flanders and Northern France, and a Northern Union of Denmark, Sweden and Norway."

"There will be an alliance of.....Hungary, the Balkan States, the Ukraine, the Volga Basin, Georgia."

Central and West Europe—German sphere

The fortunes of the present war, as these stand in June, 1940, appear to show that the political map of Europe, of Central Europe, drawn up by Herr Hitler in 1934, is near realisation. A domination that stretches from Norway to France may be accepted as the ground-work of the future of the centre of the continent of Europe. If Herr Hitler attempts to give practical shape to his South-Eastern ambitions, he will come into conflict with Russia. We do not as yet know how the Roman ambitions of the Italian dictator will be fulfilled, how he proposes to recover those territories of the Roman Empire which border on the Mediterranean Sea. As the politics of power (which means all politics) require a balance of forces, it is liable to change and is always tending to change. In the present case Britain as the upholder of things as they have been since the days of Queen Elizabeth, as the upholder of the balance of power in Europe, has been challenged to make room for a new balance of power in which the smaller States of Europe possessing the formal attributes of sovereignty will have to be like satellites to Germany. This is one *Mandal,* sphere of influence, political and economic, that one can point out to as rising above the horizon of Europe. Another *Mandal* will be revolving round Soviet Russia the extent and dimension of which is as yet unknown.

United States—*Mandaleswar* of Anglo-Saxon world

The United States of America is the third *Mandaleswar*, chief or ruling power of a sphere of influence. Geography has sketched this sphere which will include the countries of the two Americas. But a bigger destiny appears to be awaiting her—that of the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon world, of the English-speaking world. Public men and publicists, authors and journalists, have been pointing out to the signs and portents of such a development for more than a decade, since the end of the last war. We in India whom historical forces and our own weaknesses have brought within the orbit of the British *Mandal,* are affected by such a re-grouping and re-arrangement of world forces. In 1927 Frank Simonds writing in the pages of the *American Review of Reviews* could write :

"Looking at the map, it is clear that there is every geographical reason why we may one day become the centre of the English-speaking world."

Ludwell Denny in his book published in 1930—*America Conquers Britain*—was more lyrical :

The 'Americanisation' of Europe and the far places of the earth advances..... We were Britain's colonies once. She will be our colony before she is done, not in name but in fact. Machines gave Britain power over the world. Now, better

machines are giving America power over the world...What chance has Britain against America ? And what chance has the world ?"

Common traditions bind U. S. A & Britain

The World War II of the 20th century, the defeat of France and the threat to Britain's life held over her by Germany, appear to be hastening the approach of that day. As the German guns, long-range guns, have been thundering from France against the shores of Britain, as German airplanes, bombers and fighters, have been roaring over Britain, hurling through the air death and destruction over Britain, the conviction has been strengthening in the minds of the ruling classes of both the countries, the United States and Britain, that the two English-speaking democracies "will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage", to quote the words of the present British Premier, Mr. Winston Churchill. This "mixing up" is no new phenomenon. Writers on inter-national relationship, on that existing between Britain and the United States, have often said that though in the material planes there has been the keenest competition between the dollar and the sterling, in the realm of the spirit there has existed "a deep sense of family security" between the two peoples ; that "inspite of the lack of demonstrativeness, it (the English position in the heart of the United States) is based on the solid foundation of family relationship." Andre Siegfried, the French author, in his *America Comes of Age* (1930) has discussed with French clarity and insight the many influences, past and present, that have been strengthening the bonds between the two countries. Though it was from British control that the Thirteen Colonies on the Atlantic border of the United States broke away about one hundred and sixty years back, the life of the country has been built upon British traditions of faith, upon kindred institutional arrangements in Church and State. Though the country is a cauldron of races of various colours—white, black and yellow—belonging to various linguistic groups, though there are more than 50 lakhs of German and 30 lakhs of Italian descent, yet up till now the dominant classes have been Anglo-Saxon. As an example it may be stated that except Van Buren and the two Roosevelts there has been no President since George Washington who did not belong to the Protestant Anglo-Scottish lineage ; these three men bear Dutch names. Andre Siegfried has also told us that there appear to be a "sort of secret doctrine", handed down from father to son, that the United States should remain "Protestant and Anglo-Saxon"; this tradition "guarantees for Britain an undisputed and privileged position" in the life of the greatest Republic of the modern world.

British Dominions & U. S. A.

The victorious march of Germany over Western Europe has made prominent the inter-dependance of Britain and the United States. What was living in the unconscious or subconscious region of the mind of the two peoples has come to the region of the intellect where it is being rationalised ; the political, the economic, and the cultural ties that bound them are being consciously woven afresh into new patterns of conduct in the conflicts and competitions of our age. The British Empire has a population of 50 crores of whom more than 40 crores are non-European, non-white, non-Christian. From certain points of

view these 40 crores and more may be of greater value to Britain than "the self-governing" parts of her Empire ; the material resources of the "dependent Empire" of Britain are more ample and varied than those of the Dominions. But international complications, the intensity of imperialistic rivalry, have appreciated the value of these Dominions in the market-place of affairs. As centres of Anglo-Saxon life these have secured the sympathy and support of the United States. Even Britain's imperial statesmen have come to realise this. One of them is General Jan Smuts, Premier of the South African Union, a man of Boer descent who fought Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchner in the opening years of the present century for the defence of the Boer Republics. Speaking at the Royal Institute of International Affairs on the 12th November, 1934, he said :

"The Dominions have ever stronger affiliations towards the United States than Great Britain has. There is a community of outlook, of interests, and perhaps of ultimate destiny between the Dominions and the United States."

This idea has been elaborated in many a book by many an author, friendly or unfriendly to Britain. Take the case of the Dominions one by one, and it will be easy to accept the truth of General Smuts' declaration. Economically and socially Canada may be said to be the northern extension of the United States. And though the two countries belong to two State systems, the absence of a properly drawn up frontier line between them seems to have been a prophetic provision by Nature and man for their eventual assimilation. As we write, a joint Defence Board has been constituted by the Governments of the two countries which may be interpreted as the prefatory step to the development hinted at above. Australia and New Zealand and Tasmania and the British possessions in the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean are physically nearer to the United States than to Britain. Australian public men and publicists declare that their country have to solve problems of reconstruction and development similiar to those of the United States. One of these, the principal of these, is the building up of a "White Australia" just as the United States is engaged in consolidating the position of the white man in the new world. The fear of the rising Imperialism of Japan has found an echo in the high places of the United States ; the ruling classes of the country have made no secret of their sympathy with Australian aspiration, of their appreciation of Australian fear. Sir Auckland Geddes, a member of the British War Cabinet during World War I, drew attention to this fact in course of an address delivered at a meeting of the English-speaking Union (1924) :

The Pacific area—U. S. A's special sphere

"Those who look out on the Pacific feel that in Washington there is an instinctive understanding of their difficulties which they have laboriously to explain in Downing Street.....It often happens that when our Dominions look to us here, there is no sympathetic answer, no understanding, and they look to Washington, and Washington is not devoid of eyes and looks at them."

The realisation of this kinship, of a community of "ultimate destiny", has become vivid again with the progress of the present war. But it is no new feeling. Leaders of British thought and life, both in Britain and the United States, have been consciously working for this consummation for about half a century

"The Jubilee Poem"

since the rise of Germany and the development of German industry during the last two decades of the 19th century. A French historian, Elie Halevy, in the History of the English People has interpreted the state of mind of Britain, mirrored in the Jubilee Poem (1897) of Rudyard Kipling, as one of fear, growing conscious of "the mortality of empires", and praying for a special dispensation in the case of Britain. He quoted the following lines to drive home his point :

"Far-called, our navies melt away,
On dune and headland sinks the fire ;
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre !
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget !"

Dream and scheme of Anglo-Saxon world domination

It was during this period and under the influence of this fear, that British and American thinkers and statesmen, leaders of finance and industry, began to think of stabilising Anglo-Saxon supremacy by some sort of an arrangement as it has been arrived at under the stress of the present war by which the United States has been leased certain air and naval bases in British territories in the neighbourhood of the new world. A biography of Cecil Rhodes, an empire builder in Africa, has described how he proposed in 1891 to finance an organisation, "a Society", the object of which "was to be the establishment of world peace by the union of Great Britain and the United States." The American Admiral A. T. Mahan, author of *The Influence of Sea-Power on History* was commissioned by Andrew Carnagie to write an article in support of such a propaganda—"to promote rapprochement between the two nations." It appeared in the *North-American Review* (1894) entitled—"Possibilities of an Anglo-American Re-union." Mrs. Annie Besant in her *Ancient Ideals in Modern Life* (*1901*) spoke of the "dawn" of a "vast Teutonic world-empire, formed by the English and their Colonies, with their huge off-shoot, the United States, bound in close alliance." This world-empire will be "the next to dominate humanity". At that time the Germans, a Teutonic people, cousin to the Anglo-Saxon, were not excluded from their place in the scheme of world domination. The Rhodes Scholarships of the value of £250 a year which enabled promising scholars of the "self-governing countries" of the British Empire and of the United States to finish their education in the universities of Britain were made available to German scholars as well, so that the future leaders of the Anglo-Saxon and of the chief of the Teutonic countries might grow up together with like minds and kindred ambitions. Cecil Rhodes' ambition and Mrs. Besant's prophecy appear to be nearing fulfilment, but not exactly in the way they schemed for. Germany has not been able to co-operate in the enterprise.

War in the Middle East

The discussion carried so far leads to the conclusion that Britain may have to yield place to the United States as leader, guide and protector of the Anglo-Saxon world. She may agree either to retire on pension or retire to a junior place in the partnership that will be conducting the business. How this prospect will affect the fate and fortune of the "dependent" parts of the British Empire is more than one can

say. The Mediterranean which the world has been taught to regard as the "life line" of the British Empire has, with Italy's entry into the war on the side of Germany, with France's retirement from the fight, become one of the principal theatres of the war. The British Navy which was concentrated round about Britain will have a part of it transferred to the Western and Eastern Mediterranean. The Anglo-French Army of about 5 lakhs which had been collected in Syria is dispersed to-day, and Britain has to make fresh arrangements for the defence of her special interests in Palestine, in the Suez Canal, in Egypt, for the continuation of free communication through the Red Sea. Though there was some sort of a treaty between the Franco-British allies and Turkey providing for mutual help to each other, the six months of 1940 have not seen any development that would promise any closer relation between the western Powers, and the guardian of the Bosphorus. Turkey has kept neutral. Under other circumstances she might have been hustled into the war by Anglo-French inducements. But she has been kept straight, kept balancing on the tight rope of diplomacy, by the threat or the friendship of Soviet Russia. As we write, the two Axis Powers do not appear to be anxious to make things hum in the Eastern Mediterranean. Germany has been hammering on Britain from her new vantage grounds secured in northern Frace, in Belgium, in Holland. And under Mr. Churchill's inspiring and vital leadership Britain has been gallantly standing up against the *blitzkrieg* of Germany's strongest arm of offence—the bomber and the fighter planes. British positions in the Near and Middle East, in Egypt, Palestine, the Suez Canal Zone, the Aden Protectorate, the Hardamaut appear to be tightly held; British retirement from British Somaliland does not appear to have interfered much with movements of British troopships through the neck of the Straits of Bebelmandeb. From Australia, from New Zealand, from Tasmania and from India have been moving a continuous stream of help in men and materials to strengthen the forces that under General Wavell have been preparing themselves to meet the full blast of Italian attacks from land and sea and air on Egypt, on the Sudan, on Palestine, from bases in the islands of the Mid-Mediterranean, from the Dodecannese Islands, from Lybia and Abyssinia. There are possibilities here of danger that may force its way to the shores of India if during the winter months the combined forces of Germany and Italy are able to break through the frontiers of India newly discovered or invented in the deserts of North Africa, on the shores of the Mediterranean and of the Black Sea.

Suggested attack on Russia

These possibilities lie, may appear to lie, six months ahead. But during the opening months of 1940 there was a danger that the Allies themselves might be driven to extend the war to the Midddle East by attacking Soviet Russia. The Finnish adventure had inflamed inter-national feeling and opinion against Russia. The attack on this tiny country by Russia had pricked the many pretensions of the Socialist Republic; and even the idealists among thinkers who are generally sympathetic to the Soviet experiments in social and economic life have found it difficult to justify the attack on Finland, to find reasons for this out-

rage on decency in international relationship. Crusaders from far and near, even from Germany and Italy, began to trickle into Finland to help this David to fight the Goliath among the nations of the modern world, to help 50 lakhs of people pitted against 17 crores. Added to this exasperation was the belief in the Allied countries that Russian help in the shape of the raw materials of certain war industries, the flow of Russian oil, was enabling Germany to stand the blockade or to mitigate or to nullify its paralysing effects. In this climate of feeling and opinion it did not, therefore, come as a surprise that in the British Press should be canvassed the proposal that Soviet Russia should be invaded either from the north through Finland or from the south through Iraq. Mr. Hore-Belisha, the War Minister of Britain during the first few months of the present war, suggested the first ; "Scrutator" in the *Sunday Times* pointed out that

"Air-raids on Baku from advance points in Mosul would, if successful, go near ending the war and would be a far less risky operation than an attack on the Siegfried Line."

This show of feeling, however, did not lead to any positive action on the part of the Anglo-French Allies. One of the reasons for this reticence might have been the unwillingness or refusal of Turkey to join in any such adventure. Without Turkish help an attack on Russia was not to be thought of. There is an "escape" clause in the additional protocol to the Tripartite Agreement between Turkey on the one part and Britain and France on the other, which reserved to Turkey the right to refuse to follow any policy that would commit her to any action whose effects and consequences might create a state of war between her and Russia. These two countries had been friends since the *debacle* of World War I of the 20th century. It is on record that it was Russian help that enabled Turkey to throw out Greece from Asia Minor when the latter country was led to launch her attack at the instigation and with its support of the Lloyd George Government. The protocol in the Tripartite Agreement has thus served the cause of peace in the Middle East for a few months at least. When the invasion of Soviet Russia was suggested France was intact, Italy was observing peaceful belligerancy, the Mediterranean Sea, east and west, was a peaceful pathway of trade, Turkey was watchful. These factors combined to preserve the peace for this part of the world. But with the fall of France, with the entry of Italy into the war, watchfulness has been intensified, anxiety has been heightened in the council chambers of States, in the homes of the common man. The exploits of German tankers, of German bombers, that wrested victory from the finest army of the modern world, appeared to be coming nearer to the shores of the Arabian Sea and of the Indian Ocean. The month of June, 1940, has thus become a landmark in the history of Europe. But we in India who had with painful suspense been watching events in Europe and had been hoping that the war in Europe will reach its finale in Europe, we were jostled to turn our eyes to a new danger from a new direction, from the East, emanating from another empire which since 1904 had been known as the "Britain of the East".

Turkey halts it

Inter-change of masters in the Pacific area

The fall of France has left Britain alone in Europe to face the deadliest peril in her history. Her possessions and colonies, her protectorates and Dominions, dispersed over the seven seas, became objects of attack and of desire to the rising imperialisms in Asia and Europe which had been watching with envy the wealth and glory of this tiny island in the nort-west corner of Europe. We have indicated above how British interests and British honour have found a new defender in the United States of America. We have no doubt that in other parts of the world, specially in the islands, big and small, in the Pacific Ocean, the United States would be acting the part of the fairy god-mother to British and Dutch interests. The defence arrangements of the Dutch East Indies, of Britain in South East Asia, in the islands and peninsulas of the Mid-Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean, centred at the Singapore Base, will be made available to the naval and air forces of the United States. It does not require much effort of imagination to detect the source of possible attack on these assets that had been made almost masterless by the fortunes of war in Europe. As soon as the news of the disaster to the Anglo-French allies in Europe were flashed over the ether all the world over, the Foreign Minister of Japan, Mr. Hachiro Arita, in course of a statement made to representatives of the Foreign Press gathered in his parlour made a declaration that had reference to the future of the areas under discussion. Said he :

"The Japanese Government cannot but be deeply concerned over any development accompanying the aggravation of the war in Europe that may affect the *status quo* of the Netherlands Indies."

Quick came the reaction to this declaration from the United States Secretary of State, President Roosevelt's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Cordell Hull,

"Intervention in the affairs of the Netherlands Indies or any alteration of their *status quo* by other than peaceful processes would be prejudicial to the cause of stability, peace and security not only in the region of the Netherlands Indies, but in the entire Pacific area."

Both these declarations speak of the maintenance of the *status quo* in the areas ; they make plain the value attached to the islands both politically and economically by Japan and United States. Economically their value is indicated by the fact that they produced 94 per cent of the world's rubber, 75 per cent of tin, 21 per cent of tungsten, 27 per cent of manganese, 95 per cent of quinine, and 100 per cent of the Manila fibre. The particular interest of the industrialists of the United States in the Netherlands Indies, in British Malaya is attested to by the fact that the former supplied 3,77,000 tons of rubber and the latter 3,75,441 tons—50 per cent of the world's supply—to the United States. This is a single instance of the vast possibilities that lie in the surface and underground resources of this region. To take individual countries. The western Malaya States and the islands of Bangka and Billiton produce 75 per cent of the world's tin ; they and the areas near them yield more petroleum than all the rest of the Far East. An American writer has summarised their value by saying that "the greatest concentration of natural wealth runs down

The wealth of the East Indies

the narrow scimitar of Malaya, Sumatra, Java, and up to the east coast of Borneo." He has also said that if this area fell within the sphere of influence of a Totaliatarian State with its theory and practice of "government monopoly", the industries of the United States, dependent on these areas for certain of their essential raw materials, can apprehend injury to themselves. The threat of such a development will compel the United States to organise for self-defence, politically and economically, on new lines, maintaining perhaps "essential liberties but sacrificing many liberties" to which her people had grown accustomed these one hundred and sixty years. Thus does Totalitarian economics impinge on politics.

"Great Asia" Idea of Japan

And for understanding the political implications of the defeat of Holland and France as these affected the fate and fortune of this area, one has to study its map and know the trends and tendencies of Japanese imperialism. In previous volumes of the *Indian Annual Register* we have made attempts to explain certain of the personal and impersonal influences that have been moulding these, that have made Japan conscious that she has a "mission" of civilisation for the world, specially for eastern Asia. To an identical mission—that of Britain—have fallen victims Egypt, Palestine and certain of the territories in Western Asia. By this imitation Japan has qualified herself for the position of one of the five great Powers of the world by grabbing Korea, Formosa, Manchuria in the Far East. Impelled by a greater urge she started the "China Incident" in July, 1937, and has been engaged therein these more than three years. The end of this adventure is not yet in sight. It was started as the first step to the realisation of the "Great Asia" idea through the propagation of which Japan tries to ingratiate herself in the eyes of other Asiatic peoples. In a book on Japan we have seen reproduced a quotation that described the "mission" of Japan in the modern world. The writer asked—"what then is the mission with which Japan is charged by Heaven ?"—and answered as follows :

"It is the rescue of 80,00,00,000 Asiatics from the white men's slavery...British India, Persia and Siam are understood to be specially alive to the realisation of this need. It is difficult to say how soon an opportunity may come for co-operation, but Japan will take the lead."

Is simply a make-believe

During the preoccupations of the last Great War (1914—1918), Japan tried in 1915 through her "21 Demands" to persuade China to co-operate in her "mission". The Shantung Peninsula which she grabbed and which was given to her by the victorious Allied and Associated Powers, was, however, returned to China at the Washington Conference. This show of self-control has ever remained a mystery to many people when they remembered that in the matter of the four provinces in Northern China, of Manchuria, of Outer Mongolia, Japan has been as greedy as any of her competitors in power-politics. The Washington Conference resolutions (1922) embodied in the Nine-Power Treaty to which Japan herself was a signatory agreed to "respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China", to provide the "fullest and most unembarassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain an effective and stable

government". But by every act since then Japan has broken almost every one of the clauses of this Treaty, the most outstanding example of which was the rape of Manchuria. A history like this has prepared the mind of Japan to launch the "China Incident" and carry death and destruction to millions of Chinese homes.

Opportunity to Japan for aggression

Men in touch with affairs in Japan, with the individual and group ambitions among the ruling classes of Japan, have told us that the "China Incident" was organised by the Army Group while the Navy Group had been pressing for expansion towards the south, towards the islands whose actual and potential wealth has been indicated above. Since the beginning of the "China Incident" the Army has been allowed to do its will in China proper, while the Navy has been watchful for opportunities for grabbing new points of attack—the islands in the Canton area. It had not long to wait. The Munich "betrayal" of September, 1938, gave it the signal. It pounced upon Hainan and the Spratley Islands, north-east and south-east of Indo-China. Not a word of protest was uttered by any body. The step endangered the position of France in Indo-China. But France kept quiet ; she dared not take steps to forestall the coming danger. The British were as supine. To-day when France lies disabled and humiliated in Europe her possessions in Eastern Asia are a prey to any predatory Power that would take them. On behalf of the German Government its ambassador at Tokyo, Major-General Eugen Otto, was authorised to make the statement that his Government was "not interested in the problem of the Netherlands Indies." He was silent with regard to Indo-China. But the comment of the Japan paper *Kokumin* that the German ambassador's statement was a sort of a "blank power of attorney" granted to Japan may be accepted as a pointer to Japanese policy with regard to all the possessions in Asia of all the European States that lie helpless under German heels. The only safety for these lies in the declaration of the U. S. A. Secretary of State that any change in the *status quo* in this region of the earth expect made through peaceful means would be against the policy of the great western Republic. Japan which finds herself bogged in interior China cannot ignore this warning as she has to depend on U. S. A. purchasers for much of her silk trade, on U. S. A. sellers for oil and iron. This advises a careful handling of the situation created by the fall of France and of Holland. And Japan has been careful. But the question is—how long can this torture of unfulfilled desire be borne, how long can Japan stand gaping at ripe fruits loosening in the stem ?

Japan's strong position

For, there can be no manner of doubt that the resenment of the United States cannot long restrain Japan, unless the former be prepared to resort to the argument of arms which is the only argument that Japan understands and that will convince her. But there are difficulties in the way of the United States effectively intervening. For, any help that she can render is limited by the fact that the East Indies lies some 2,000 miles outside the arc of her naval and air bases. An objective study of the arrangements made by the potential opponents

of Japan in this area will convince any one that her position is really very strong. Hongkong is "capable of organising resistance only to inflict as much damage and save as much face as possible." An attack on the Philippine Isles directed from Hainan and the Spratley Isles, a tight submarine ring round Mindanao, will immobilize the small U. S. A. squadron based on Manila. As carriers and distributors of the cheap products of Japan there are thousands of Japanese in these isles who may be regarded as the nucleus of a "Fifth Column." Between Guam and almost surrounding it, and the Philippines, lies a stretch of Pacific waters in which are the islands and coral reefs all under Japanese control under a Mandate from the League of Nations whose member she no longer is. They are more than a thousand in number—in four groups—the Palaus, the Carolines, the Mariannes and the Marshalls. The world does not know, the Secretariat of the League of Nations does not know, what Japan has been doing there in building harbours and wharves for ships, and bases for aeroplanes. About twenty-five crores of rupees are reported to have been spent in this area by Japan. In Taid O' Conroy's book—*The Menace of Japan*—are quoted words from the Staffs' Memorandum that testify to the importance attached to these islands :

"The South Sea Islands are strategically important to Japan's national defence ; they are a guarantee against American attack on the Far East. The Japanese Navy has been content with the 10-10-7 ratio of the Washington Naval Treaty because they counted on the strategic value of the South Sea Islands....."

Defence arrangements of European Powers

It is true that the world does not know yet what arrangements the Colonial Governments of the British and Dutch possessions have made for the defence of their particular interests. The Dutch territories have a population of more than 5 crores of people whose political status is no better than that of the people of India. Their help and interest have not been enlisted for the defence of their country. An estimate has it that at the time when Holland succumbed to Germany the Netherlands East Indies Squadron consisted of about 100 surface crafts, 18 submarines based on Surabaya. There were 360 planes. What is the strength of the forces that Britain will be assembling at Singapore from India, from Canada, from Australia, from New Zealand and from Tasmania, we do not know. We quoted in the last volume of the *Annual Register*, Vol. II of 1939, from an article in the London *Daily Telegraph & Morning Leader* contributed by its Naval Correspondent, Mr Bywater, that in case of need, at least 10 cruisers from Canada, Australia and new Zealand stations, and a destroyer flotilla of 15 of the best submarines, will be despatched to the danger zone. The China Squadron will be contributing 4 cruisers. And at Singapore on the eve of the war were stationed 3 cruisers, 1 air-craft carrier, 9 destroyers and 5 submarines. At the time of that writing this provision at Singapore was regarded as enough "to play for time." Since then danger has approached nearer the area, and "a fleet in being" must have been assembled at Singapore. A joint staff conversation was held at which were present representatives of the Dutch General Staff in the East Indies, of the Australian and New Zealand General Staff, of the Indo-Burman Staff, of Indo-China's French Staff. The decisions

of this conference must have been made known to the U. S. A. administration. The catastrophic defeats in May and June—the surrender of the Dutch Commander-in-Chief, General Henri Winkelman on May 14, of the Belgian King and Commander-in-Chief on May 28, of France on the 14th of June with the fall of Paris—have thrown added responsibility on the local administrations for the defence of the areas under their control and superintendence. Thus equipped militarily, south-eastern Asia waits its hour destiny, the hour which would make uncertain many of the certainties of many generations.

Japan is a military & naval power

We do not yet know whether the Japanese threat to the East Indies and its islands will take any effective shape ; whether her rulers will ignore the possibility of precipitating a fight with the United States. There is a section of opinion in the great Republic which draws a sharp distinction between Japanese expansion on the continent of Asia and Japanese expansion by water into the South Seas—between Japan as a military power and Japan as a naval power. This section has ever spoken of and recognised Japan's special interest in the territories on the mainland of Asia contiguous to her. This appreciation has done not a little to encourage the Japanese Army Group who would extend the Japanese *Mandal*, sphere of influence, to the river Amur. Now it appears to be the turn of the Navy Group. Herein it comes into conflict with wider interests. We can at the present posture of affairs only imagine the moves that Japanese Imperialism will be advancing on the mainland of south China. Indo-China, the French possession on the Mid-Western Pacific, may be a jumping-off ground. The Singapore Base has been a threat and an insult to Japan. If she desired to outflank it she must cultivate the friendship of Thailand (Siam). This she has been doing with a certain amount of success.

Present generation of Thailand rulers

One of the causes of this success was that a section of the present generation of Thailand's rulers, conductors of the defence departments—army, navy and air forces—have had their training in Japan. And faced by the growing complexity of international affairs, of affairs in their immediate neighbourhood, the ruling classes of the country have set up a dictatorship which is controlled by a "military Junta"—all the Ministers except three being army or navy officers. The strongest of these three is Luang Pradit, Paris-trained, the framer of the constitution. Observers of Thailand's life and conduct in politics, in power-politics, in the conflicts and competitions of modern life, have indicated for us the fears and ambitions that have been influencing the policies of the country. They say that the dictatorship is "no dark scheme of a military clique," but has been forced on the country by the needs and requirements of the situation in which the country finds itself.

"Fourfold danger" to Thailand

This has been described as the growing consciousness of "the four-fold danger" threatening Thailand. She is the only independent country in the Far East except Japan, retaining her independence as the buffer between the growing imperialism of Japan and the alliance of the century-old imperialisms of Britain and France. Another danger comes from the Chinese—at present the weakest of her neighbours.

Disorganised in their own home land, they have for years been flooding into Thailand. Japanese canons and bombers have been dispersing them to all points of the compass in China, Thailand and Burma. The Burmese people have been expressing apprehension of the inroads of Chinese hordes made easier by the newly-built Burma-China road. It is no new feeling. For, till recent times the Burmese kingdom had been in some shape or form a feudatory of the Chinese Emperors. The same was the case with the Thailanders. Of their population of about one and half crore people, more than 15,00,000 lakhs are of Chinese parentage. Historical memories have also left a bitter feeling. The Thailanders, in the words of the scholarly Prince Vidyalankara, are "the elder brothers of the Chinese". As an article in the New York monthly, *Asia*, has it :

"They are the ancient Thai people who existed in China before there evolved in the Yellow River Valley the people who were to be called Chinese. The latter spread south, threatening to engulf the Thai, who, however, refused them and their new-fangled ways and retired in good order further south into what is now Siam."

Ambitions of Thailand rulers

The ruling authorities of Thailand have been trying to intercept the flood of Chinese hordes by imposing a stiff head-tax equal to rupees one hundred and twenty-eight. Next to the Chinese come the Japanese with their "all Asia" idea covering a multitude of motives. Japanese advances are being treated with perfect courtesy. But when it comes down to things more realistic than bowing to Good Will Missions and making after-dinner speeches, they are being particularly non-committal. But the weakening of French and British influence and prestige in East Asia has compelled them to appear friendly and responsive, a policy imposed on a comparatively weak people by the neighbourhood of stronger Powers. This apprehension must be growing now when Japan will be making the most of the defencelessness of Indo-China. Another development is also possible. The rulers of Thailand may also be tempted to take advantage of the situation created by the defeat of France ; they may try to reclaim and recover the lands which were once theirs and where live another one crore and fifty lakhs of people who speak essentially the same language. The areas in which the Thai people are found under foreign yoke are Tonking, Hainan, the Shan States of Burma, and even as far away as Szechewan. They trace for us the history of the wanderings of the Thai people from their original home in the centre of China in times past. Now that France and Britain are in difficulty, Thailand can demand of them restitution of her people, east and west of its existing boundaries. Japan which has her own ambitions to advance may think it profitable to egg on the rulers of Thailand to make these demands. The next few months will show how these ambitions will move the Thailanders to action.

Helplessness of the "dependent empire" of Britain

We have attemped to trace above the many developments that have been creating a maelstrom round about our own country, and influencing from a distance our "Home Polity". In the forefront of these is the fear that has been created and spread in India that she has no effective defence against dangers that threaten her from the west and the east except what is being maintained under British con-

trol, and what or a considerable part of what has been transferred out of the boundaries of India for Britain's war purposes. Now, at the end of June, 1940, when Britain is engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Germany and Italy for the very right to exist and survive as an independent country in the continent of Europe, it would be cruel and unnatural to expect that she will be able to extend to the outlying parts of her empire the protection that is their due. We have indicated above how the Dominions, "the self-governing Empire" including Britain herself, have been arranging for their own defence in co-operation with the United States. These arrangements are still in an embryonic stage ; their main outlines have become distinct ; the details have yet to be filled up. Of the defence of "the Dependent Empire including India and the Crown Colonies and Dependencies", we can know next to nothing. It is this ignorance and consciousness of helplessness growing out of this ignorance that have been responsible for the irritation of feeling, of distrust and resentment, that have been marking Indo-British relation during the recent months and h lting any decent and self-respecting solution of the problem implicit in this relation between Britain and India.

Inspiring motive of Indian demands

The demands that have been made on behalf of India by the Indian National Congress can be studied in two aspects. These, we are afraid, have not been fully appreciated by "the steel-frame" of Britain's imperial structure in India, the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. One aspect of it was indicated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message sent to the London *News Chronicle*—that the demands made by the Congress were inspired by the feeling that it would "make the people of India enthusiastic for a war which is not theirs." The other aspect of it is brought out by the fear complex that is both a natural growth and has been unconsciously encouraged in the country that without British direction and British help India would find herself helpless in the dark days that are ahead if the Nazi-Fascist-Jap threat becomes a reality. Only two years back British authorities in India were assuring the people that as the agricultural economy of India was unequal to the task of financing and maintaining the defence arrangements based on battle-ships, mechanized armies and air-crafts, it would be the path of wisdom for this country to depend for her external defence on the might of Britain. That assurance is not forth-coming today, cannot be expected today, when Britain herself, the centre of the Empire, is encompassed with dangers that threaten her own soil. If the British bureaucracy had appreciated this aspect of the matter even after the outbreak of the present war in September, 1939, they would have been prepared to make every sacrifice of self-interest, of every tradition of domination, to placate Indian feeling and enlist Indian support on the side of the cause that Britain has made her own, for the defence of which she has been spending about ten crores of rupees every day of the war, and invited the darkening of the sky over her with German bomber and fighter planes. The reasons why they have failed to appreciate this aspect of the controversy, of the argument between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, are not difficult to imagine, though they may not be elaborated today. The failure is traceable

to the same fatality that has pursued British policy since 1932 when "appeasement" in international affairs and pandering to communal conceits and ambitions in Indian affairs became the sheet-anchor of British politicians. This propensity to betrayal of every ideal and practice implicit in the ideas of freedom and democracy has landed the British politicians and their representatives, the British bureaucracy in India, in the unenviable position of a double-faced god, benignant towards Europe, Australia and America and repellent towards Asia and Africa. For good or for evil the present generation of Indians are not prepared to agree to such a dispensation whereby they are to fight and bleed for democracy in Europe while its absence in India is enforced by all the repressive powers of the State.

What Prof. Keith says

Outside the ranks of the bureaucracy in India and Britain, men conversant with affairs and with vision of world developments are struck and scandalized by such a double-faced policy; they recognise that "a crusade for liberty in Europe is incompatible with the determination to refuse far-reaching reforms in India", to quote Prof. Berriedale Keith. It is well-known that Prof. Keith is no Leftist thinker. And in the controversy that is being carried on between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, his views as an authority on the law and practice of nations should receive a hearing as that of an impartial and detached observer of things. Discussing the constitutional issues raised by the Congress demand for the clarification of the war aims of Britain, and the topic of "Dominion Status" that has been thrown on the arena, he asked the politicians of his country to recognise that "Dominion Status means something very much more than when it first appeared as the goal of Indian policy." He illustrated this development by referring to the case of Eire and South Africa.

"The right of secession and neutrality was recognised by Mr. Chamberlain when the new constitution of Eire was accepted and when the Treaty of 1938 released Eire from the obligations to Britain in case of war which had prevented her exercise of the right of neutrality. In the Union of South Africa neutrality in the present war was admitted to be within the rights of the Union under Dominion Status.....It is patent, therefore, that the demand for recognition of independence should have been met by pointing out that Dominion Status includes the right of India in due course to decide the question of allegiance, which plainly cannot be dealt with at the present moment."

An Irish contrast & parallel

This rather longish quotation takes us to the heart of the problem the solution of which has been the subject of any number of interviews between Lord Linlithgow and the different shades of Indian political opinion. The general public in India fail to understand why what has been possible for Eire to practise is thought impractical in the case of India. The neutrality of Eire has been a handicap to British strategists, it is true; the safety of Britain has been endangered by it. But Britain has tolerated it. This contrast of behaviour has exposed the unnatural relationship that subsists between India and Britain. From this unnaturalness has flowed all the bitterness and sense and feeling of injury that are being nursed by the two countries. The spokesmen of the British Government both in India and Britain

appear from their statements to be unaware of this "original sin." To cover it up the argument has been switched off to the communal plane. The difficulties in the way of Britain making a clear declaration of policy are said to be the protection of minorities, the obligation to the Princes, the defence of the position built up by British capitalist interests in India. The importance of the last two, however, seemed to have paled into comparative insignificane at the present stage of the controversy. And Lord Linlithgow let us the public into the privacy of his conversations with Indian political personages when he declared that

"they (the British authorities) could not contemplate the transference of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life."

It is not difficult to analyse the implications of this declaration. Men who have some knowledge of the inner history of the Anglo-Irish controversy can pick out of it identical declarations which encouraged what has come to be known as "Ulsterism" or "Carsonism." Ireland is a small country ; India is a big one. But between them there runs a community of servitude, a similarity of tactics adopted by vested interests to prevent or halt the arrival of democracy, the return of national self-respect. The father of the present Premier of Britain anticipated by 54 years (1886) a development similar to India's when he wrote to a Liberal-Unionist member of the British Parliament—"Ulster will fight, Ulster will be right." History records in cruel words what has been the fruits of that instigation.

Feelings of Britons in India

This is the stage, the stage of recriminatory controversy, that has continued since September, 1939 to the period when the catastrophic events in Europe in May and June, 1940. gave a great shake-up to the complacence of British and Indian politicians, or ought to have. Newspaper organs of the Anglo-Indian community in India recognised the danger of the times. The *Statesman* of Calcutta spoke of the taking of "a great decision to treat India as a Dominion forthwith equal in status with Britain." *The Times of India* said: "In this hour of trial several things must be done and done speedily. Great Britain and India must come to an agreement ; it is criminal for any of the parties to continue to split hairs at such a time." Mr. Arthur Moore, editor of the *Statesman*, in addressing the Calcutta Rotary Club, on June 18, was more enthusiastic.

"Every day that passes before India is publicly accorded full Dominion Status in all her external relations is a day lost in the war."

"Now, what is the first flaw in our armour which must be immediately mended to get us ready for battle ? It is that India, the very centre of the Empire's map, the hope of four hundred million people, the potential source of unlimited supplies of men and materials, is not in the British Commonwealth of Nations.....she has not the status of a country, she has not the position of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. She ranks as a dependency whom Hitler and Mussolini and other robber pirates who might succeed in imposing their will on Britain will have a legal right to apportion among themselves... .."

"Two men are continually quoted as obstacles in the path of agreement even at this late hour. My answer to this is, let Britain first do her part, let her proclaim India a self-governing Dominion....."

"At present we hear of both the League and the Congress boycotting the

War Committees, and starting private Civic Guards of their own. That way madness lies for us all, but to end it, Britain must do her part."

Consultative Committee & Expansion of Executive Council

The *Manchester Guardian* appealed to the new Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, that then was "the time for an act of statesmanship which means an act of faith in India." These declarations which might be taken as representative of the feelings and opinions of non-official Britons in India, of Liberal Britons in Britain, did not have any effect on the bureaucracy installed at Whitehall (London), at Delhi-Simla. Enmeshed in the laws of *Karma* which had inspired the "Communal Award", the Government both here and in Britain could not rise to the occasion created by the defeat and capitulation of France. It chose to move in the old groove of balancing the communities one against another and maintaining a precarious equilibrium. While in Britain superb courage and faith in the justice of their cause upheld the people and the Government of Mr. Churchill found strength in them, in India Lord Linlithgow could not appeal to the highest and noblest instincts of the general mass of people whose organ voice was the Indian National Congress. Therefore did the innumerable interviews held by him end in a sorry futility. The Consultative Committee to be selected by the Governor-General and to be consulted by him on matters concerned with the war—which was canvassed by His Excellency during the later months of 1939—did not come to anything. On January 10, 1940, in course of a speech delivered at the Orient Club of Bombay, Lord Linlithgow threw out a new suggestion "as an immediate earnest of their intention"—the intention of the British Government to endow India with Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety—"to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the inclusion of a small number of political leaders." This suggestion has held the field for the whole period—January to June, 1940—the events and developments of which are the subjects of study in the present volume of the *Annual Register*. But difficulties have stood in the way of its acceptance by the parties concerned. The general public know nothing of the nature of these difficulties; the public men who were invited by Lord Linlithgow for consultation have not been able to explain to the public the practical and psychological difficulties that have barred the door to the settlement of India's constitutional puzzle. In a general way the world has been told that the representatives of the various Indian parties and interests have failed to agree with regard to their particular shares in the distribution of power. The Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Princes, all have put forward their particular claims which could not be fairly adjusted in the scheme of things. Not even the approach of the Nazi-Fascist-Jap danger nearer to the shores of their country has been able to persuade them to compose their differences. The general public do not know—neither the Government nor the leaders have cared to enlighten them in the matter—whether there was any substance in the power which "the small number of political leaders" were to share in the Executive Council of Lord Linlithgow, whether any of the key departments of administration—Defence, Industry, for

instance—were proposed to be placed under their charge.

Since the present controversy started in the second and third weeks of September, 1939, with the Congress Statement on the war, the Governor-General has been insisting that the leaders of Indian people must adjust their differences and overcome their disunities before the reins of power, of administration, could be yielded into their hands. These differences and disunities have been broadcasted over all the world through British propaganda machines. This is part of an attempt to justify the ways of the British bureaucracy in India. An inkling into the psychology of this attempt is got from a letter published in a United States weekly written to a friend by Lady Diana Duff-Cooper, wife of Mr. Duff-Cooper, Propaganda Minister of Britain. The relevant portion can be quoted here :

World-opinion & India

"Why should at least three questions about India be asked at every one of Duff's lectures in the United States ? Who sends the lecturers from India to America to complain of British rule ? The Indians are not asking for American support, but the Germans are inciting in the dark anti-British feeling in Genoa as in Chicago or any other neutral town."

From this quotation it can be understood that Britain does not like the idea of appearing before the judgment-seat of world opinion for its acts of omission and commission in India. Neither does India like that its weaknesses and disunities should be broadcasted to the world. So, when British administrators harp upon these as a plea for the slow process of constitutional advance in India, the temptation is natural in Indian public men and publicists to turn round and say that British policy was to a great extent responsible for the intensification of these disunities. As a debating point this can be pressed home. But we have to recognise at the same time that we have a share in the responsibility for the sorry state of bickerings in India. In successive volumes of the *Annual Register* we have attempted to lay open the dark corners of thought and life where the germs of disunity are bred and flourish. We have shown that Indian leaders since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, more than a century back, have been trying by example and precept to cleanse their body politic of the weaknesses and crudities that have kept their country disabled in the progressive march of world-changes. Concrete proposals and programmes of reform and reconstruction of India's social institutions have remained unvaried since those days to the present day when the Indian National Congress through its constructive activities under the inspiration of Gandhiji's life have been trying to build up a better society in India, uninfluenced by particularistic conceits and ambitions, building this life on the widest commonalty of the realm. In these attempts there have been failures and successes. But the successes have not been enough to eliminate out of our social system all the elements of group or class-conscious interests, to send through the country that flood of idealism that would enable every Indian, man and woman, to feel and act under the influence of that feeling of supreme dedication to the cause of our common motherland.

Indian attempts to remove causes of disunity

To this inability on our part must be referred back all the controversies that have been disabling us for making a united demand and

effort for the *Swaraj* of our dreams. The Congress has been confronted at every step by the British Government with the retort that the Princely Order of India, the minorities of India, are not backing the demand put forward by it. We do not know what the representatives of the Princely Order have been saying and doing to justify this retort. We know what the representatives of the Muslim League have been saying in private interviews and correspondence with Lord Linlithgow, and doing in public. The after-effects of the celebration of a "Day of Deliverance" on December 22, 1939, by the direction of Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, as a mark of relief that Congress Governments in eight of the provinces of India had ceased to function, have flowed into the year of 1940 and have helped to worsen inter-communal relations in the country. A discussion of this particular event which was condemned even by members of the Working Committee of the Muslim League is not important except in the context of all the mischief that communalism and sectionalism have been doing to the abiding interests of the country. There may be a suspicion that the strategy which inspired Mr. Jinnah's declaration was part of the wider campaign which has been exploiting for a rise in the Muslim League prestige the difficulties of the British Government, its need for support of Muslim opinion in and outside India. But the demand made for a Royal Commission to enquire into all the stories of the denial of the elementary rights of citizenship, of oppression perpetrated by the Congress Ministries or during their regime on Muslims, negatives the logic of the claim that the Muslim League is as much interested in the self-respect of India as any body else. The Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee which has been the mentor and guide of the Congress Ministries was prepared to submit these stories to a Tribunal presided over by the Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India, wishing to confine the ventilation of these domestic troubles within the shores of India. But the President of the Muslim League thought and willed otherwise. The British Government, however, was not prepared to afford opportunity for a fresh flare-up of communal feelings and turned down Mr. Jinnah's demand.

"Deliverance & Thanksgiving Day"!

Of more importance was the publication on February 6, 1940, in the Indian Press of the correspondence that had passed between Mr. Jinnah and Lord Linlithgow during the months of November and December, 1939. Not all the letters have been given publicity. They did not disclose any important change of attitude on the part of the two parties. It appeared that Mr. Jinnah had interviews with the Governor-General on November 4 and 7, 1939, for elucidation of points that had been raised in the resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League passed on October 22, 1939. In the first letter of this series Mr. Jinnah drew attention to what appears to us to be the most important point :

Correspondence between Mr. Jinnah & Lord Linlithgow

"That no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be made by His Majesty's Government or Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, viz., the Mussalmans and the Hindus."

This appears to be an advance on the position taken and the point stressed in the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League passed on September 18, 1939. It was embodied in para 7 of that resolution. It had asked of the Government

"an assurance that no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval."

Lord Linlithgow in his letter dated December 23, 1939 did not appear to have appreciated this advance. He contended that more than one of the questions raised in Mr. Jinnah's letters "if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India, and that this correspondence .....would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements upon them." He, however, assured Mr. Jinnah that

"His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional development in India. You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views will be underrated."

The demands embodied in Mr. Jinnah's letters had, however, their reactions in other communities that constituted the Indian people. It was felt and the feeling was expressed that the demand made on September 18, if accepted, would result in making the Muslim League the sole arbiter of constitutional changes in India, would endow the Muslim with the power of veto on matters like these. Even British imperialists seemed to appreciate the significance of this claim of the Muslim League. The *Round Table* of London was constrained to say that there appeared to have developed in a section of Muslim politicians "a tendency.....to exercise a right to veto any constitution that may be devised." The amendment made in Mr. Jinnah's letter, the addition of the Hindu community in the clause, made it into a common-place in politics. Any political principle or constitutional device that was disapproved of by the majority of the people in a country could only be a futility of futilities. The demand about the use or abuse in the employment of Indian troops was couched in so wide terms that it raised suspicions about the tenderness of a section of Indian Muslims for Muslims outside India. This tenderness is a recent growth, and therefore suspect. For, during the eight hundred years of Muslim rule in India, history does not record instances of such tenderness. The display of this new-found feeling is one of the causes of the tension that has developed in the country. When one remembered that Tamerlane, Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali did not spare or respect the Muslim Emperors of Delhi, that their invasions of India happened all of them during the times when Muslim kings ruled over Delhi, he could not but feel that the Muslim League was out of touch with reality, contradicted the evidence of history when it showed its un-called for solicitude for Muslims outside India. This demand was based on the theory that Islam knew no territorial patriotism, was free from the limitations of colour and racial conceits and prejudices. Every religion may put in claims of such excellence.

Muslim League veto on constitutional progress

But this was and has been an ideal which even Muslim peoples did not reach in the hey-day of their glory.

The correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and Lord Linlithgow ended in a lovers' quarrel, a quarrel between "confident friends," to use Mr. Jinnah's words. For, we find the Working Committee of the Muslim League passing a resolution on February 3, 1940, declaring that "the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation." We do not know whether the disappointment with Lord Linlithgow's assurances hastened in any manner the step or steps that the leaders of the Muslim League were led to take at Lahore in the last week of March, 1940. On the 22nd March and the succeeding days was held the 27th session of the All-India Muslim League. On the 23rd March in the second open meeting of the League Moulvi Fazlul Huq, Premier of the Bengal, moved a resolution on the political and constitutional changes that must be made in the future State-structure of India. The resolution laid down the "fundamental principles" that should guide the framers of this constitution :

Fundamental principles of Muslim politics

".....that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

In recommending the various clauses of the resolution, Moulv Fazlul Huq gave expression to the fears and apprehensions thai moved him to suggest what in effect would be t scheme of partition for the whole of India. Ha characterized as "un-Islamic" the sentiments oe Moulana Abul Kalam Azad who as President of thef Congress had said that "the Muslims should not feel nervous ; eighty millions was not a small number" The burden of Maulvi Fazlul Huq's song was that though it sounded big that the Muslims were eighty millions in India, in reality they were "in a weak position" ; in the Punjab and Bengal they were in majority, it is true, but "not in an effective majority" ; that "if a sufficient proportion of these eighty millions had been congregrated in one province we would have nothing to fear" ; that "until a satisfactory solution is found of this unequal distribution of the Muslim population it is useless to talk of constitutional advance or of safeguards."

Muslim fears & *Swaraj* in India

Reason, the experiences of history, consideration for the material interests of millions of men, women and children, may be brought against the "detailed delusion" on which the superstructure of the scheme of autonomous States has been raised in this resolution of the Muslim League. But men, even politicians and cynical politicians at that, who have persuaded themselves that "Islam is in danger" in India will be found to be hard to persuade that all their schemes have been reared on misinterpretations of the history of India as it has been jointly made by the innumerable races and culture-groups during the milleniums of her history. Moulvi Fazlul Huq's speech, as reported in the Indian Press, contained none of the "historical" reasons for this eruption of

Mr. Jinnah's interpretation of Indian history

separatism. But the speech of Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah as President of the session did make an attempt to furnish these. There is nothing new in them. In discussing the first attempt at finding arguments for the setting up of "Hindu Zones" and "Muslim Zones", made by Dr. Abdul Latiff in his pamphlet—*The Cultural Future of India*—we dealt with certain of these in Vol. II of 1938 of the *Annual Register*. Dr. Latiff is ex-professer of English in the Osmania University (Hyderabad, Deccan). He elaborated the theme that "Islam and Hinduism stand asunder", and on this finding built up his scheme of "Hindu Zones" and "Muslim Zones" in India. Mr. Jinnah did the same thing. He denied that there was unity in India and asked his audience to accept it as a fact that,

"the history of the last 1,200 years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during these ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India."

The unity that we find in India today is "artificial", the product of British methods of administration and enlightenment, and "maintained by British bayonets". But

"the termination of the British regime which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government will be the herald of its entire break-up with the worst disaster that has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under the Muslims."

In certain quarters this may be regarded as an argument in support of the continuance of the "British regime", and Mr. Jinnah's dolorous cry—"Surely this is not the legacy which the British would bequeath to India after 150 years of rule!" will be interpreted as inspired by the same fear.

A challenge to Muslim thinkers and statesmen

An able lawyer that he is he has collected in his speech all the evidences of disunity that characterizes Indian life; in the fury of the campaign he has missed or ignored all the evidences of unity, of attempts at unity made by the politician, the philosopher, the poet, the saint and the sage of India during the last one thousand years and more. For the adoption of this tactics the first feeling among those who are by instinct and conviction opposed to the "Pakistan" schemes may be one of utter condemnation of the men and institutions who and which have been propagating these. But to remain satisfied with this condemnation would be fruitless, and unwise. They have got to recognise that the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League is being represented as embodying another scheme of Federation that would satisfy Muslim sentiments, serve and advance Muslim interests, and ensure peace in this continental country. They have got to recognise that from the very beginning a section of Muslim public men have been opposed to the centralising tendency of Federation for reasons unexplained then. We know now that the fear of what they call the Hindu majority has been at the back of their demand that the "residual powers" should inhere in the units of the Federation and not in the Centre so that in case of disagreement with the Central Government the unit or units may strike out of the Federation. A recognition of these mental and material elements of the problem will, from certain points of view, be a good omen of better things to come. And the good will be all on the side of our Muslim

neighbours. For, it will require of them the intellectual effort to re-think, will enable them to re-think the conditions of their citizenship of India, to get a clearer grasp of the physical, the economic and the social ties that bind them to the land which all these centuries they have called—*Hindusthan*. The stir created by the Lahore resolution in their mental world—for, we have no doubt that the majority of those who directly participated in the Lahore proceedings had the vaguest of ideas on the matter—will force them to place the moral and material bases of their life in India in their true setting, to present to their own "better mind" the reasons and the utility of a disturbance of arrangements that have been persisting in certain parts of the country for about ten centuries, in certain others for six or seven.

What Indian thinkers feel and say

The resolution passed at Lahore and the speeches made in recommending it for acceptance have come to even the majority of politically-minded Muslims in India as a great surprise. They have been startled to find themselves presented with a choice that would brush "aside a thousand years of Muslim history of India", to quote the words of Dr. Syed Mahomed, late Education Minister of Bihar. This choice made by certain leaders of the Muslim community in India for their community is based on the idea that the Hindu and the Muslim do not agree and think alike in all that make up the complexity of life that is and has remained on the map of Asia as India. We have seen one or two of the schemes of "Pakistan"; we have read the published speech of Mr. Jinnah elaborating the "Pakistan" thesis. But nowhere have we found a recognition of the basic fact of Indian history which Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan has described—"the glory of India lies in her unity in diversity." The little history and the little human experience that the leaders of the Muslim League have brought to the elucidation of the problem of the future of the country did not enable them to understand and appreciate what the great historian of Allahabad has said. It is up to the Nationalist Muslims of India to recall their people to the lesson of the history that has been made in India by the joint and combined efforts of the Hindu and the Muslim. A Nationalist of the old school, Bipin Chandra Pal, writing as far back as 1906, gave poetic expression to the feeling of this common work, of this common inheritance, and of this common destiny. Addressing the Ganges he wrote :

"In Thy waters, Holy Mother, the two streams of Semitic and Aryan culture mixed with each other in the days when, on Thy banks, ruled the Muslim Kings of India, and both the Hindus and the Muslims have a common inheritance in the art and civilisation that grew up on the banks of the Jamuna resonant with the minstrelsy of two great world cultures."

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad as President of the Indian National Congress at Ramgarh (1940) gave as vivid expression to the same historic feeling when he traced the life of India, past and present :

"It was India's historic destiny that many human races and cultures and religions should flow to her, finding a home in her hospitable soil, and that many caravans should rest here.....One of the last of these caravans, following the footsteps of its predecessors, was that of the followers of Islam.....This led to a meeting of the culture-currents of two different races. Like the Ganga and the Jumna, they flowed for a while through separate courses; but Nature's immutable law brought them together and joined them in a *sangam*.

"The thousand years of our joint life has moulded us into a common nationality. This cannot be done artificially. Nature does her fashioning through her hidden processes in the course of centuries. The cast has now been moulded, and destiny has set her seal upon it. Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity."

This is the message that has to be carried to the minds of the Muslim masses day in and day out so that no fanatic or interested cry about "Islam is in danger" or that India was *Dar-ul-harab* might get entrance there. This is the real "Muslim Mass Contact" that can neutralise the effects of preachings that breed "Pakistan" schemes.

Independent Muslim Conference

The President of the *Azad* (Independent) Muslim Conference held at Delhi during the last days of April, 1940, Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Ex-Premier of Sindh, claimed his Indian heritage, because the majority, more than 90 per cent, of the eight crores of the Indian Muslims were "descendants of the earlier inhabitants of India... in no sense other than sons of the soil with the Dravidians and the Aryans, and have as much right to be reckoned among the earliest settlers of this common land." On the assurance of this historical fact he claimed that

"no segregated or isolated region but the whole of India was the homeland of all the Indian Mussalmans, and no Hindu or Muslim or any other had the right to deprive them of one inch of their common homeland."

Its representative character

The Conference was invited jointly on behalf of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama, the all-India organisation of the Muslim divines and scholars, the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, the Independent Party of Bihar, the Krishak-Proja Party of Bengal, the All-India Momin Conference, the Anjuman-e-Watan of Beluchistan, and the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shia Conference. The representative character of the Conference can be questioned by only the deliberately blind among men. And its declaration in the body of the main resolution of the Conference constitutes the bed-rock of Indian Nationalism. That declaration should find a permanent place in Indian history.

"India, with its geographical and political boundaries, is an indivisible whole, and as such it is the common homeland of all the citizens, irrespective of race or religion, who are joint owners of its resources".

Sacraments of Indian Nationalism

The realisation of this truth which the threat to the unity and integrity of India has brought to us can be converted into a new cement of fellowship if the men and women of India be prepared to make proper use of it. The relation of the Hindus to the soil of India has grown with the ages since their Vedic forefathers sang of the land between the Himalayas and the Indian Ocean. Their instinctive attachment to this territory has been idealized and rationalized by the innumerable sacraments and ceremonies of their life. The irritant of political subjection during the last one hundred and eighty-four years has roused in them a new consciousness of the glory and the grandeur of their country. Bankim Chandra Chattapadhyaya's *Bande Mataram* song is the sacrament of this new illumination. It is now the turn of our Muslim neighbours, when

they are called upon to think and act as members of a "separate nation" thrust into the heart of India, to consciously get hold of the many threads that bind them to this country. They have themselves spun these threads out of their life in India, out of their joys and sorrows, out of their fears and ambitions, out of their conscious thoughts and unconscious ideas, out of their quarrels and reconciliations. On these threads have been woven many a pattern of the life beautiful and pure, satisfying most of the spiritual and material needs of millions of men and women. They are now being told that all these threads, used as warp and woof of a common life, are unsubstantial and unreal ; a phantom, a delusion and a snare. Leaders of Muslim life and thought whom such a representation or misrepresentation repels have to find out themselves how and why such a thing has become possible. If they try to do so they will find that they have to re-build round India certain of the ideas and ideals, sacraments and ceremonies, that are the marks and notes of Indian patriotism. The Hindu has done so round the centres of life associated with and hallowed by their saints and sages, irrespective of creed and colour. The Muslim can do so round their holy places, such as the *Darga* of Shah Jelal at Sylhet, of Moinuddin Chisti at Ajmere, at Nagore in Tamil Nad. In this quest of the India of their dreams they will be heartened by the *mantra*, uttered by the late poet-philosopher, Mahommed Iqbal—In every particle of sand in my country I espy my God.

Provincialism and its dangers

It has been the misfortune of the observer of events in India, of the student of affairs, that he has to record year after year the intensification of communal differences holding up the solution of the real problems of the country—the problem of *Swaraj*, the problem of dirt, disease and ignorance. The majority of us have 18th century minds that find themselves lost in the jungle of 20th century developments. The eruption of communalism which is inherited from the previous century we have discussed above. Its counter-part, another minority problem, that created by provincialism or linguistic nationalism, has pushed itself into the forefront since the "Autonomy Ministries" came to accept office. The Congress scheme of re-drawing the map of India so that men and women speaking the same language may as far as possible be gathered together to form new provinces in India has a history more than twenty years old, since 1917 when it accepted the proposal that the Telegu-speaking population in the presidency of Madras should be formed into a new province, the Andhra Province. Many of these areas were seats of ancient glory ; many of them are jumbled together into the existing provinces as they came under British administration which lacked the required knowledge for putting them into their historic frame-works. A feeling of dissatisfaction with this arrangement has been growing which has been recognised by the British authorities by their forming the provinces of Bihar, Orissa and Sindh. In Vol. II of 1937 of the the *Annual Register* was made an attempt to understand and explain this problem of linguistic provinces which if solved to the satisfaction of the people concerned would increase the number of Indian Provinces into more than twenty. The British administration has been dealing with the problem in a halting way. And an amount

of dissatisfaction has been visible both with the working of these linguistic provinces, as well as with the non-arrival of other provinces which have as much reason to support their claims.

Illustrated from Bihar & Assam

This may be illustrated from conditions obtaining in the two neighbouring provinces of Bengal—Bihar and Assam. The reports of two Conferences held in the last week of March 1940—one the annual session of the Bengalee Association of Bihar at Hazaribagh, the other the annual session of the Assam Domiciled and Settlers' Association at Nowgong—reveal instances of discrimination that is no credit to public men who swear by the idea that India is one, whole and indivisible. In Bihar the aggrieved are the Bengalees, and the *Adibasis*—the descendants of the original inhabitants of Chota-Nagpur and the Santhal Pergannahs. Both of them are minorities. The former are linguistically and socially different from the majority ; the latter differ in language, in social customs, in economic arrangements. The *Adibasis* are afraid that all the moulds of their social life would be broken by the dominant classes of the province. The Bengalees who number about 18 to 19 lakhs in a population of more than 3 crores are authochthonous in certain of the south-eastern districts of the province. It has been estimated that only about 2 lakhs of these 19 lakhs Bengalees are new comers. These people have been drawn to Bihar by prospects of employment under Government and in the rising industries in it, by professions as lawyers, as educationists, as medical men. On the surface it appears that it is competition for these employments and professions that is responsible for what has come to be known as the "Bengalee-Biharee" problem. But there are other forces at work. Bihar which was the seat and centre of two protestant religions as Jainism and Buddhism, of glorious empires, desires to revive certain of these ancient grandeurs. In this process minority cultures, minority claims, are supposed to be a hindrance, because these are apt to refuse full co-operation or resist assimilation. These minority problems afford evidence that we have forgotten the ancient virture of the toleration of dissimilarity, the wisdom of the policy of "Let live". History in India has thrown a veil over the attitude of Hinduism towards racial, cultural or communal dissentients. History has told us that Muslim rule in India broke on the rocks of intolerance, of the majority Sunni intolerance of the minority Shias. The lessons of history, unknown and known, ought to have taught us tolerance and charity. We have not learnt these. Perhaps, human nature is unteachable.

"Social composition" of Assam proper

In Assam, in the Brahmaputra Valley of the province, the same conditions of dissatisfaction prevail. At the Nowgong Conference the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sri Surendra Narayan Pal, and its President, Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjea, both in their speeches tried to focus attention on the "social composition" of the province which has elements of conflict and competition. The former quoted figures, census figures, to amplify the thesis. The population of the whole province, constituted of the Brahmaputra Valley, the Surma Valley, and of certain hill districts and "States", is a little

over 95 lakhs. Of these the Bengalee-speaking people is about 50 lakhs. The districts of Sylhet and Cachar in the Surma Valley contribute about 37 lakhs to this total. The district of Goalpara and a few others in the Brahmaputra Valley contribute the rest. There are about 4 lakhs of Marwaris and other Hindi-speaking people ; 1 lakh of Nepalese ; about 9 to 10 lakhs of tea-garden labourers speaking half a dozen languages ; the hill tribes are about 4 to 5 lakhs ; the little "States" account for about 8 to 9 lakhs. The Assamese-speaking people are nearly 25 lakhs. Assam is thus a paradise of the anthropologist. But even their knowledge does not help the leaders of the people to solve the problem that has been baffling them and testing the quality of their statesmanship The problem is nothing peculiar to this region of India where so many racial units meet and by their co-mingling have sown the seeds of something new. In every province in India whether on the Arabian Sea or on the Bay of Bengal, in the sub-Himalayan regions east or west, in the heart of the Deccan, the same tension has been produced by the same mixing up. In Assam, in the Brahmaputra Valley, the awakening of racial memories, a revivalist movement, have been sweeping the 20 to 25 lakhs of Assamese-speaking people to make claims that others are not prepared to easily concede. In the heat of the controversy one of the former has declared that they are not Indians properly called. On their behalf, on behalf of the 20 to 25 lakhs of Assamese-speaking people, the claim has been made that the men and women who do not speak this language as to the manner born, or are recent arrivals in Assam proper, should retire from the positions of vantage that they have been occupying for about a century in the economic and administrative life of this sub-province, the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam. They also claim that they are the natural guardians of the undeveloped tribes, the only beneficiaries of the almost untapped natural wealth of the country. There is much of truth in these claims ; there is much of make-belief in them. The mix-up of both these elements in problems like what we are discussing creates the greatest difficulty in their solution. In Assam proper also we have this. The present composition of the society in Assam is not the making of one racial or language group. It is on record that many of the present leaders of the area, men who are loud in their assertion of a peculiarly Assamese quality or technique, had for their ancestors men who came from Sylhet and other Bengalee-speaking districts. They managed to merge themselves into the life of Assam, and their "Bengalee-ness", if one can coin such an expression, mingling with the local values helped to create a new people, to create new values. This interchange of values, this co-mingling of blood, is as true in the life of Assam as of every province in India. And it would save us a lot of trouble if we recognise that there is no pure Dravidian, pure Aryan or pure Mongolian type in this country, no pure "ism" in the country. So, the path of wisdon and of peace leads or ought to lead us to recognise that the beating of the big drum of communal or racial or cultural speciality or superiority is harmful and unwise in India.

To return to the elements of conflict and competition in Assam

proper. The Bengalee and the other non-Assamese people who have become the objects of attack to-day have not really sucked the country dry. They have been pioneers in education, in trade and industry. Moreover, of the more than 12 lakhs of Bengalees in the Brahmaputra Valley, we do not think that more than one and half lakhs have known any home outside Assam ; the rest are autochthonous in the western districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. The Marwaris, the other Hindi-speaking peoples, are the financiers of the traders and industries of this area. There appears to be another complication in the politics of the area. Of the 12 lakhs of Bengalee-speaking people in the Brahmaputra Valley 6 to 7 lakhs are Muslims ; there are about the same number of Assamese-speaking Muslims a great proportion of which trace their descent to the soldiers and officers who accompanied Mir Jumla in his unsuccessful invasion of Assam, of the Brahmaputra Valley. In the hot-house of the Muslim League ideology these 12 lakhs of Muslims of the Brahmaputra Valley, joined to the 25 lakhs of the Surma Valley, of the districts of Sylhet and Cachar, constitute a separate problem ; it is the product of the conceits and ambitions and fears that we have learnt to associate with the leadership of the Muslim League. In the map of "Muslim India", Assam has been marked off as part of the "Muslim Zone" of Eastern India. Dreamers among Muslims in Assam have been dreaming such dreams, so conducting themselves that these dreams may in the near future become realities. Not all of them, not many of them, are politicians. The Secretary of the Assam Islam Mission Society with its headquarters at Shillong, the capital of the province, appears to be one of these non-political dreamers. Speaking at "an extra-ordinary General Meeting" of the Society held on the 10th of March, 1940, he spoke as follows :

Dreamers of a "Muslim Zone" in Assam

"I will not dabble in politics. But I sincerely believe that this Islam Mission.... can do openly, peacefully and lawfully what others of our Muslim organisations cannot do in a similar way. The Islam Mission can turn a minority, in course of a few years, into an overwhelming majority ; and easily solve the baffling problem of Assam politics to-day—I mean the notorious Line System."

The issues involved in the Line System are really and truly economic. These have been raised by the migration of Bengalee cultivators—the majority of them Muslims, the majority of them from the district of Mymensingh—to the south-western districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. The over-crowding in Mymensingh, the pressure of population on the cultivating area of Mymensingh, have been sending the Mymensinghias, as these people are known in the country-side of the Brahmaputra Valley, to the fresh fields and pastures new of this area. Those who have personal experience of such land-hungry people know that they are a turbulent lot of people, fresh from Nature's anvil, possessing the impartial cruelty and impetuosity of Nature ; that no law of God or man can restrain them. The eruption of these people into the Brahmaputra Valley is naturally unwelcome to the indigenous population. They resent this intrusion into their tribal and ancestral lands, both for enonomic and biological reasons, to put the matter in the most general

"Line System"—an economic measure

terms. For, there is no doubt that in the struggle for existence the Mymensinghias will carry everything before them, that the indigenous population has no chance in the competition that has ensued. The State in Assam has thus been compelled to intervene for the protection of the weaker party; it has set up a system of "Lines" beyond which the Mymensinghias are not to go. This "Line System" thus constitutes a defensive armour for the indigenous population. It has earned the hatred and opposition of Mymensinghias and their leaders. The propaganda for and against these is reflected in the "Line System" Committee's Report. The interests concerned are so vitally opposed to one another that no clear-cut, comprehensive decision has become feasible either by the Congress Coalition Ministry during whose tenure of office the Report was submitted to the Government or by the present Ministry, the Saadulla Ministry No. III. Any satisfactory solution appears to be remote, as this economic problem has got entangled in the dreams, conceits and ambitions of the general populations of the Brahmaputra Valley and of the newcomers who are regarded and are being used as the spear-head of the expansion of the "Muslim Zone" in North-Eastern India. This local problem is, thus, illustrative of what has been happening in other parts of the country.

Bengal Provincial Congress Comittee disaffiliated

The intensification of sectionalism has taken various shapes. Once it is protection of communal interests; at other times it is the protection of the interests of provincial or linguistic nationalism that is the war-cry or rallying point. This development has disrupted the united front of the Indian people. The Indian National Congress has for 55 years been striving to build a better life in India by "the eradication, by direct, friendly, personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed, and provincial prejudice among all lovers of the country", to quote the words of W. C. Bonnerjea, the President of the first session of the Congress that held its sittings on December 28 and the subsequent days of 1885 at the Hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Pathsala in the city of Bombay. Since then the nation has been moving from strength to strength, and its national organisation has been responding to this impulse of the body politic. But to-day it appears that even the Congress is not able to escape the various influences of disunity and disruption that have been raising their heads in the country. The struggle precipitated by the Congress Presidential Election of 1939 wherein Sri Subhas Chandra Basu opposed and defeated Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammiya, the candidate set up by the elder statesmen of the Congress with the blessings of Gandhiji, has been moving from one complexity to another from which the contestants do not appear to be able to extricate themselves. Sri Subhas Chandra Basu has been put out of the Congress organisation for acts of indiscipline and sabotage. The group of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee which chooses to be guided by its ex-President, twice President of the Congress, stands disaffiliated. And another group of Congressmen in Bengal has been carrying on the Congress movement, upholding the Congress flag in the province. The disaffiliated body of Congressmen has been maintaining their organisation as the authentic Bengal Provincial Congress Committee drawing its support

from the primary members of the Congress in Bengal or from so few or so many of them as cared to claim Congress affiliation without acknowledging the All-India institution.

All-India Anti-Compromise Conference

The interdict of the Indian National Congress placed on Sri Subhas Chandra Basu has not been able to halt him in his various activities. He has been moving about the country, organising the "Leftist" forces for a more militant programme to be imposed on the Congress by mass pressure. In certain provinces, in Bihar for instance, he appears to have been able to enlist on his side the powerful support of Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, the uncrowned king of the Kisan Sabha of the province. In co-operation with him an All-India Anti-Compromise Conference was organised side by side with the 53rd annual session of the Indian National Congress on a site adjacent to that of the Congress. The psychology of this action seems to be that as the leaders of the Congress were anxious to arrive at a "compromise" with British Imperialism, a new organisation has become necessary to gather all the anti-compromise forces in the country, to consolidate all the anti-compromise feelings, sentiments and convictions in the country. But compromise has not arrived on June 30, 1940. Neither the leaders of the Congress nor the representatives of British Imperialism in India, the British bureaucracy, appear to be anxious for it. It is not possible to say now how far the pressure of opinion represented in and by the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference has been able to keep the leadership of the Congress on the straight and narrow path.

All-India Women's Conference

Divided by sectional ambitions and conceits, our country, the leadership of the country hitherto exercised by men, by the "mere man", have failed to evolve order out of this chaos of conflicts and competitions. The failure of the modern man in India has called to the arena the modern woman of India. They have been holding their All-India Conferences for the last few years. The 14th session was held during the last week of January, 1940, at Allahabad. Begum Hamid Ali presided over the meeting. The assembled delegates went through a full programme which embraced all the items of reform and reconstruction that have constituted the ideal of the nation-builder in India these one hundred years and more. The leaders of the Women's Movement have come from the higher classes of society. They have come to realise that modern habits of life and thought have separated them from the masses of their own people, from the majority of their sisters who are really the home-makers of the nation. They have been increasingly feeling that steps must be taken to bridge this gulf. For years the life and labour of the masses have become objects of discussion in the various Women's Conferences. Problems of labour and capital, of the "minimum wage", of the housing of labour, based on the Report of the Economic Reconstruction Group Committee of the Conference, were keenly discussed. These discussions were overshadowed by the feeling that "contacts between the Conference and the masses remained exceedingly few", to quote the words of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Chairwoman of the Reception Committee

Contact between the conference and the masses few

of the Conference. And the work of the year, of the immediate future, was indicated by the President in words of serious import and purpose :

"For 1940 I beseech you all to make contacts with women of all shades of political opinion, to form friendships with the women of the labouring classes, and to try to become one in mind with every woman who is your neighbour."

"Congregated might of malignity" and the Divine Spirit

It is this weakening of the neighbourhood feeling that from certain points of view might be held responsible for the dissensions that separate the nations, the classes and communities among nations. We have been trying during the last few years through the pages of the *Annual Register* to understand and explain the mental and material causes of the distempers that have burst out in the country, embittering relation between India and Britain, between the communities and classes and castes of India. We have tried to subject developments in this country to a psycho-analysis in the light of universal human experience as revealed in the history of nations. We believe that this process of "seeing ourselves as others see us" has a healthy therapeutic value ; it cleanses our social and mental life of all the injurious elements, of all impurities. Now and then one feels afflicted by a weariness of spirit as he wades through the signs and portents of the deepening disunity in the country. We are all conscious that we are face to face with one of the recurring crises of human history, like unto the one that Europe witnessed and suffered from during the times, during the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, when the Roman Empire broke down from internal rottenness and from the attacks of the northern barbarians—the Huns, the Goths and the Visigoths. As men and women felt on their bodies and minds the oppressions of those times they said that the saints were asleep and that they had ceased to intercede with Almighty God for the relief of his creation. In language of simple grandeur the condition of things was described thus : "On the earth distress of nations and perplexity, men's hearts failing them for fear and the looking after those things which are coming on the earth". As one watches the war in Europe, the "China Incident" of Japan in eastern Asia, one finds a similarity between things going before our eyes and those that happened fifteen or sixteen centuries back. This recognition does not, however, bring consolation to anybody. Confronted by "frenzied occasions" like these both in our internal and external relations, the men and women of India have to seek and find a way out of this "crisis of collection aberration." Human reason and intellect appear to be failing in the test. We can only pray that there will appear on the horizon "some signs of the triumph of the Divine Spirit, dwelling in man, defying the congregated might of malignity", to quote Rabindra Nath Tagore's words of hope and faith.—*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Dev.*

Proceedings of

The Council of State

The Central Legislative Assembly

AND

Provincial Councils

AND

Assemblies

JANUARY—JUNE 1940

For List of Members of the Council of State and the Central Legislative Assembly (see 1939 Vol. I)

The Council of State

Budget Session—New Delhi—16th. February to 10th. April 1940

Official Bills Passed

The Budget session of the Council of State commenced at New Delhi on the **16th February 1940** with *Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy* presiding. *Sir Guthrie Russell*, Chief Commissioner of Railways, presented the Railway Budget for the year 1940-41 after which the House adjourned till the **22nd. February** when it passed four official bills, recently passed by the Assembly. These bills were the Bill to provide for the registration of certain European British subjects, the Bill to provide for the imposition of restrictions on foreigners, the Bill to provide for the retention in service of certain persons enrolled for service in the Royal Indian Navy and the Bill to extend the operation of the criminal law to offences committed on ships or aircraft registered in British India.

Discussion of Railway Budget

23rd. FEBRUARY :—The Council held a general discussion of the Railway Budget to-day. Mr. *Hossain Imam* opening the discussion said that in the last four years an increase in working expenses of 582 lakhs had occurred on railways. He feared that if this process was allowed to go on, there would be no surplus left. He referred in particular to the level of expenditure on the North West Railway and urged a reduction in it. He pleaded for more comforts for third class passengers. *Pandit H. N. Kunzru*, opposing the proposed enhancement of rates and fares, said that the present condition of railway finances was certainly not one to cause anxiety. As it was, they were going to add to the depreciation fund at a rate at which in 9 or 10 years 50 crores would be added to it. That was the limit laid down by the Wedgwood Committee. He therefore saw no need for imposing additional burden on taxpayers. *Sir A. P. Patro* strongly refuted the arguments advanced in favour of the rise in rates and fares. The contention that the increase would be only a fleabite compared to the rise that had already occurred in the price of commodities was no argument, he declared. It was not a question of a few annas or pies being added to the bulk price of commodities ; the question was what the cumulative effect would be when it rolled down through various channels to the ordinary villager who purchased his food stuffs from the retail trader Mr. *R. H. Parker* characterised as unfair and unsound the criticisms of the proposed enhancement of rates and fares. There was no question, he declared, that economically speaking the proper time to raise rates and fares was when there was traffic moving and the worst time possible was when they were raised on the last occasion. He regarded the Government's proposals as a statesmanlike way of raising revenues required in the present abnormal times. *R. B. Lala Ramsarandas* said the proposal to increase charges came as an unpleasant shock to people who were already bearing heavy tax burdens. If it was true, as Government contended, that the right time to increase rates was when traffic was moving, he asked why was that maxim not followed in Britain where the Minister of Transport had given the assurance that no increase in rates would be made ? Why was British Policy in England different from British policy in India ? He declared that before the decision to increase rates was taken, at least the Chambers of Commerce should have been consulted, because the decision would adversely affect industrial development. Mr. *P. N. Sapru* said he was not convinced that enough thought had been given to the immediate effect of the increase in rates and fares. Intermediate and third class passengers would in his view feel the effect most and it was not right to impose an additional burden on these people to build up a reserve fund, much as he recognised the need of building up that fund. *Sir Andrew Clow*, replying to the debate. referred to the complaint of overcrowding in third class carriages. During his own tours he had seen overcrowding occasionally on one or two fast trains but generally it struck him that there were far too many carriages for the passengers. He wished he had seen bigger crowds than he did see. A census was taken by the East Indian Railways in this connection. As many as 6,138 trains were checked and overcrowding was found only in seven of them. Those who had travelled abroad would admit that that was a reasonable proportion. As regards the special rates of pay given to Anglo-Indians, that was not really a railway matter. The responsibility ultimately rested with the framers

of the Government of India Act and the Government of India felt that they were only carrying out as they were obliged to do the policy therein enunciated. Speaking on the locomotive report, Sir Andrew said that Government were examining it. As far as he could judge at the moment the authors had made ample allowance against contingencies but Government would have to consult the general managers of the railways concerned. The Council then adjourned till the 26th.

Adjournment Motion—Chair's Ruling

26th. FEBRUARY :—The Council held a brief sitting of one hour this morning during which Mr. *Maneckji Nadirshaw Dalal* was allowed to refer his bill to amend the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act to a Select Committee, and the President Sir *Maneckjee Dadabhoy* gave an important ruling. The ruling related to a question whether the mover of a motion for the adjournment of the House had a right of reply. The question arose during the last Simla session of the Council when Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru had brought forward his adjournment motion regarding the alleged unsatisfactory nature of the announcement made by Government on the recommendation of the Chatfield Commission and the Chair had informed Pandit Kunzru that he was not sure about the mover's right of reply and had promised to give a considered decision at a later date.

The ruling given this morning by the Chair covered various aspects of the question, including a brief survey of the practice and procedure prevailing in the House of Commons. The Chair said that in response to his request the Clerk of the House of Commons had informed him that there was no provision in the House of Commons nor any rule or Standing Order similar to Indian Standing Order directing that the debate on a motion for adjournment of the House shall automatically terminate if it was not concluded within two hours and that "no question shall be put. Ordinarily the right of the mover of a motion in the House of Commons for the adjournment of the House to reply is passed on the general conventional practice of debate and is not based on any definite standing order authorising the mover to claim a substantive motion for the adjournment of the House, namely, one made when no other question is under debate, is entitled to reply at the close of the debate on motion. In practice, however, he has seldom the opportunity of exercising the right as he cannot exercise the right until all the members who desire to speak on the question have done so and it is a rare occurrence for every member who wishes to speak to have done so before the hour arrives at which under Standing Order the Speaker interrupts any business then under consideration."

Summarising its conclusions, the Chair observed. "In the first instance, I hold that the mover of an adjournment motion cannot claim an absolute right of reply, but he may be allowed a right of reply in certain circumstances provided there are no other members willing to take part in debate. If there are other speakers and the debate is kept up for period of two hours, it will automatically terminate. If the debate collapses before two hours, and if there are no other members willing to address the House on the subject, the Chair may allow the mover of the adjournment motion the privilege of replying to the debate and in that case the Government Member shall also be allowed to speak again whether he has previously spoken or not, but if two hours elapse in the course of such discussion the debate shall also automatically terminate. Thirdly, in case where a motion for closure has been moved and accepted by the House it will be in the discretion of the Chair to allow the mover of the adjournment motion the right of a reply before putting the question to the House. Fourthly, if the debate has collapsed and the mover of the motion and the Government Member have addressed the House by way of reply and if the period of two hours has not expired the Chair shall put the motion to the vote of the House unless the mover withdraws the motion with the leave of the Council."

29th. FEBRUARY :—Mr. *C. E. Jones*, the Finance Secretary, presented the Budget to-day which thereafter adjourned till Monday the **4th. March.**

Debate on Price Control

4th. MARCH :—The Council debated this morning the Hon. *Sardar Buta Singh's* resolution that, "This Council views with great apprehension the price control policy of the Government, and recommends to the Governor-General in Council that no action be taken to arrest a normal rise in the price of agricultural produce." Sardar Buta Singh said that he was moving the resolution in order to ascertain the basis of the Government's policy and its scope. He wanted the

Government so to mould its policy as to secure the loyalty and devotion of the vast rural population in the difficult days which lay ahead. He referred to the Price Control Conference recently held, and the Economic Adviser's memorandum, and asked if the Economic Adviser had worked out production as well as replacement costs in various areas in this country.

Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar*, Commerce Member declared that the Government could not base their price control policy on any question of buying loyalty by allowing prices to go up. Whether the masses were loyal, or even assuming for a moment that their loyalty was strained, the Government were much too interested in the prosperity of the agriculturist to base their policy on anything except consideration of the contentment of the agriculturist from the point of view of his produce and the price he obtained for it. (hear. hear.) Sir Ramaswami explained that the initiative for the delegation to provincial Governments of power to control retail prices had come from some of the provincial Governments themselves, They were justified in taking that initiative because immediately after the outbreak of war prices suddenly leapt up, conditions became unsettled, and from the point of view of law and order it was essential for provincial Governments to take some power to control the sudden and unaccountable rise in prices, particularly because the products concerned had already passed from the producers to middlemen. Provincial Governments were as active as the Government of India in considering how far, if at all, control of prices was necessary. The Government of India, so far from ignoring the interests of the agriculturist, had tried to ascertain the point of view of the agriculturist in various ways. He instanced the extensive tours he and the Vice-President of the Economic Resources Board had undertaken. He did not claim that the Government had come to the help of the agriculturist as much as the agriculturist had expected or deserved, but it was certainly not true that the Government had not come to his help at all during the long period of depression. Slr Ramaswami referred to his speech at the Price Control Conference explaining that if and when control of prices was exercised, the Central Government would control prices at the primary stage of production, and provincial Governments at the retail or distributive stage.

Sardar Buta Singh withdrew his resolution. The House then adjourned.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

5th. MARCH :—The Council sat for an hour this morning, when seven official Bills were passed. Sir *Alan Lloyd*, Secretary, Commerce Department, moved that the Bill to provide for the registration and more effective protection of trade marks, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration. He said that trade marks were wholly to the advantage of consumers, and were regarded as pieces of valuable property by producers. The Bill was passed without amendment.

On the motion of Mr. *C. E. Jones*, Finance Secretary, the Council passed three Bills, one amending the Indian Coinage Act, the second to facilitate the changing of the date on which the annual accounts of the Reserve Bank of India are closed, and the third to amend the Reserve Bank Act to enable the Bank to enter into an agency agreement with, and make advances to the Board of Commissioners of Currency in Ceylon.

Speaking on the Coinage Bill, Mr. *Jones* said that it was designed to reduce the silver content of four-anna coins. The size, shape and weight of the coins would remain unaltered. The object of the Bill was to economize in the use of silver, the demand for which had increased considerably since the outbreak of war.

Referring to the Reserve Bank Amendment Bill, he said that the Ceylon Government had decided to run its own currency. The Governor of Ceylon would fix a date after which the Indian rupee would cease to be legal tender in Ceylon. In the interests of Indian trade and Indian settlers in Ceylon it was necessary that new Ceylon currency should be convertable in the Indian rupee at par. That had been secured, and the Ceylon currency would be linked to the Indian rupee. The Reserve Bank had agreed to act as the Indian agent of the Ceylon Board of Commissioners of Currency.

The Labour Secretary, Mr. *M. S. A. Hydari*, moved that the Bill further to amend the Factories Act, as passed by the Legislative Assembly be passed. He said that with the passage of years the Central Government had, with the support of Provincial Governments, been building up a code of laws regulating the employment of children in factories. The Bill proposed to apply the provisions of the Factories Act dealing with health and safety to power factories employing from ten to 20

persons, if any of these persons was under 17 years of age. The Bill was passed with certain amendments necessitated by the amendments made by the Assembly.

The Council also passed two other Bills—the Bill further to amend the Indian Emigration Act and the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to arbitration as passed by the Assembly.

General Discussion of Budget

6th. MARCH :—The Council held a general discussion of Budget to-day. The debate was opened by Sir *A. P. Patro* who sharply criticised the Budget provisions. The *Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga* said that they appreciated the difficulties of the Finance Member and assured him that they fully supported the cause of the Allies in the war. The additional burden in the form of fresh taxation, he remarked, was not abnormal. "This is the price we have to pay for our safety." He feared that the effect of petrol duty would be that the transport industry would be adversely affected. He supported the suggestion of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry that with the outbreak of the war the entire defence expenditure should be subjected to scrutiny of a committee of both Houses of Legislature. *Lala Ram Saran Das* said that the Budget proposals involved a policy of taxation without the tax-payers being taken into confidence. He strongly objected to the imposition of the new burden which, he declared, was bound to give a sharp setback to agriculture and industry. *Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru* criticised the agreement the Government of India had reached with the British Government in regard to the defence budget and asked why the burden of one crore had been thrown on the Indian tax-payer in violation of that arrangement. Mr. *H. Dow*, Director-General of Supply Department, intervened in the debate to reply to some of the criticisms made against his department. He said that his department had been criticised in regard to its relations with the industries, financial control, expenditure of the department and its work which are not justified. Sir *David Devadoss* asserted that the Indians States should have been asked to make contributions to the external defence of India. "It is a fight for our existence and the States must come in with their contributions towards the defence expenditure." The *Finance Member*, replying to the debate, said that he was much interested in the criticisms that his were under-estimates. He was, however, surprised that none had spoken on his over-estimates. As regards the demand for the appointment of a retrenchment committee, Sir Jeremy suggested it was most inopportune. He admitted that expenditure both civil and military was increasing. It was inevitable, he said, in the present conditions. He vigorously resisted the demand for salary cuts and asked, was it demanded that the pay of military officers should be cut in order that the burden of taxation should lie less heavily on the excess profits made by the commercial community ? Proceeding, *Sir Jeremy* referred to the suggestion that industrialists should be encouraged now to establish industries which once established could have the prospect of success when peace time conditions came. The House at this stage adjourned till the 11th. March.

National Army for India

11th. MARCH :—*Pandit H. N. Kunzru* moved a resolution to day demanding a self-sufficient defence system for India. Speaking on his resolution Pandit Kunzru referred to the communique issued after the last Viceroy-Gandhi talks and said that it was clear that His Majesty's Government were at present desirous of granting Dominion Status to India. His Excellency the Viceroy. however, had pointed out to Mr. Gandhi that defence was one of the most difficult problems they would have to tackle. His resolution therefore suggested the machinery for overcoming that difficulty. For the natural result of the grant of Dominion constitution to India was self-Government in defence. Explaining what he meant by self-sufficiency Pandit Kunzru said that India's defence should be in accordance with the circumstances she was placed in. The present strength of the army in India was adequate according to military authorities. The difference between the Indian and military viewpoint was that while Indians wanted a national army, the military authorities regarded the composition of the army and the class from which its officers were drawn to be of vital importance. Mr. *Williams*, Defence Co-ordination Secretary claimed that he had been placed in a position of difficulty because different view-points had been expressed in the resolution and in the speech of its mover. The Government however could only take the resolution as it stood and would oppose it, primarily because its objective was "utterly impracticable". Mr. Williams said that it was not the question of goodwill of the Government but of facing

realities. Dealing with the question of self-sufficiency he pointed out that the cost of one single battleship would not be a popular proposition in the Indian Budget and self-sufficiency in the modern weapons of warfare would place an unbearable burden on India. India therefore must continue to rely on Great Britain for her defence. Proceeding, Mr. Williams quoted Prof. Roberts, who had laid down that for complete self-sufficiency a country needed as much as 32 articles, of which the British Empire had only 26. As for self-rule in defence *vis-a-vis* Dominion Status Mr. Williams quoted the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, which did not regard it as essential that India's progress in civil and military matters should be identical. The resolution was defeated and the Council adjourned till March 14.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

14th. MARCH :—Two non-official resolutions were discussed to-day. Both were withdrawn. The first, relating to railway contracts, was by Mr. *P. N. Sapru* and the second, by *Sardar Buta Singh*, asked the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government the Council's satisfaction on the Viceroy's pronouncement in connexion with India's future states. The House then adjourned till the 18th.

RESOLUTION ON BIRTH CONTROL

18th. MARCH :—Mr. *P. N. Sapru*, in moving his resolution to-day on birth control, admitted that there was great divergence of opinion over the issue of birth control. He referred to the 'alarming growth of population' in India which, he said, had increased by 32 millions in 30 years. Side by side science had been perfecting the machinery for preserving life and sufficient men did not die even in modern warfare. With disease and famine well under control, and with universal early marriages in India the growth of population had been phenomenal during the last three decades. One aspect of this growth was the deplorable low standard of living. Vast numbers were under-developed and under-nourished. Unemployment had been on the increase and was bound to increase still more in years to come. Apart from this, selfish man never thinks what a woman has to go through in bearing children and from the humanitarian point of view they could not deny to women what they had been demanding, namely, the right to self-determination. Mr. Sapru did not think religion was adverse to birth control. 'Any way' he said, 'morals must be based on biology and should be for the betterment of the human race.' The speaker held that birth control would purify the institution of marriage itself. and would not lead to immortality as it was often alleged that it would. Lastly, he said that his resolution did not seek compulsion and therefore should not be opposed by anyone.

Sir Jagdish Prasad, replying to the debate, quoted figures to show that there had been no alarming growth of population in the centrally administered areas. For instance, in the Andamans and British Baluchistan there had been no increase in population, while the population of Ajmer-Marwara was only 206 per square mile as compared to the all-India figure of 243 per square mile. Sir Jagdish Prasad said that there were two ways of looking at the question. From the health point of view some had recognized that women suffering from certain diseases should be protected from bearing children. Mr. Sapru, however, had based his entire case on the economic plank. He would like birth control to check the growth of population. The question, if looked at from that angle, was beset with difficulties. The Education Member told the Council that there were only 700 lady doctors in this country and if birth control were to succeed, their primary concern should be to increase the number of lady doctors in India. He urged that local bodies and voluntary organizations should be utilized for educating public opinion. The resolution was put to vote and carried by nine votes against eight. The Council then adjourned till March 21.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

21st MARCH :—The Council held a 25 minute sitting to-day and passed with out amendment three Go-ernment bills recently passed by the Legislative Assembly. The bills passed were the Coal Mines Safety (stowing) Act Amendment Bill. the bill to amend the law relating to Income Tax and the bill further to amend the Reserve Bank of India Act.

Mr. *C. F. Jones*, Finance Secretary, moving the consideration of the Reserve Bank Act Amendment Bill said that it was a well recognised and generally accepted principle that shares of a Central Bank when the bank was of the share-holding variety, should be distributed as widely as possible so as to minimise the risk of the policy and administration of the bank being dominated by some

interests." It must be clear that if any particular group or interest were to acquire an undue share of voting power it would impose on the country a policy directed by its own particular interest which might or might not coincide with the best interests of the country as a whole. Mr Jones gave figures to illustrate that "the undesirable tendency I have referred still continues." The Bill, he said, was a move in the right direction calculated to avert further deterioration in the position. The bill was passed and the Council adjourned till March 26.

Excess Profits Tax Bill

26th. MARCH :—The Council devoted the whole of to-day's sitting to consideration of the Excess Profits Tax Bill, as passed by the Legislative Assembly. Mr. *J. F. Sheehy*, Member, Central Board of Revenue, moved consideration of the Bill. The Hon. Mr. *Shantidas Askuran* referred to the Hindu year which begins from "Dewali" and urged that it should be taken as an accounting year. Mr. *Sheehy*, intervening, said that the Hindu year would be taken as an accounting year if it was so desired by an assessee. The Hon. Rao Bahadur *K. Govindachari* said that at a time when the daily war expenditure of Great Britain had reached £6,500,000 it was not expected that India could play an adequate part in the prosecution of the war without a further measure of taxation, "I consider that the Government have shown due consideration to the individual taxpayer by not resorting to such a scheme which would have justly evoked much opposition and in preferring instead the present Bill." The Hon. *Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga* welcomed the improvements made in the Bill since its introduction in the Assembly. He however urged that like the super-tax and income-tax, the excess profits tax should not be retained after the present emergency had passed. Hon. Sir *Rohimtoola Chinoy* pleaded for the cinema industry which he asked should be exempted from the tax. He said that if the yield from the tax exceeded the Government's estimates it should come forward with an amending Bill reducing the percentage of the tax. The Hon. Rai Bahadur *Lala Ramsaran Das* said that one effect of the Bill had been a general lowering of prices, both of agricultural commodities and manufactured goods. He took strong objection to the Government selecting businessmen to bear the burden of the war. The Hon. Mr. *Hoosain Imam* said, "Believing as I do in a more equitable distribution of wealth and a larger share of the State in the profits of industries, I welcome the measure before the House." He felt that if the Government had decided to tax all the profits, industrialists might have had some cause for complaint. He, however, held that the Bill had not gone far enough to do justice to suppressed industries like the coal industry. Further discussion was adjourned till the next day, the **27th. March**, when Mr. *P. N. Sapru* speaking on the consideration motion said that he regarded excess profits in the nature of unearned increment, 60 per cent appropriation of which by the State was justified on principles of equity and social justice. Mr. *Kalikar* deprecated the strong comments made against the industrialists. The Finance Member, *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, replying to the debate, said that one of the misgivings of the Members related to the machinery for carrying out the provisions of the Bill. He assured the Council that their object would be to set up a machinery for the administration of Excess Profits Tax which will be satisfactory and efficient and will not reduce the efficiency of the existing machinery of collection of Income Tax. The Finance Member announced that the Government had the case of pioneer industries in mind and they would make every endeavour to avoid inflicting damage on them as was possible by the Excess Profits Tax. The Bill was passed and the Council adjourned.

Debate on the Finance Bill

2nd. APRIL :—The Council devoted the whole of to-day to debating the consideration motion on the Finance Bill, as passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Finance Secretary, Mr. *C. E. Jones*, in moving that the Finance Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly be taken into consideration, made a brief statement in the course of which he explained that the Bill sought to give legislative sanction to the Budget proposals. He pointed out that the Assembly had carried one amendment in the Bill, which imposed the enhanced excise duty on sugar actually produced on or after March 1. 1940. The *Maharaja of Darbhanga* opened the debate. Speaking as an agriculturist, he said he felt that it should be the primary concern of the Government to increase the capacity of the land to bear the burden of taxation. The Hon'ble Mr. *Shantidas Askuran* wanted an Estimates Committee in addition to the Standing Finance Committee and a Retrenchment Committee in order to avoid rumours of

needless expenditure. Referring to the additional tax on petrol, he said that one of the greatest handicaps to the agriculturist in the realization of proper returns for his produce, was the lack of proper transport and much work still lay ahead in linking up the country-side. The Hon'ble Mr. *J. H. S. Richardson* discussed the protection policy of the Government of India. He said that the steady growth of all protected industries was of equal importance to the Revenue Department as it was to the development of the country itself, but it was evident from specific instances before them that revenue had not been forthcoming and development was in danger of being retarded. He felt that whilst foreign competition was avoided, subsequent internal competition arose owing to over-production and considerably nullified the extent of protection which Government agreed with the Tariff Board was necessary to enable the industries eventually to stand on their own legs. The Hon'ble Mr. *Ramdas Pantulu*, Leader of the Congress Party in the Council of State, welcomed the relief which the Finance Member had given to the co-operative societies in the matter of income-tax. He, however, urged that the income-tax itself should be amended to make the relief permanent and statutory. The Hon'ble Mr. *R. H. Parker* wanted the Council to judge the Finance Bill with the war as its background. He said that it was not the time to air grievances but to get together and win the war. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **3rd. April**, when *Sir K. Ramunni Menon*, continuing the debate on the Bill, alluded to certain observations made yesterday urging that Indian industries should not only be protected from foreign competition but also from internal competition. *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar*, Commerce Member, announced that he was prepared to consider the possibility of instituting an Export Advisory Board with representatives of shippers and agriculturists as its members. The Board will advise the Government in regard to difficulties experienced by trade and commerce in matter of exports. The laying down of the policy, however, will continue to remain the function of the Government of India. Mr. *Kalikkar* asserted that the additional tax on sugar would hit the grower equally with the manufacturer. He lodged a strong protest against the modification of the Niemeyer Award and declared that thereby the Government of India would encroach on provincial autonomy. This, he urged, was the time when the Defence Department should change its attitude and policy and take the people of the country into confidence in regard to defence matters. The Government would then have wholehearted support in the emergency and the forces against Hitler would be enormously strengthened. Pandit *H. N. Kunzru* dealt mainly with what he described as the larger question of policy which lay behind and overshadowed the concrete financial and economic questions raised by the Budget. Before going into those larger questions he referred to the sugar and petrol duties and asked what was the Government's policy in the matter of the manufacture of power alcohol out of molasses. He dwelt upon the future industrial development of the country as regards relaxation of the fiscal commission's conditions for the grant of protection. Pandit Kunzru pointed out that the economic postulates on which the Commission based its report no longer held good. For instance, abundant supply of raw materials in the country which the Commission laid down as one of the conditions for the grant of protection to an industry using that material was not of such vital importance now. The Commerce Member, *Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar* intervening in the debate, replied to various criticisms levelled against his department. The Commerce Member dealt at some length with the question of protected industries vis-a-vis internal competition and over production, which was raised by Mr. Richardson yesterday. Referring to the sugar industry, the Commerce Member repudiated the suggestion that the excise duty was in any way responsible for its present ills. It was largely the action of the two provincial Governments of the United Provinces and Bihar, which was responsible for the present state of affairs. Dealing with the criticisms regarding petrol prices, the Commerce Member said that the Government had a hand in fixing the present prices of petrol and kerosene oil. Soon after the outbreak of War, when the Government examined the whole question, it found that 30 percent of India's oil supplies, came from countries in respect of which the exchange value of the rupee had depreciated. The Council passed the motion for consideration and then passed the Bill as passed by the Assembly and then adjourned till the 5th. April.

EUROPEANS IN ARMY

5th. APRIL :—The Bill to make certain provisions relating to service by European British Subjects in the Armed Forces of, or in a civil capacity under, the Crown as passed by the Legislative Assembly figured on the order paper of

the Council to-day. The Defence Co-ordination Secretary, Mr. *Williams*, in moving the consideration of the bill, explained that the measure was designed to provide more effective and economical recruitment of European British Subjects particularly to the officer class of the Defence Forces of the Crown. Experience of the last War had shown that cadets who might have been more usefully employed in the civil side were recruited in large numbers. The Council, he said, must remember that the civil side was equally important in the struggle in which the Empire was involved at present. Mr. Williams reminded the House that immediately after the outbreak of War the Government had introduced a system of compulsory registration of European British Subjects and had stopped members of that community leaving India without the permission of Military Authorities. It was natural for the community to demand where and in what capacity its services were to be utilised. The bill provided the answer. It also laid down that those members of the community who took up national service would be reinstated in their civil employment after the emergency had passed away. Mr. Williams explained how impracticable it was to have a national register for Indians and said that the Bill was in the interests of India. The Bill was supported by Messrs. Parker and Richardson and Sir A. P. Patro and was opposed by Messrs. Kunzru, Sapru, Hossain Imam, Kalikar and Mohd. Hussain.

Official Bills Passed

8th. APRIL :—The House passed without amendment to-day five official Bills, recently passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Bills were :—The Bill to amend the Defence of India Act ; the Bill to make better financial provision for the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research ; the Bill further to amend the Insurance Act ; the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act (relating to the imposition of an import duty on wattle bark) ; and the Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act (second amendment), (relating to the continuation of protection to silk and of import duties on wheat and rice). The House then adjourned till the 10th. April.

10th. APRIL :—The Council concluded its session to-day after passing 4 Bills as passed by the Assembly. These were Mr. *Tyson's* Drugs Bill, Mr. *Hydari's* Bill to amend the Indian Mines Act and to amend the Petroleum Act and Mr. *S. N. Roy's* Bill to amend the Motor Vehicles Act.

The Drugs Bill

During the debate on the Drugs Bill, Mr. *P. N. Sapru* strongly urged the need for separate treatment of the Unani and Ayurvedic system and the standardisation of medicinal preparations in common use in these systems as also the registration of Vaids and Hakims. The people of India, he said, even those who spent 10 to 12 years in British universities, still had faith in these systems and even if a much larger number of allopathic doctors were provided in rural areas than now, people would continue to go to Hakims and Vaids.

Sir G. S. Bajpai explained the extreme difficulty of standardising indigenous medical systems. Col. Chopra who had been at work on indigenous drugs during the last 9 years recently stated that he had so far been only able to touch the fringe of the subject. It was rather difficult to expect the Central Government to do what needed not only the co-operation but the primary effort of Provincial Governments As regards registration of Hakims and Vaids, the correct forum for making the suggestion was the provincial legislature but he undertook to circulate a copy of the debate on this Bill to Provincial Governments in the hope that it might serve to stimulate their interest in the subject. The Bill was passed and the House adjourned *side die*.

The Central Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—6th. February to 6th. April 1940

Excess Profits Tax Bill

The Budget Session of the Central Legislative Assembly commenced at New Delhi on the **6th. February 1940** with a thin House. Congress Members were absent. The new Bills introduced to-day related to the import, manufacture, distribution and sale of drugs, amendment of the Indian Coinage Act to reduce fineness of silver in four anna pieces and imposition of restrictions on foreigners.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, moving reference of the Excess Profits Tax Bill to a Select Committee announced an important alteration in the date within which the committee is to make its report. He said that the date would be March 6 instead of February 16 as originally proposed. This, he explained, was to meet the objections of those who felt that they should be in a position to judge the actual financial necessity for the measure and to see the financial picture as a whole before judging the justifiability of the Bill. By the change in the date, the Select Committee would make its report six days after the budget speech and that he hoped would give the members enough time to judge the position correctly. Mr. *Aikman* and *Sir Homi Mody* subjected the measure to a certain amount of criticism, the latter going so far as to describe it as hastily conceived and prematurely brought into being but in the end both supported the motion for Select Committee. The general trend of criticism was to regard the 50 per cent rate and the absence of a time-limit for the expiry of the measure as two serious blemishes. The Leader of the European Group suggested an annual review of the rate and put in a timely plea for economy in war expenditure as being essential. Among other speakers, Sir *A. H. Ghaznavi* deplored the likely effects of the new duty on industries like shipping and Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji* depicted the plight of the Indian industry in even more lurid language. The lone supporter of the Finance Member was Sir *Zia-ud-Din* Ahmad. Dr. *Banerji* opposed the principle of the Bill. His main contention was that, the Government had not placed before them all date to enable them to support the Bill. For instance, they did not know what amount of money was needed during the next year by the Government, what were its resources and what yield the Government expected from the Excess Profits Tax. He asked the Finance Member if the Government had any intention of making a contribution to Great Britain as during the last war. Proceeding, Dr. Bannerji said that he for one was not opposed to taxation of abnormal profits of capitalists. He would have gladly voted for the Bill if there was responsible government at the Centre. As things were, he regretted he could not support the measure. The House then adjourned.

Kidnapping & Abduction Bill

7th. FEBRUARY :—*Diwan Lalchand Navalrai's* Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code to raise the age limit of persons, female as well as male, in connection with the offence of kidnapping and abduction to "under 18 years" instead of the existing limit of "under 16 years and 14 years in case of female and male children respectively, in order to check the growing menace of abduction was passed for circulation to elicit opinion thereon as Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, said that the Bill was of such a character that provinces also should be consulted.

Diwan Lalchand Navalrai's motion that the Bill further to amend the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867 be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon. was negatived without a division.

Air Training for Indian Youths

8th. FEBRUARY :—Sir *Raza Ali's* resolution recommending to the Government to take early steps to strengthen the air defence of India by providing suitable air training for Indian youths and establishing an auxiliary air force commensurate with the size, population and requirement of the country to be manned by Indians, was unanimously accepted. Mr. *Ogilvie*, Defence Secretary, accepted the mover's suggestion that Government should show their sympathy to the object of the resolution by remaining neutral, if there was a division. Mr. Ogilvie said that he viewed, and the Government viewed, the desire expressed in the resolution with the

greatest possible sympathy but he must point out the difficulties in accepting it. The financial problem stared them in the face at every stage. A modern air force cost as much as a modern navy and if you were to wish to equip India to face any possible danger, then the task was entirely beyond the country's powers. If India became the primary object of attack by a first class power she would, whatever her political position, have to rely upon Imperial re-inforcements. "As regard the present position, we can say that the preparations which we have made and the forces which we have at our disposal are sufficient, within the limitations imposed by the circumstances of India, to do all that we expect and require them to do. Our defence forces have each its allotted task in accordance with the strategic circumstances. All that we can hope to do with our modest resources is to meet those and perhaps have a little up our sleeves." Giving figures, Mr. Ogilvie said that a modern bombing plane cost 2½ lakhs and a fighter a lakh and a half. A squadron of 12 cost 80 lakhs of rupees to form and about Rs. 20 to 25 lakhs recurring. The Indian Air Force, said Mr. Ogilvie, was not an Auxiliary Air Force, as the mover said, but was a regular air force and was fit and capable of taking part side by side with the Royal Air Force anywhere and at anytime. It was a comparatively new force but it was an admirable force and the enormous amount of time and trouble taken to prepare this germ of the future Indian Air Force had proved well worth taking. It was entirely officered by Indians. There still were a considerable number of British non-commissioned officers employed as high-grade mechanicians. These were the only British personnel left in the squadron. He urged the mover to withdraw his resolution. Sir *Raza Ali*, replying, said that sympathy from official benches might have been considered a great thing in 1913 or 1914 but had now ceased to have any fascination. If Government's sympathy now was real and sincere, he would ask them to refrain from voting on the resolution. Mr. *Ogilvie* said that Government would not take part in the voting. The resolution was put and carried without division and the House adjourned.

EECESS PROFITS TAX BILL (CONTD.)

9th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly to-day resumed discussion of the *Finance Member's* motion, made on the opening day of the session, that the Excess Profits Tax Bill be referred to a select committee. Mr. *Baijnath Bajoria* said that it was neutral countries that were likely to benefit most by the war. India had only secured orders worth Rs. 14 crores. No dominion or colony in the British Empire had yet passed a measure of this kind. The Crown Colony of Ceylon had thrown out a similar Bill. The Bill was objectionable because it would take away not only war profits but normal profits. He could understand why European members of the House gave their support to it. They knew the yield from the tax would be ultimately secured by them or by their country. Sir *Mohammed Yamin Khan* pleaded the case of the "poor taxpayers" of the country. He said that since the outbreak of the war, middlemen and merchants had been making 500 per cent, and in some cases 1,000 per cent profit. He cited the cases of wheat, sugar, iron and steel, and medicinal stores, the prices of all of which had been put up without any excuse and would have soared higher but for the policy of price control adopted by the Government. *Moulvi Abdur Rashid Chowdhury* pointed out that the suddenness with which the Bill had been introduced had reacted badly on the markets, with the result that the primary producer had to sell his goods at very cheap rates. *Sir Cowasji Jehangir* accepted the principle that the State should have a reasonable share of war profits but declared that that share was exceeded in the provisions of the Bill which he characterised as a blind copy of the British Act prepared with the same blind fidelity to the original as that of the Chinese tailor who, commissioned to make a suit on the model of an old one, copied even the holes and patches in the trousers and the rents in the coat, and made the new suit a misfit (laughter). The inclusion of the year 1938-39 in the chargeable accounting year was an instance in point. In England the preparations for the war had gone full steam ahead from September. 1938, and therefore that year could be included. But in India apart from the orders for sandbags nothing by way of war preparation had occurred. How then could they include that year in the chargeable accounting period in India ? Sir Cowasji proceeded to give instances to prove his point that the tax would fall not only on war profits as well. Supposing, for instance, a business received during 1938-89 a refund of income-tax paid over a number of previous years, that would, according to the Bill, be included in the amount on which the tax would be levied. How was that justified, he asked. Similarly with regard to other windfalls such as decree amounts in suits which

had been going on for years previously. The *Finance Member* suggested that these would come under the "hard cases" for the relief of which provision was made in the Bill. *Sir Cowasji* pleaded for exemption of classes of business such as cinemas and life insurance which he said could never make war profits. Life insurance companies, he declared, would, far from making profits, have to reckon with the possibility of a serious depreciation of Government securities in which in practice sixty per cent. of their assets was invested. As. regards cinema companies, war did not increase the number of cinema goers. Sir Cowasji uttered a grave warning and said that he presumed that Government would have to borrow money if war expenditure was incurred on a large scale. Had the Finance Member considered what effect the bill would have on their borrowing powers ? It might be that they would have curtailed the available borrowing facilities and would have to borrow at a higher rate. Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* regretted that no speaker had referred to the amendments tabled on the Finance Member's motion. He urged strongly that the Bill be circulated for eliciting opinion. He had not concluded when the House adjourned till Monday, the **12th. February**, when resuming his speech he urged that nothing should be done which would prevent their views both on the Bill and on the constitutional issue raised by it. It was likely, he said, that Provincial Governments would take the issue to the Federal Court. He therefore, supported the proposal for circulation of the Bill. Mr. *A. C. Dutta*, Deputy President, blamed the Government for not taking the House into confidence and, referred, by contrast, to the Bill of 1918 when the Finance Member placed all his cards on the table in the Imperial Legislative Council. The then Finance Member stated that the money was required for troops fighting for the defence of India ; that the amount required was 6 million and the resources of the Government after effecting all possible economies were inadequate to meet that demand. The Government of the present day, on the other hand, had done nothing of the kind to prove their case. Neither the Dominions nor the Colonies of the Empire had imposed a similar tax.

The Assembly agreed by 65 votes to 7 to the Finance Member's motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. Earlier, the House by 47 votes to seven rejected a motion for circulation of the Bill. The House then adjourned till the 14th.

MERCHANT SHIPPING AMEND. BILL

14th. FEBRUARY :—An increase in the floor space allotted to Haj pilgrims on ships, was demanded by Mr. *Piracha* who moved consideration of his Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act. Mr. Piracha referred to the inconvenience felt by pilgrims owing to lack of individual allotment of space on decks, and suggested that the space should be increased from 16 sq. ft. to 18. Sir *G. S. Bajpai*, Education Secretary, replying, referred to the recommendations of the Haj Inquiry Committee on the two demands made in the Bill. On the question of allotment of individual space, the Committee found it was impracticable because, apart from other difficulties, it would result in a decrease in the present carrying capacity of ships. On the second question of increase of space for eacn pilgrim, the Committee found the space allotted was the same as in the case of the Japanese and Malayas. The Committee did not, therefore, recommend any increase but suggested that the question should be further considered after a full year's working of the changes made to provide food and storage of luggage. In 1936 the Standing Haj Committee of both Houses accordingly considered the question and its recommendation was not to go forward with an increase in space on the ground that it would lead to an increase in fares. The House eventually passed the motion for circulation.

ALIGARH UNIVERSITY AMEND. BILL

The House agreed to circulation for the purpose of eliciting public opinion till July 31, 1940 of *Sir Zia-ud-did Ahmad's* Bill to amend the Aligarh Muslim University Act so as to give the university power to recognize schools outside the Aligarh district, and thus bring it to the level of the Benares Hindu University. Sir *G. S. Bajpai*, moving circulation, said that this would be in the best interests of the University. Referring to the so-called disparity between the Benares Hindu University and the Aligarh University, he explained that the regulations framed by the Benares University did include provision for the admission of students from certain schools in areas outside Benares district, but these regulations were held to be *ultra vires* in 1921 and since then there had been complete equality with regard to the two universities. The House passed the circulation motion without a division and adjourned.

Indian Arbitration Bill

15th. FEBRUARY:—The Assembly this morning passed with one amendment the Indian Arbitration Bill as reported upon by the select committee. *Sir Zafrullah Khan*, Law Member, moving consideration of the Bill explained that since it was referred to a select committee by the Simla session, it had been circulated by executive order with the result that a large body of useful information became available to the members of the select committee and the Government. Several important suggestions made by parties interested had been incorporated in the Bill which had emerged in a greatly improved form from the select committee.

Trade Marks Registration Bill

The House next took up the Registration of Trade Marks Bill as reported by the select committee. Moving consideration, *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar*, Commerce Member, touched on the principal changes made by the select committee. The committee, he said, had reduced from ten to seven years the period at the end of which the validity of trade mark could be questioned. More powers had been given, mainly to meet the desires of textile interests, to the deputy registrar to be established at Bombay. Consultation with any advisory committee which might be set up had been made mandatory and it had also been suggested that the scale of costs to be awarded by the registrar should be prescribed by the central Government.

During discussion of clauses, the House rejected Mr. *C. C. Miller's* (European Group) amendment seeking to extend to common names the protection of defensive registration at present allowed to invested names. Government accepted and the House passed an amendment moved by Mr. *J. D. Boyle* (European Group) to enlarge the powers of the deputy registrar so that 'in respect of all trade marks, applications for registration of which are duly made to the deputy registrar under this chapter (chapter nine) the deputy registrar shall exercise all the powers of the registrar under this act but shall be subject to the general superintendence of the registrar'. The Assembly also accepted Mr. *T. S. Pillai's* (deputy secretary, commerce department) amendment amplifying the scope of section 83 giving power to make reciprocal arrangements with other Governments with regard to registration of trade marks. The House passed the Bill as amended and adjourned.

Railway Budget for 1940—41

16th. FEBRUARY:—The Railway estimates presented by Sir *Andrew Clow* to-day forecast for 1939-40 a surplus of 3.61 crores against a surplus of about 2.13 crores originally estimated, and for 1940-41 a surplus of 8.29 crores.

The revised estimate of surplus on railways for 1939-40 is more than the actual surplus of last year by about 2¼ crores. The increase is due mainly to increase in traffic receipts. The total traffic receipts of state owned lines are expected to reach 97.30 crores, about 2¾ crores more than last year and about 2½ crores more than the original estimate. Total working expenses, including 12½ crores for depreciation, are a little over 65⅛ crores or about 1⅛ crores more than last year. The surplus of 3.61 crores will be paid to general revenues. It will fall short of the full contribution due by about 90 lakhs. The balance in the depreciation fund will stand at 30¼ crores.

The budget estimate for 1940-41 assumes traffic receipts of 103 crores, 5.7 crores more than in the current year. The total working expenses will amount to 66⅜ crores and will be 1⅛ crores more than in the current year. Out of the surplus expected of 8.29 crores, over 5¼ crores will be paid to general revenues on account of contribution due under the existing convention and about 3 crores will be paid into the railway reserve. The balance of depreciation fund at the end of the year will be nearly 36 crores.

As regards 1940-41, dwelling first on the capital position, Sir Andrew Clow referred to the provision of 7¼ lakhs for the completion of the two new lines, the Sind Right Bank Feeders Railway and Khadro Nawabshah Railway. The third Sind project, Tando Mitha Khan Railway, was still under consideration, and the Kashipur-Kalagarh project had been held in abeyance with the concurrence of the United Provinces Government. Rs. 43¼ lakhs would be paid for the Hardwar-Dehra line which became state property last month. Notice had also been given to purchase the Bengal-Dooars Railway (160 miles) at the end of 1940 at an estimated cost of 171 lakhs. It was not certain whether the purchase price of this railway would be paid next year, and the budget contained no provision.

The gross total works programme is about 15 crores. Estimates for track renewals amounted to 5¾ crores, and those for rolling stock to 5 crores. 3½ crores were provided for bridges and other structural works, and over half a crore for increase in stores balance. Programme includes provision of about 1,625 general service wagons to meet increase in traffic demands, of which about 1,550 are broad gauge general service wagons to be added to the pool.

Sir Andrew Clow alluded here to the report made by the two officers appointed to examine the possibilities of building locomotives in India. Their leading conclusions were that a reasonably large and steady demand for broad gauge locomotives could now be reckoned on, that important requisite materials not hitherto available in India were now likely to be forthcoming in this country and that it could be hoped to build locomotives here more cheaply than manufacturers abroad could supply them. The capital cost, in enlarging and equipping one of the existing workshops for this purpose was estimated to be 48.6 lakhs. The report would be examined expeditiously, and if the conclusions were approved by Government, demands would be placed before the Assembly in the course of the next financial year.

In discussing the revenue position for 1940-41, Sir Andrew Clow alluded to the serious difficulty in estimating both income and expenditure in present conditions. It had been assumed that the war would continue throughout next year and that this would increase traffic receipts. On the expenditure side, no large savings could be expected, but substantial increase might have to be faced. If railway rates were to remain at the present level, the surplus for 1940—41 would be only about 3 crores, a figure substantially below the contribution due to general revenues. Means of increasing revenue had clearly to be looked for, and the obvious and sound course was an increase in rates and fares. He said :—

"The railways, like every other form of industrial enterprise, must expect marked fluctuations in their working. Periods of general prosperity are followed only too surely by periods of depression and, as the financial results of railway working depend closely on the economic situation in the country, a period of depression for the community is also a period of depression for the railways. Thus, if railways fail to take advantage of times when the demand for their services is brisk, the inevitable result is that, when the demands fall of, they will be unable to meet their obligations to the tax-payer. That is precisely what happened in the years following 1928, the important consequence being that in 1931-33, when the need of the tax-payer was greatest, the railways were quite unable to fulfil their obligations to him and had indeed, at a time of depression in industry, to enhance their rates'. The increases proposed in rates and fares from 1st March 1940 were :—

(I) 2 annas in the rupee in the total freight (including terminal and other such charges) on each consignment of goods traffic excluding coal, coke, patent fuel, military traffic, railway materials and stores on revenue account, food grains, fodder and manures ;

(II) 2 annas in the rupee of the total freight on each consignment of coaching traffic other than passenger ;

(III) 1 anna per rupee of fare for all passenger traffic, except for fares of one rupee or less. The existing surcharge on coal, coke and patent fuel would also be increased from 12½ per cent., with the maximum of one rupee per ton, to 15 percent, without maximum and from 1st November next to 20 per cent.

If it was found that any of the new rates were having adverse effects on revenue, reductions would be made.

Increase in working expenses was mainly due to higher prices likely to be paid for materials, but increased traffic would also reflect itself in some increased expenditure. Increase due to the raising of the new minor works limit had been referred to.

Another element in the increased working expenses was the provision for certain benefits to railway labour. On this subject, Sir Andrew Clow dwelt at some length, mentioning that the recent rise in prices gave it special prominence. When prices were less stable than in normal times the question of possible alterations in remuneration was bound to occupy the thoughts of the employees and of the administration. Government had been recently examining the position and he would mention some of the main relevant considerations. The question was not one of generosity, or parsimony on the part of Government, but of equitable arrangement between railway servants on one side and other sections of the community on the other. In the last few years, following the great fall in prices of 1929-31, primary producers had been getting less than formerly, and it might be said that railway

servants whose remuneration was not reduced, had been gaining at their expense. It would not be reasonable to contend that, when any movement occurred in the reverse direction, railway servants had the right to have it neutralised by additions to their pay. A corollary to such a view would be that, whenever prices fell, pay should be correspondingly reduced. But except for the temporary cut in pay imposed a few years ago under pressure of grave financial stringency and later fully restored, the staff had been secured against a reduction in their emoluments and, in spite of the revision of scales for new entrants, the average remuneration for staff as a whole had risen by about 10 per cent, between 1929 and 1939, whereas between those dates prices had substantially fallen. Moreover, the last decade had been marked by important concessions to the railway staff, the most note-worthy of which were the abolition of the 'no extra cost' condition in respect of leave and the enforcement on a large scale of the Washington and Geneva Conventions relating to hours of employment and weekly rest. It might be held that, in view of these measures and on a comparison with conditions in private employment of benefits enjoyed by railway staff in regard to housing, medical relief, passes, etc., any further increase in charges would be unjustified. This was not Government's view ; and in the budget of 1940-41, a substantial provision had been made to extend the Hours of Employment Regulations to the Bengal Nagpur and Assam Bengal Railways, the only two Class I state-owned railways which had not yet adopted them. Another direction in which Government would like to make an advance was the further extension of provident fund privileges to railway employees. A provision of 12 lakhs was made which Government intended to apply to those staff benefits which appeared most urgent. The Railway Board hoped to discuss this with the All-India Railwaymen's Federation later. No provision had been made for war allowances, as Government believed that in no area had prices risen to the levels prevailing when the bulk of the present rates of wages were fixed. He was, however, always ready to consider any reasoned statement of the position which took into account the consideration he had mentioned

After an appreciation of the valuable contribution made by railway employees in all grades to the efficient working of railways, Sir Andrew Clow summed up the estimated results next year which contemplated, after a payment of 5½ crores to general revenues (being the full contribution for that year *plus* arrears for the current year), the transfer to the railway reserve of almost 3 crores. He stressed the fact that railway had at present virtually no reserve and said, 'We are earning at the moment profits which depend to a large extent on factors of a temporary character, and if reserves cannot be built up in such a situation, we may be confronted, when the inevitable recession comes, with the necessity of reducing wages and increasing charges and thus enhancing the difficulties of the community at a time when its needs are acute. No great business should be obliged to live a hand-to-mouth existence, and the only sound policy is to endeavour during the good years to put something aside for the bad ones'. He concluded with the hope (which, with the uncertainties ahead, could not be a conviction) that next year would be a better one than the railways had had for a long time.

Discussion of Railway Budget

22nd. FEBRUARY :—The House took up the general discussion of the Railway Budget to-day. *Sir Ziauddin* criticised the Budget from the stand-point of sound finance. He felt that Government should have invited public criticism before deciding to increase rates and fares. He declared that the law of diminishing returns had already begun to work with regard to rates and fares and the proposed 12½ per cent. increase in freight rates was expected to yield only three per cent. Referring to the separation convention, Sir Ziauddin asserted that so long as it stood unmodified, Government would not be able to transfer large sums to the depreciation fund. Mr. *Joshi* welcomed the proposals to remove some of the grievances of labour but disagreed with the Communications Member's views against the grant of scarcity allowances. Prices of commodities, said Mr. Joshi, had gone up since the outbreak of war and wages should be brought up to the price level. Referring to the proposals for the improvement of conditions of work for railway employees, he expressed gratification that a beginning was being made in the institution of provident fund for poorly paid employees. He regretted, however, that the allotment of Rs. 12 lakhs for this and other reforms was to be spent in consultation with the Railwaymen's Federation. He was afraid that railwaymen would fight among themselves on the choice of reforms. Government, he asserted, could spare even 72 lakhs needed to institute the full scheme of provi-

dend fund. Prof. *P. N. Banerjee* disputed the claim that the exemption given to agricultural commodities from the proposed rise in freights was in the interest of the agriculturists. He declared it was in the interests of Britain and France who required raw material from this country. He quoted opinions of industrialists who contended that increase in freights meant that they would have to pay twice over, first on the transport of raw materials to factories and then on the transport of finished goods to the markets. The increase in rates and freights was therefore bound to cause great discontent. Mr. *Aikman*, Leader of the European Group, supported enhancement of rates and fares on the principle that the canons of finance evolved in normal times are not appropriate during war. Mr. Aikman's pointed request for an elucidation of the financial position of the railways evoked a statement from Mr. *Staig*, Financial Commissioner, to show how far railways still are from fulfilling conditions as regards size both of the depreciation and reserve funds. That Indian industrialists do not share the European Group's attitude, Sir *Homi Mody* made abundantly clear. The Government's policy, he complained, seemed to be devised to strangle industrial development. The Communications Member was thinking only in terms of revenue and not national welfare, and cherished a firm belief in taxing whether the times were good or bad. Mr. *M. S. Aney* elaboroted the same theme, summing up his criticism of the budget in one sentence—how best to secure contributions from people for war expenditure through the railways. He protested particularly against the poor third class passengers being brought within the scope of this levy. *Muslim members* concentrated on the low proportion of Muslims in certain subordinate services, particularly railways like the N. W. Ry. Replying Sir *Andrew Clow*, Communications Member, said it had been suggested that the Railway Department should be subjected to the Excess Profits Tax. He submitted that they had been subjected to that tax and for many years they had not been allowed to keep any of their profits, and even this year, if his estimates were accurate the Finance Member would get a much bigger share of their profits. In reply to Mr. Aikman's question whether the rebate on export of coal was being removed. Sir Andrew said that it was not being removed at present, but the situation had changed since those rebates had been given and the Government were examining the question to ascertain how far a continuation of those rebates was justified. Answering the criticism about increased rates and fares, Sir Andrew admitted that the effect of the enhancement must normally be to add to the price of articles. Did that constitute taxation or did it not ? If it did, what were they to say about the much more substantial enhancements that had taken place in the prices of commodities in other ways ? He referred to cotton which, in February, had risen to Rs. 268 a candy as against Rs. 152 a year ago, an increase of Rs. 116—whereas the average increase which the Government proposed to put on cotton would work out at less than a rupee per candy. Jute had risen to extraordinary heights and even now it was nearly Rs. 40 a bale higher. The new freight rates would mean an increase of two and a half annas a bale. Similarly with regard to sugar, oil-seeds and steel products. He repeated the question whether this was taxation or not. If it was, it was curious that it had not come in for a far severer condemnation than the new rates and fares. He admitted, however, that there was a big difference between the two. In the case of increases, that had already occurred, it was the suppliers, manufacturers or middlemen, in other words, private and sectional interests, who received increases far exceeding anything that Government were asking for ; whereas the receipts out of the enhancements in railway rates and fares would go to the benefit of the community generally. The House at this stage adjourned.

Official Bills Passed

23rd. FEBRUARY—The Assembly to-day passed five official Bills. The Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, the Bill to facilitate the changing of the date on which the annual accounts of the Reserve Bank of India are closed ; the Bill further to amend the Factories Act ; the Bill further to amend the Indian Emigration Act, and the Bill further to amend the Reserve Bank of India Act were the measures passed.

Factories Act Amend. Bill

There was a debate on the Bill further to amend the Factories Act. Mr. *N. M. Joshi* initiated debate through a motion for circulation of the Bill for eliciting opinion. Sir *Ramaswamy Mudaliar*, opposing the motion, said that the views of the provincial Governments had already been obtained on the proposals embodied

in the Bill. He, however, could not publish those views without consulting the provincial Governments. Sir Ramaswamy said that India had advanced since the Royal Commission on Labour had reported, and children were not employed in some factories. He also showed how the Labour Department of the Government of India had been tackling labour problems. The Government had recently held a Labour Ministers Conference as a result of which several Bills dealing with various aspects of labour were in course of preparation and would be brought up before the House next year.

The circulation motion was rejected without division. Mr. *Joshi* then moved seven amendments, four of which were accepted by Government. The effect of these amendments would be to make the Bill enforceable automatically and provide for sanitary provisions relating to dust and gas. The Bill, as amended, was passed and the Assembly adjourned.

Voting on Railway Demands

24th. FEBRUARY :—The power given to Railway Agents to spend up to one lakh of rupees without the Railway Board's specific sanction on certain types of capital expenditure was criticised in the course of discussion on demands for grants under the Railway Budget to-day. Mr. *Chapman Mortimer*, (European Group) moving a cut motion to raise a discussion on the subject, declared that this power given to Agents resulted in an effective withdrawal from the Railway Board of the control of very considerable sums expended on capital account. *Sir Andrew Clow* made a brief reply in which he said that Government would watch the results of the experiment of cutting down the limit of one lakh. Mr. Mortimer then withdrew his motion.

Mr. *James* moving his cut motion to discuss "the vagaries of the Grand Trunk Express running between Madras and Delhi" put the House in boisterous good humour. Mr. *J. H. F. Raper* (Member, Railway Board) replying, gave the assurance that Government would do their best to improve the running of the train and bring it in more punctually but he could not guarantee that it would run much faster. Mr. James's figures were, however, not quite accurate. As regards return tickets, he said that the difficulty was that the Nizam's State Railway did not have the system and had declined to introduce it but as the suggesion had been made it would be passed on to the Railways again. The motion was pressed to a division and passed by 34 votes to 32 amid loud cheering.

The increase in freights was discussed in detail on Mr. *Aney's* 'cut' motion which was lost by 49 votes to 19. Mr. Aney said that the avowed object of the increases in rates and fares was to provide funds for the reserve fund and to help the Finance Member by making contributions to the general revenues. At no time in previous years were freights put on such grounds. He could have understood if the increase was to balance a deficit budget but to provide a surplus of over eight crores in order to set aside money for the Reserve Fund was not sound finance. Mr. Aney compared the averages of the gross earnings of Indian Railways since 1924 and said that the average for 1924-25 and 1929-30 was Rs. 96.44 lakhs ; for 1930-31 and 1934-35, Rs. 84.89 lakhs : and for 1935-36 and 1938-39, Rs. 92.05 lakhs. The Communications Member was, this year, budgeting for an additional taxation of Rs. ten crores. This was really a crushing burden which the public could hardly bear. The Government were taking advantage of the war and are providing an incentive to profiteering instead of checking it. Sir *Andrew Clow*, replying said, that no one liked taxes or paying additional rates. Referring to coal, he said that actually the freight for the next eight months would be no higher than it was before 1935. Referring to statements that the increase in freights was the beginning of inflation, he said that he always understood that taking away the purchasing power of the people led to deflation and not inflation. Sir Andrew said that critics of the increase had not attempted to answer the three specific questions he had asked. Firstly, whether the railways should make their contributions to the general revenues and Reserve Fund or continue to be defaulters. The Railways had been defaulting for a number of years and it was right that they should meet their obligation now. Secondly, if it was agreed that the Railways should meet their obligations, could they do so otherwise than by enhancing freights ? He had seen no sound alternative suggested. Lastly, if the Railways did not make the contribution to the general revenues, was it realised that the general tax-payer would have to pay in other ways the money which would be wanted by the Finance Member to balance his budget ?

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* moved a cut motion to discuss the grievances of railway employees. He pleaded for the institution of an enquiry into the question of wages, hours of work, etc., on railways and referred to the question of the Provident Fund and asked what was the good of providing it for the high salaried people and denying it to the low-paid men. He wanted to know what was the Railway Board's programme and how much they were going to spend. Similarly, what was the good of giving a number of passes to high-paid men and not to the poor employees? The Communications Member, in his Budget speech, had said that railwaymen had been asked to make no sacrifice in wages when prices of commodities fell. That, said Mr. Joshi, was no argument against the grant of a war bonus. The House at this stage adjourned till the next day, the 25th. February when *Sir Andrew Clow* replying said that Mr. Joshi had made no effort to refute the suggestion that prices had not risen to the level they had reached when the bulk of the present wage rates were fixed. Mr. Joshi's real demand, however, was not for a war allowance but for an increase of a permanent character in order to raise the standard of living of the workmen to a level consistent with Mr. Joshi's ideas of a comfortable life. In other words, the railwaymen should have their share first irrespective of what was given to anybody else and irrespective of the aggregate amount of services and commodities available and the population that had to have a share of them. That was not a position which Government could accept, though they were prepared to look into special cases of hardship. He could not admit that merely because during the last few months prices of commodities had risen, the case for a war allowance had been proved. The motion was rejected without a division.

Sir Raza Ali moved a cut to raise a discussion on "the grievances of Muslims in railway service including their number by direct appointment or promotion and the inadequacy of steps taken by Government since 1926 to ensure the securing of the proportion fixed for the Muslim community. Sir Raza Ali said that serious injury to Muslim interests was inflicted by the process of promotion to the lower gazetted service. He asked the Railway Member to do away with this method and adopt the method of direct recruitment for intermediate grades which was in force in certain railways. He pleaded for the creation of an agency charged with the task of ensuring that the Government resolution on the proportion of Muslims in the services was adhered to in practice. He suggested the appointment of a Muslim either as Establishment Officer, Registrar or Superintendent to see that justice was done to Muslims. He preferred that officer should be an I. C. S. man. Mr. *Sivaraj* strongly pleaded the claims of the scheduled castes whom he represented. He knew, he said, that the reply would be a flung back at him that there were no qualified men from these castes. The fault, he declared, was not his community's but lay in the system of education and examinations which made it impossible for his community to have a straight and fair fight with other communities. If scheduled castes had a separate university such as had been given to Muslims, they would have produced as good and capable men as other communities. The tragedy was that, Hindus were merely content to count their heads for purposes of population, strength and for the rest leave them in the lurch. Muslims and Christians merely counted them as easy material for conversion while Europeans turned to them in times of emergency and considered them as cannon fodder. *Sir Andrew Clow* suggested that it was not unnatural that those who felt there were very few officers to look after them in the ranks above them should often attribute communal bias where no such bias existed. He had under him several officers of the majority community whom he could criticise on the ground that they were not willing to take strong enough action against incompetent members of other communities because they feared that it would be attributed to wrong motives. Nevertheless, the feeling of injustice whether it was well founded or not was one which all would like to dispel. He had, proceeded Sir Andrew, every sympathy with Mr. Sivaraj's plea because his community was under-represented; but Sir Andrew could not accept his assurance that proper men from that community were there whenever they were wanted. All one could do was to look forward to the day when they would be there and take a larger part in bearing the burden of administration. Coming to the question, whether the resolution of 1934 was being carried out, Sir Andrew said that was the precise point of the enquiry now being made by Mr. Desouza assisted by another officer. No doubt they would find in some cases that officers had made errors of judgment and errors of interpretation, but he had nothing before him to suggest that there had not been an honest and *bona fide* attempt to carry out the resolution. Criticising the

main demand put forward by Muslims during the debate, Sir Andrew said it amounted to this that, when two men had worked alongside in a service and when the chance of promotion came they were not to be treated alike but one of them who was perhaps less competent was to be promoted because he belonged to a particular community. That, he said, would have a disastrous effect on the sense of justice and on the efficiency of the service. Although Sir Raza had not quite realised it, his plan would have the effect of such discrimination in promotions. The demand for direct recruitment would result in another form of discrimination in promotions. It would mean that when a Muslim came up to the requisite seniority, there was no bar to his going ahead but when a member of another community came with equal deserts and had earned exactly the same promotion in exactly the same service aad was equally efficient, his promotion was to be withheld so that a man with no experience at all could be recruited from outside. The motion was pressed to a division and rejected by 48 votes to 16.

Mr. *Azhar Ali* raised a discussion on the condition of service in the railways and urged equal treatment and security of service to all employees. *Sir Andrew Clow* agreed that all servants should be treated alike and should be assured of security of service. It was 5 p. m. and the guillotine was applied and all demands were passed without a division. The Assembly then adjourned till the **28th. February.**

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

28th. FEBRUARY;—Simla's transference from the Punjab Government and its constitution into a centrally administered area were advocated in a resolution moved by *Bhai Parmanand* in the Assembly to-day, which, after over an hour's debate, permitted him to withdraw it.

Sir Ziauddin's resolution urging the appointment of a committee to formulate a sound policy of depreciation and capital expenditure was discussed at length and eventually withdrawn. The resolution ran thus:—"This Assembly views with alarm the policy of the Government of India in increasing the railway debts by meeting the so-called capital expenditure of an unremunerative character by fresh borrowing and recommends to the Governor-General in Council to appoint a Committee consisting of railway and account experts and non-official members of the Central Legislature to formulate a sound policy of depreciation and capital expenditure.

Sir Yamin Khan's resolution urging the Government to establish a picture gallery in New Delhi was also withdrawn after the Education Secretary, Sir *Girja Shanker Bajpai*, had assured the House that the Government would carefully examine the question when the proposal to establish a Museum in New Delhi was revived. The House then adjourned.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1940—41

29th. FEBRUARY:—The Central Budget as presented in the Assembly to-day showed a surplus of Rs. 91 lakhs for 1939-40 and a prospective deficit on the basis of existing taxation of Rs. 7,16 lakhs for 1940-41.

A settlement over the division of Defence expenditure has been reached with his Majesty's Government by which India will pay only normal peace-time cost of the Army in India adjusted for the rise in prices and the cost of India's own war measures together with a lump sum payment of one crore of rupees towards the extra cost of maintaining India's external defence troops overseas. The balance is to be recovered from his Majesty's Government. On this basis the total extra expenditure thrown on the Defence estimates payable by India is Rs. 3,76 lakhs in 1939-40 and Rs. 8,39 lakhs in 1940-41.

By the amendment of the Niemeyer Order in Council the entire railway contribution which has increased from Rs. 2,13 lakhs to Rs. 3,61 lakhs for 1939-40 and to Rs. 5.31 lakhs for 1940-41 will now go to the central Budget, while the provinces' share of income-tax will increase from Rs. 1,78 lakhs to Rs.2,38 lakhs for 1939-40 and to Rs. 3,00 lakhs for 1240-41.

The additional taxation in the central Budget is an increase in the sugar excise duty from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per cwt. and an increase in the petrol tax from 10 annas to 12 annas per gallon, both the increase to take effect forthwith.

To find the required amount of Rs. 7,16 lakhs, the Finance Member announced that he would first take the 1939-40 surplus of Rs. 91 lakhs. He next estimated the net yield of the excess profits tax at Rs. 3,00 lakhs. Finally, he proposed to obtain Rs. 1,90 lakhs by the increase in sugar excise duty and Rs. 1,40 lakhs by the increase in the petrol tax and balance the budget thus:—

Revenue	Rs. 92,64 lakhs.
Expenditure	Rs. 92,59 lakhs.
Surplus	5 lakhs

The following is a summary of the Budget statement of the Finance Member :—

The financial year 1938-39 closed on balance of Rs. 2,01 lakhs better than was anticipated in the revised estimates. This was mainly due to an increase of Rs. 78 lakhs in the yield of customs and central excise duties and of Rs. 1.24 lakhs from taxes on income coupled with a reduction of Rs. 50 lakhs in expenditure.

REVENUE 1939-40

Against an expenditure increase of Rs. 4,20 lakhs practically the whole of which has been on account of the defence services, revenue in the current year has improved by no less than Rs. 5,08 lakhs, so that instead of a nominal surplus of Rs. 3 lakhs, the year is now expected to end with a balance of Rs. 91 lakhs. Though with the out-break of war customs receipts registered a fall due to the interruption of trade with belligerent countries and the dislocation of shipping, there has since been an appreciable recovery and the total revenue from customs and central excise duties combined is now expected to be Rs. 1,14 lakhs better than the budget estimate. This is mainly due to larger receipts of Rs. 1,90 lakhs on account of sugar and of Rs. 1,22 lakhs from silver.

The total yield from all taxes on income is Rs. 1,55 lakhs higher than the budget estimate and the pool of divisible income-tax has consequently increased from Rs. 12,65 lakhs to Rs. 13,76 lakhs. The result is that the share of the provinces for 1939-40 will increase from Rs. 1,78 lakhs to Rs. 2.38 lakhs. This with the arrears of Rs. 41 lakhs from 1938-39, will make for a distribution this March of Rs. 2,79 lakhs as compared with Rs. 1,50 lakhs distributed last year. At the same time the net contribution from the State-owned railways, which has increased from Rs. 2,13 lakhs to Rs. 3,61 lakhs, will now go in its entirety to the central Budget.

The Posts and Telegraphs are expected to produce a surplus of Rs. 86 lakhs due to the increased traffic in the opening war months. Under the existing arrangement this surplus will accrue to general revenues, but as the losses incurred by the department in the previous year have now been repaid all but Rs. 7 lakhs, the net surplus of Rs. 79 lakhs will in effect form a reserve for the P. & T. Department on which interest will have to be paid.

War necessitated a review of the modernisation programme of the Army in accordance with the Chatfield Committee proposals. Discussions with his Majesty's Government to devise a settlement which would limit India's war liability to such measures as are within her financial capacity and have clearly been, or will be, taken for the defence of India itself and would at the same time be easily workable has resulted in, an agreement by which the whole of the Defence expenditure incurred by India will be apportioned between the two Governments as follows. India is to bear :—

(1) a fixed annual sum representing the normal net effective costs of the Army in India under peace conditions, plus

(2) an addition to allow for rises in prices, plus

(3) the cost of such war measures as can be regarded as purely Indian liabilities by reason of their having been undertaken by India in her own interests, and

(4) A lump sum payment of one crore of rupees towards the extra cost of maintaining India's External Defence Troops overseas.

The total amount by which the net annual Defence expenditure incurred in India during the war years will exceed the aggregate of items (1) to (3) will be recovered from his Majesty's Government.

The revised estimates of Defence expenditure for 1939-40 on this basis work up to Rs. 49,29 lakhs made up as follows :—

	Rs. (lakhs)
(1) Normal peace budget	36,77
(2) Effect of prices on (1)	25
(3) Indian war measures	3,86
(4) Non-effective charges	8,41
	49,29

Thus disregarding Rs. 35 lakhs due to disturbances in Waziristan, the balance of Rs. 3,76 lakhs represents the effect of the war on India's Defence budget for 1939-40.

The special war expenditure borne by civil estimates mainly on account of the controlling authorities set up by Government is estimated at Rs. 16 lakhs in 1939-40. Total expenditure comes to Rs. 86,85 lakhs against the revenue of Rs. 87,76 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 91 lakhs to be transferred to a Revenue Reserve Fund to help out the finances of 1940-41.

Revenue Estimates 1940-41

The estimates for ordinary revenue for 1940-41 amount to Rs. 85,43 lakhs as compared to Rs. 87,76 lakhs in the revised estimates for 1939-40.

The budget estimate for Customs and Excise combined is Rs. 4,07 lakhs below the revised estimate for 1939-40 due to reductions of Rs. 90 lakhs in the yield from the duty on sugar, of Rs. 1,20 lakhs in the Customs duty from silver, and of Rs. 1,97 lakhs on account of the shortfall in those goods the import of which has been seriously interfered with by the war.

The budget estimate of the yield from all taxes on income has been raised by by Rs. 1,41 lakhs over the revised estimate for the current year. Of this increase Rs. 1,24 lakhs goes to swell the divisible pool of Income-tax so that the share of the Provinces is expected to reach Rs. 3,00 lakhs, as compared with Rs. 2,38 lakhs this year.

The Defence budget for 1940-41 on the basis of the settlement with his Majesty's Government amounts to 53,52 lakhs made up of .—

		Rs. (lakhs)
(1)	Basis normal budget	36,77
(2)	Effect of rise in prices	2,00
(3)	India's war measures	6,59
(4)	Non-effective charges	8,16
		53,52

The total extra expenditure to be thrown on the Defence estimates payable by India as a result of the war, after excluding Rs. 20 lakhs, included in item (3) on account of Waziristan, is thus Rs. 8,39 lakhs.

Civil expenditure estimates have increased by Rs. 1,51 lakhs despite the exclusion of all new proposals that could not be regarded as unavoidable. Increases that are either obligatory or are counter-balanced by increased credits on the revenue side account for nearly half this amount. The special civil expenditure in connection with the war will amount to Rs. 37 lakhs in a full year, though against this Rs. 20 lakhs are expected to be realised from the fees charged by the Supply department.

The total expenditure estimates thus come to Rs. 92,59 lakhs while on the basis of existing taxation and including the increased Railway contribution of Rs. 5,31 lakhs, the estimated total revenue is Rs. 85,43 lakhs. The figures for 1940-41 are thus :—

				Rs. (lakhs).
Revenue	...	...	...	85.43
Expenditure	...	...	...	92.59
Prospective deficit	...	...	...	7.16

With the great improvement in India's balance of trade, the Reserve Bank have made large acquisitions of sterling which have enabled them to put considerable amounts at the Government of India's disposal for the repatriation of sterling debt. The liability on account of the Family Pension Funds transferred to England has been liquidated. The former scheme by which the Reserve Bank is authorised to purchase Indian sterling non-terminable loans in the open market and to transfer the securities so purchased to the Government of India for cancellation, has been re-opened. A further scheme has just been brought into force which extends the option of transfer to rupee loans to holders of all Indian sterling loans. So far the total value of sterling securities acquired for the purpose of debt repatriation is approximately £9 millions.

The Finance Bill

After the budget speech Sir *Jeremy Raisman* introduced the Finance Bill making the following provisions :—

Increase of the excise duty on sugar other than "Khandsari" of palmyra sugar from 2 Rs. to 3 Rs. per cwt. which will automatically increase the import duty by the same amount;

Increase of the excise duty on motor spirit from 10 annas to 12 annas per gallon;

Continuance for a further period of one year of the existing provisions regarding salt duty. The duty of Rs. 1/4 per maund on salt remains liable to the additional duty imposed under Indian Finance Act 1939;

Continuance for a further period of one year of the present inland postage rates;

Continuance for the further period of one year of the existing rates of income-tax and supertax except for a concession allowed in the case of cooperative societies.

This concession is contained in the following proviso:—"Provided that in the case of an association of persons being a co-operative society other than the Sanikatta Salt-owners Society in the Bombay Presidency, for the time being registered under the Co-operative Societies Act 1912, or under an Act of the provincial legislature covering the registration of co-operative societies, the rates of supertax for the year beginning on the first day of April 1940, shall be:—

1. On the first Rs. 25,000 of total income: Nil.
2. On the balance of total income: One anna in the Rupee.

INCOME-TAX AMEND. BILL

1st. MARCH:—The Assembly held a brief sitting lasting an hour during which it passed Mr. *S. P. Chambers'* Bill to amend the Income-tax Act and Sir *Jeremy Raisman's* Bill to amend the Reserve Bank Act so as to limit the number of shares of the Bank that an individual could hold to 200. Mr. Chambers (Income-tax Adviser to the Government of India) explained that his Bill was necessitated by a judgment of the Bombay High Court, holding that the Special Commissioner of Income-tax in Bombay and officers under him appointed under the Income-tax Amendment Act without reference to areas to deal with cases of special technical difficulty or cases in which several companies were inter-connected did not in fact have power to deal with these cases. This, Mr. Chambers pointed out, was due to a drafting defect which was being remedied in the Bill.

RESERVE BANK AMEND. BILL

Sis Jeremy Raisman, moving his Bill (Reserve Bank Bill) suggested that it was an instance of the truth of the saying that the Opposition were not always wrong and the Government not always right. (Laughter'). The Bill, he said, arose out of the acceptance by the Government of India of an argument advanced by the Opposition, which the Government were not prepared to accept during the passing of the Reserve Bank Act, that the provisions would lead to concentration of voting power in a few hands. Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member at that time, felt that the danger to which some members of the House referred was unreal and that the Bill provided sufficient safeguards against it. Experience, however, had convinced the Government of India that there was a definite danger that, unless special provision was made to limit the number of shares which could be held by individuals, the voting power would be so restricted as to be a source of danger. It had always been held by authorities in central banking, proceeded Sir Jeremy, that the shares of the central bank should be distributed as widely as possible, so that the policy and administration of it should not be dominated by sectional interests. The Bill was pased and the House adjourned till March 5.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

5th. MARCH:—The Assembly held a general discussion on the Budget to-day. Mr. *Aikman*, Leader of the European Group, opened the debate. He congratulated the Finance Member on his able and lucid review of the financial position of the country. India, said Mr. Aikman, was in a fortunate, if not unique, position, for the year was closing with a substantial surplus, which, considering that during the seven months of that year, the Empire was engaged in a deadly struggle, the consequences of which no man could foresee, was a testimony to the inherent strength of India's financial policy. He congratulated the Finance Member on the success he had achieved in reaching a settlement with His Majesty's Government on the principles to be followed in allocating between Indian revenues of His Majesty's Government the expenditure arising from the war. He hoped that the importance of the arrangement would not be lost on those who had reiterated so often the charge solely for imperial purposes. No one, he thought, would question the statement that if the Allies should lose the war, the calamity for India would be no less

than for other parts of the British Empire. In such circumstances, the arrangement was a generous one, particularly when one considered the large financial contributions now being made by the great Dominions.

Mr. *A. C. Dutta* thought that Mr. Aikman's speech showed that the time when Europeans and Indians would see eye to eye on many matters was not yet. What, he asked, was the policy of the budget and what was the foundation of that policy? With refreshing candour, the Finance Member had stated what in fact was the policy in the opening sentences of his speech in which he referred to the utilisation of Indian resources for the victory of the Allied cause, "on which alone rested the hope of our civilisation." The reply to that declaration, said Mr. Datta, had been given by the Patna resolution of the Congress Working Committee which declared that the exploitation of India's resources in the war was an affront which no self-respecting and freedom-loving people could accept or tolerate. The budget, proceeded Mr. Datta, was frankly a war budget, and it was economically unsound to try to balance it by normal taxation. If the Government required twenty crores for the war, would they take it by taxing commerce and industry in the country? He characterised under-estimation as a chronic disease with the Government, and declared that the budget was a surplus budget presented in the mask of a deficit budget.

Sir Yamin Khan endorsed the declaration that is was not really a deficit budget. The extraordinary expenditure necessitated by the war had made it a deficit budget. He invited the Finance Member to explain how India could utilise the opportunity for industrial development furnished by the war. He took objection to the petrol tax which, he said, would benefit the importers but penalise the consumers. In Delhi, he said the present price per gallon was Rs. 1-13-6 compared to Rs. 1-5 this time last year. He concluded with an appeal to the Government to take the House into their full confidence with regard to the Defence expenditure.

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* said that the outstanding feature of the budget was the additional expenditure of Rs. 8½ crores, which was to be met by additional taxation. The war had been declared without India's consent and Britain having denied self-government to India had the duty of defending India with British resources. If India was self-governing, she would have cheerfully borne the war burden. He complained against the suspension of the Indianisation Committee, and declared that there could not be joint responsibility between India and England as regards Indian defence. He opposed price control as regards exports, but was in favour of it internally in order that the masses might not be exploited. He supported Mr. Aikman's suggestion for the appointment of a committee of the House to scrutinise war expenditure. He also urged the appointment of a committee to inquire into the working of the Supply Department.

Sir *A. H. Ghaznavi* asserted that not one elected member of the House would support Mr. Aikman in his acceptance of the new taxation and other proposals. The Government, declared Sir Abdul Halim, had the people's support in their fight against Hitlerism, but not in their attempt to burden the country with which it could not bear. He contrasted the present policy with that laid down by Sir William Meyer, Finance Member, during the period of the last war, when he stated that war deficit should be met by borrowing, by a cut in salaries and by a tax on luxuries.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed commented appreciatively on the policy of transferring the sterling loan and suggested that the portion of the paper currency reserve now invested in sterling securities should be changed into gold. He advocated an increase in the rate of interest on the Post Office Cash Certificates and urged that the investments in these certificates should be used to finance pioneer industries, such as building of motor cars and steam ships, which had become indispensable. He quoted Sir Basil Blackett's observation that a tax on transport was a bad tax and proceeded to assert that, after imposing that bad tax no other taxation was necessary, for, the Finance Member's requirements of eight and half crores could all be met by increased railway earnings. Neither sugar nor excess profits need be taxed, he asserted. The latter Bill might be passed but he asked that it should not be enforced except when, and if more money was needed.

Prof P. N. Bannerji said that after the increased railway rates and the Excess Profits Tax Bill, the budget was the third taxation measure of the year. All the taxes would fall on trade and industry. For instance, sugar had been continually attacked since 1937 and was now in a state of collapse. The petrol duty would seriously affect the road transport trade. He criticised the alteration of the

Niemeyer proposals which would deprive the provinces of legitimate revenues. But the budget which made all these taxation proposals had no word to say about economy or retrenchment of expenditure. The budget, he said, was so bad that it should be thrown out.

Mr. *Shahban* said that the budget had caused more relief than anxiety. He emphasised, however, that, in the matter of price control, the country was still backward and half-hearted in its efforts. The willingness of the tax-payer to bear the increased burden, he said, would depend upon the protection which he received against the rise in prices in excess of enhanced taxes. He expressed surprise that a fruitful source of additional revenue like the export duty on jute had been overlooked by the Finance Member and said that the suspicion had been roused that jute had been left untouched in the interest of the foreigner but at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. He referred to the "joint responsibility" with regard to defence and said that the stipulation regarding India's share of the cost had created some doubts which he urged should be removed.

Mr. *K. K. Malaviya* said that the Finance Member spoke as if he belonged to this country but actually he became an Indian only for purposes of taxing Indians. The speaker could not congratulate the Finance Member on his budget but only on the lucidity of his speech. All the proposals in the budget were conceived with only one object and that was winning the war—a war, in whose declaration the country had no voice or choice and in the waging of which the people of the country were not trained by the Government. He closed with an appeal for a dearness allowance for the poor employees of the Government of India.

Dr. *Dalal* said that the budget was the best that could have been presented in the existing circumstances and reflected the Finance Member's sense of reality and determination to maintain India's credit. Dr. Dalal stressed the importance of the population problem and noted with appreciation that the next year's census would be proceeded with. Referring to defence, he suggested that the time was not inopportune to ask Indian States also to bear a part of the military expenditure and the loss on strategic railways.

Sardar Sant Singh said that, before bringing up taxation proposals, the Government should have told the House what the taxable capacity of the people was. The country was just emerging from long years of depression and the Government should have given it a chance to make up for the lean years. He bitterly complained about the scanty nature of information regarding the defence expenditure and said that like the United Kingdom, the Government should have taken the non-officials into its confidence.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, replying to the debate, said that he could not pretend to be other than gratified at the reception of his first budget both in the House and in the country. He trusted that he would not be accused of complacency, if he said that it was not merely the commendatory remarks made in the House, but it was the criticisms which re-inforced him in the feeling that there was really nothing seriously wrong with the proposals he had made. Dealing with the "old old argument" that the gap between revenue and expenditure should be met not by additional taxation but by borrowing he said that it meant in other words, it should not be met at all, for, one should not delude oneself with words. "If we spend more than our income and borrow the money we promise to pay another day," he added, "we do not solve the problem." It had been asked, the Finance Member continued, why India alone among the belligerent countries should aspire to such heights of financial purism and pay her way. The answer was simple. At the present moment India was able to pay her way. The only justification which would have convinced him for putting the cost of the war operations on to a succeeding generation was, that it was impossible to meet the cost at present. At the stage which India had reached and on the scale in which she was involved in war expenditure and having regard to the economic condition of the country, it was the plain duty of the Finance Member to meet that expenditure from current revenues. He did not say that would always be so. Obviously it was possible that military expenditure might reach a figure which was beyond this country's taxable capacity, but the Budget was based not on any attempt to forecast military developments of the next year but on actual commitments with regard to the defence which had already been undertaken. The Finance Member quoted relevant passages from his Budget speech to reinforce his thesis that the uncertainties of the present time were so great that the possibilities of error were particularly large and he was bound to take those possibilities into account. Dealing

with the charge of under-estimating the yield from the Excess Profits Tax Bill, Sir Jeremy pointed out the factors that must be kept in view in forecasting it and said that he took the estimate of three crores as the net additional revenue after allowing for the effect on income-tax and super-tax. That effect would be of the order of one crore and so, in order to realise the net three crores, the gross assessment of the Excess Profits Tax would be of the order of four crores. In other words, the total Excess Profits Tax which would be brought into assessment was eight crores of rupees. They would probably only be dealing with fragments of a year and he claimed with confidence that the estimate of three crores was by no means an under estimate.

The next point of criticism was the amendment of the Niemeyer Order in Council, which, it had been represented in certain quarters, amounted to a cheating of the provinces of their legitimate expectation. The Finance Member explained the framework of the constitution and pointed out that the circumstances had changed in a manner which Sir Otto Niemeyer could not have fore-seen. Sir Otto Niemeyer had naturally assumed, Sir Jeremy Raisman observed, that in a contingency such as the war, we would deal with the circumstances as they arose and would not necessarily adhere to the formula such as he had put forward. Under the Government of India Act, it was provided that, in a period which should not be less than ten years, the Centre should devolve to the provinces half the divisible income-tax but owing to the war, revenues from railways began to move up sharply and owing to the economic prosperity the yield of income-tax began to move up too and we were faced with a situation in which it was by no means impossible that, under the Niemeyer formula one half of the total divisible income-tax would fall to be distributed to the provinces from the third or the fourth year of the ten-year period and that the whole scheme which the framers of the constitution had drawn up, in order that the Centre might adjust itself to the devolution of income-tax representing eight or nine per cent of its total revenue was swept away in the course of a few months. The Finance Member claimed that that was a situation which was bound to be corrected and the manner in which it had been corrected was one which had done no injustice to the provinces. On the contrary, they would still be in the position of being benefited by the change. He did not mean that they would receive the amounts which they would have received by a blind application of the Niemeyer formula but if within the period of ten years the provinces were to work up to 6½ or 7 crores and since in the present year they were to receive something of the order of 240 lakhs, next year, the fourth of the ten years, they ought to receive 300 lakhs. He considered that they were being guaranteed a steady and satisfactory progression towards the end that the constitution had in view, namely, that by the end of ten years and not less, they should be in possession of half the divisible income-tax. The House at this stage adjourned.

Sale of Drugs Bill

6th. MARCH :—The Assembly discussed official Bills to-day. *Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai's* motion, that the time given for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to regulate the import, manufacture and sale of drugs be extended up to March 15, was agreed to, after the House had rejected by 42 votes to 25, *Maulvi Abdul Ghani's* amendment to extend the time up to June 30. In accordance with their decision, Congress members did not take part in the voting.

Coal Mines Safety (Stowing) Amend. Bill

The House passed *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill to amend the Coal Mines Safety (Stowing) Act so as to permit the use of the Stowing Board's funds to measures required to extinguish fires and strengthen boundaries between mines and prevent innundation of mines by water, in addition to the use of these funds for sand stowing.

Agricultural Exports Cess Bill

Sir G. S. Bajpai moved that the Bill to impose on the export of certain agricultural commodities a cess of half per cent *ad valorem* and to use the proceeds to make better financial provision for the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, be taken into consideration. Sir Girja Shankar explained the constitution and work of the Imperial Council and pointed out that its financial requirements for carrying on research work would amount to Rs. 15 lakhs a year. This sum, he suggested, was by no means exorbitant considering that the United Kingdom spent in one year an amount representing more than 80 lakhs of rupees on an

acreage of cultivated land which was less than one-tenth of India's. He made it clear that the Bill sought to make no change in the control at present exercised by the House over the activities of the Council, whose administrative charges would continue to come before the Assembly for voting in the ordinary way and the Assembly would be fully entitled to call the Council to account.

Mr. *Griffiths* joined on behalf of the European Group against the "haste with which the House was being asked to consent to a new financial imposition even without the matter being considered in a Select Committee". Some members feared that even the small cess might handicap India's export trade in the international market. Mr. *Numan* advanced the theory that the imposition on hides and skins would fall on Muslim traders and therefore was indefensible. In the end, Sir *G. S. Bajpai*, recognising the strength of the Opposition to an immediate decision and wishing to avoid bitterness, conceded the demand for a select committee.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

8th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced to-day. By 43 votes to 22, *Sir Raza Ali's* cut motion to "discuss the importance of initiating a decisive policy of training Indians to undertake the defence of the country and of establishing a defence advisory committee" was rejected.

Sir Yamin Khan then raised a discussion on the Indianization of the Army. He referred to his resolution of 1922 which he said had led to the announcement regarding the eight units scheme. He was opposed to that scheme then and opposed it now as he held that segregation of Indians was detrimental to India and Great Britain. His main reason for moving the cut was to prepare India to help Great Britain in the present War. The motion was, however, rejected without a division. The Assembly then adjourned.

Next day, the **11th. March**, the House held two important debates, one on the the Government of India's Frontier policy, and the second on the constitutional issue, initiated by Mr. *Aney*, to evoke from the Government a declaration of their war aims with particular reference to India. The alignment of forces in the two debates was of considerable interest. In the first, the Muslim League Party's passionate plea for independence for the tribesmen of Waziristan, on the ground that the Government of India had aggressive intentions towards them, found no support from Mr. Aney and other sections of the House. In the second debate, Congress Nationalists, found themselves in a position of similar isolation, though three Muslim members, Messrs. *Zafar Ali*, *Murtuza* and *Abdul Ghani* almost decided to defy the party whip and remained neutral until the last moment, when they rushed into the "Noes" lobby. Mr. *Caroe*, the Foreign Secretary, utilising Sardar *Sant Singh's* recital of a long list of murders, kidnappings and raids during the last twelve months, disclaimed any motive beyond that of safeguarding the lives and property of the people in the settled districts. For Pathans he had much admiration, especially for their loyalty to leaders and friends and their hospitality, but unfortunately they had the defect of intolerance towards men of other creeds. Imperfect and incomplete in some respects he admitted the Government's policy to be, but the destruction of the tribal civilisation was not their aim, nor had they any intention of setting up a regular administration of their own in Waziristan. The Muslim Leaguers allowed their own "cut motion" to be rejected without a division, though their speeches indicated strong censure of the Government. Then came Mr. *Aney's* demand for a declaration of war aims through a carefully prepared and closely reasoned statement, which Mr. *Griffiths* later commended for its studied moderation. But the speaker, on behalf of the European Group, could not appreciate the spirit of the market place which, according to him, had inspired the Congress Working Committee. "Deliberate, cold-blooded and materialistic" he declared the attitude of the Congress to be. Mr. *James*, intervening later, sought to soften the acerbity of Mr. Griffiths' attack. He regretted that Gandhiji's first views on the war had not been accepted by the Congress. The Muslim Leaguers took a somewhat different line. Mr. *Zafar Ali*, pointing to independence as the common aim of the Congress and the Muslim League, wondered if six Hindu and six Muslim leaders could not nominate a Constituent Assembly to decide India's future constitution. Sir *Raza Ali* had a long list of questions. What did independence mean ? What would be the procedure of the Constituent Assembly ? How would decisions be reached in it ? Why not appoint a tribunal to give a new Communal Award straightaway, instead of waiting for a Constituent Assembly ? Sir *M. Zafrullah Khan*, winding up the debate, made some intriguing reference to the "changed attitude of the British Government" and the reality of

freedom being within reach, if only there was the requisite courage and magnanimity to take it. The House then adjourned.

12th. MARCH:—The Assembly passed without a division *Rao Sahib Sivaraj's* cut motion to discuss "the indifferent attitude of the Government towards the welfare of the scheduled castes".

A concession in regard to the pensions of inferior servants of the Government of India was announced by *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, during the debate on Mr. *Joshi's* cut motion to discuss the grievances of Government servants. The *Finance Member* said that the period of forty years' service which at present was necessary before an inferior servant could draw the maximum pension was intended to be reduced to thirty-five years. In addition to this, he also intended to change the basis of determining the amount of pension so as to enhance the fraction of pay to be given as pension. As regards the special allowance given to inferior servants who moved between Delhi and Simla every year, this was proposed to be stopped in the case of those who would be permanently in Delhi, but the Government were considering the question of giving them some compensation. The migratory staff would be paid a suitable allowance during their stay in Simla.

Mr. *Chapman Mortimer*, moving his cut motion to discuss the taxation policy of the Government of India, suggested that policy had in the main been justified in spite of Congress attacks on it. Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar*, Commerce Member, after stating the Government's intentions regarding industrial development during the war, proceeded to declare that the export of commodities was intimately connected with the import. There could not be a one-way traffic with reference to trade. If the country wanted to export commodities it must import commodities. There was no use in relying on the supposed need of other countries for our products or on the supposition that our position as an exporting country was thus secure. There could be no question of self sufficiency in these matters. Mr. Chapman Mortimer withdrew his motion. At five, the guillotine was applied and the demands were all passed. The House then adjourned.

Excess Profits Tax Bill (contd.)

13th. MARCH:—The Assembly began a general discussion to-day of the Excess Profits Tax Bill as reported upon by the Select Committee. *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, commending the Bill to the House thought that the members would agree that the labours of the committee had borne substantial fruit. The consensus of opinion throughout the country, he said, was that the measure was now greatly improved and he gladly acknowledged the assistance he had received in the committee. Briefly explaining the changes made, the Finance Member said that the most important modification was the additional option given in the definition of standard period. This was a matter which engaged the anxious attention of the committee and it decided to include a new option, namely, the average of the years 1937-38 and 1938-39. The inclusion of this option extended to a large number of businesses the facility to adopt what was generally regarded as the level of high economic activity as a basis in determining standard profit. It was a change the importance of which could hardly be exaggerated and its effect on the incidence of the tax was very great indeed. Mr. *A. C. Datta*, in supporting the motion for consideration, said that some of the most objectionable features of the Bill had been removed by the select committee and he hoped that others would be remedied by the House now. Mr. *A. Aikman* said that to the ordinary assessee the principle of the Bill was the 50 per cent tax. The rest was merely complicated detail connected with its collection. Having known the Budgetary position, he proceeded, his group was satisfied that the estimate of Rs. 3,00,00,000 as the yield from the tax was not an under-estimate and that in consequence the rate was a fair one. From his knowledge of the jute industry which was one of the first to receive war contracts he knew that the expansion of business had been little more than to bring profits up to what might be considered normal rates. Sandbags which were such an important factor in fortifications during the last war had to-day been replaced to a considerable extent by more permanent structures consisting principally of concrete Mr. *M. Azhar Ali* complained that the definitions of companies and factories differed in the Bill from those in Company Law and the Factories Act. He presumed that the difference was due to the fact that the Government wanted to rope in the largest number of concerns. Mr. *Hussain Bhai Laljee* strongly pleaded for Indian traders abroad and asked what had the Government done to help those traders that

it should now tax them and unreasonably ? At this stage as there was no quorum, the House adjourned till the next day, the **14th. March,** when Sir *H. P. Mody*, after humorously commenting on the work of the "much-benighted select committee," pleaded the case of the cinema industry, the shipping industry and Sindhi merchants trading abroad, to all three of whom due regard should be paid. It was a matter of fundamental importance, declared Sir Homi, that in the administration of the Act, the right type of officers should be selected and the right type of appellate personnel constituted. He asked that special instructions be issued to the officers to exercise forbearance and indulgence and in all cases of doubt to give the benefit of it to the assessor. Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi* said that Indian Chambers of Commerce were opposed to the principle of the Bill. India was prepared to help the Government defeat Hitlerism and Stalinism. The Government wanted eight crores for this purpose and proposed to raise Rs. five crores by increased railway rates and fares and the balance of three crores by this tax. The three crores, he contended, should be obtained by other ways. Sir *Yamin Khan* argued that industries should be satisfied with six per cent profit and that Government in proposing to take only 50 per cent of excess profits had shown great consideration to industrial concerns. Mr. *Aney* asked that in computing standard profits the highest income of any one year should be taken into account and not the average of a number of years. Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, replying to the debate confined his remarks to the general aspects of the Bill. Referring to the repeated assertion that the Bill would tax other than war profits, he said that the principle was not taxation of profits which could be demonstrated to be due to the war. It was taxation of excess profits arising in war conditions because it was based on the principle of priority of taxation, namely, that the cost of additional defence measures should be borne in the first instance by those who in war conditions found themselves not worse off but better off. Sir *Zia-ud-Din Ahmed*, who represented a viewpoint with which he had the utmost sympathy, proceeded the Finance Member, was not satisfied with the additional option given to the taxpayer. The situation in which he found himself, said Sir Jeremy Raisman, was that there were certain industries which like many industries in Europe were earning substantial war profits during the period before war actually broke out. The bill as originally introduced was devised to tax those profits as well as profits which had accrued or would accrue after the outbreak of war. But, in the course of examining this question in the select committee, he came to the conclusion that there were also a number of industries and a large field of commercial activity in India which were comparatively unaffected by the quasi-war conditions which prevailed in Europe for a year or more before the war. Sir Jeremy felt he would be on stronger ground in basing the Bill on the broad principle of equity which would eliminate as many cases of hardship as possible. It would be better that the Bill be modified in the direction of greater equitableness, and if necessary and the needs later should so require it, the incidence of the tax should be increased in other ways. Although the relief and the advantage to certain concerns which had resulted from this important modification was substantial it was nevertheless counterbalanced by a great improvement in the equitable incidence of the measure. Referring to the machinery to administer the measure, he assured the House that he realized the importance of a measure of this kind being not only efficiently administered but administered in the proper spirit. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **15th. March,** and continued discussion on the Bill clause by clause till the **20th. March** when it passed the third reading of the Bill. Moving the third reading, Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, referred to the two main changes which the Bill had undergone during the consideration stage, namely, the raising of the exemption limit to Rs. 36,000 and the widening of the scope of clause 26 to cover certain additional types of cases to which the Central Board of Revenue could grant relief. With these amendments he felt that possibilities of genuine hardships had been greatly reduced. He gave the assurance that the administration of the Act would be carried out in the spirit which would be sympathetic to the growth of industry, particularly of new and pioneer industries (hear, hear). He was himself exceedingly anxious that everything should be done to encourage industry to take advantage of the opportunities provided by war and it was with that end in view that he was happy to place at the Commerce Member's disposal funds which could be used for research and pioneer work by the Board of Industry. In the same spirit he would himself supervise the administration of the provisions which had now been included in section 26 and he hoped to be able to secure that no damage was done to the

sensitive plants which might emerge in the earlier stage of the emergency period. And if it was found that in the working of this measure serious or unwarrantable hardship was caused to types of business, he would make it his duty to promote necessary amendments. The House then adjourned.

DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL (CONTD.)

21st. MARCH :—The *Finance Member*, in moving for the consideration of the Finance Bill to day, said that his budget speech contained the background of the financial proposals. Mr. *Ramsay Scott* gave figures to show that the total amount of sugar to be sold during this year together with the carry-over from the the previous season was perhaps 1.350,000 tons against the consumption figure for the country of just over one million tons. What was to happen to the balance, and what was Java going to do ? There was no room for Java imports and if she imported even small quantities she would depress the market while if she resorted to dumping to get rid of her surplus there would be a slump in sugar prices and crashes all round. One remedy might be the curtailment of production but that would affect provincial revenues and the U. P. Government representative was reported to have expressed himself against that remedy. Mr. Scott suggested the setting up immediately of a committee representing the Finance, Commerce and Agricultural Departments and Provincial Government representatives and two or three representatives of the sugar industry to investigate the effect of central and provincial taxation and excise on the industry and to stabilize sugar prices so that all interests might get a fair return. He also suggested that the increased excise should be brought into effect on sugar manufactured only after March 1. The Assembly at this stage adjourned till the **26th. March** when *Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi* strongly criticised the appointment of liaison officers and controllers in connexion with the supply of war material. These officers, he said, were all Europeans with only one exception. They were all drawn from the very trades which they were supposed to control. Sir Abdul Halim referred in particular the liaison officer in regard to the leather trade and said that hides and skins was a business in which Moslems had a monopoly and yet not one of them was consulted before this officer was appointed. Further, this officer who was an Englishman was now in a position to know all the trade secrets and all the hide merchants were at his mercy. Sir Abdul Halim said that there was no need for a new department of supply. He demanded the formation of Bengali units in the Army, and criticizing the All-India Radio declared that it was carrying on Congress propaganda. He objected to the discontinuance of Calcutta as a Haj port and asked for an assurance that it would be thrown open again to Haj traffic. *Sir G. S. Bajpai*, replying to the "long, dreary drip of disparaging declamation" of earlier speakers referred to the anxiety expressed by one of them about the Taj Mahal and gave the assurance that the Government fully realized that it was a legacy of beauty to all communities in the country and deserved the utmost care. He added that the superintendent in charge had during the Easter holidays assured him that there was nothing like imminent or immediate risk to the Taj. As regards the closing of the Port of Calcutta, he said that it was a temporary war measure and Haj pilgrims who would normally sail from that Port were given special facilities to travel to Bombay and sail from there. *Sir Ziauddin Ahmed* said that the Niemeyer Award needed revision. It might have suited the conditions at the time it was given but had now become unsuitable owing particularly to the change caused by the war, which had increased the expense of the central Government and brought down those of the provinces. He said that in the course of war every one in the country who was in a position to pay must pay and gave the warning that the people must get ready for a second and possibly a third Finance Bill during the year. He had not concluded his spe ch when the House adjourned.

REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES OF OVERSEAS INDIANS

27th. MARCH :—The Assembly considered non-official resolutions to-day. The Government accepted Mr. *Ghulam Bhik Nairang's* resolution urging steps to bring about the removal of disabilities of Indians in various parts of the British Commonwealth. The House passed the resolution amid cheers. Sir *G. S. Bajpai*, Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands, replied to the debate. Referring to Ceylon, he said that as soon as the Government of India heard of the projected emigration restrictions last year, the requisite approach was made and in August, the Governor of Ceylon declared that any definite proposal for restricting emigration would be referred to the Government of India and any legis-

lation would be reserved for His Majesty's pleasure. No approach to legislation of this type had yet materialized. As regards Burma, a strong representation on the subject of compensation arising from the riots had been addressed to the Secretary of State for Burma and as regards the general relations between the two communities in that country there had been some improvement and he could testify on the evidence of the Government of India's Agent in Burma that in the interior of the country the atmosphere was better than for some time. One of the most important pieces of legislation there related to land purchase but according to a report published this morning as a result of discussion a solution had been evolved which was not altogether unacceptable to the Indian community in Burma. But the Government had not given up the subject. A certain controversy, continued Sir Girija, had arisen with regard to Natal arising from the undertaking which the Indian community had given voluntarily abstaining from purchase of land in predominantly European areas, but the situation in South Africa generally with regard to the Indian question was so critical and the marshalling of political parties in the Legislature so evently balanced that we had to go very carefully indeed lest worse befall us. Last year, we were actually threatened with legislation to make segregation permanent but the present Ministry had given the assurance that it was not going to bring in any special legislation. All that it had done was to appoint a fact-finding commission in this situation. It was desirable that the paths of discretion and of prudence should be followed.

Modification of Fiscal Policy

Sir Raja Ali moved his resolution recommending the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to examine the present fiscal policy of the Government of India and recommend suitable modifications. He traced the evolution of the present policy of discriminating protection and said that honest doubts had arisen whether the Exchequer was not helping industries too much by giving them an amount of protection which was not justified by the circumstances of the case. He had not concluded when the House adjourned.

Debate on the Finance Bill (contd.)

28th MARCH ;—The Assembly continued the general debate on the Finance Bill to-day. *Sir Ziauddin* concentrated his criticism on the Department of Supply, particularly the appointment of advisers and liaison officers. He urged the abolition of the contracts directorate and pointed out that the Supply department could secure orders. He asked, however, that purchases should be made through the Indian Stores department. The Supply department, he demanded, should consist only of officials. He wanted that an announcement should be made with regard to the Indo-Japanese trade negotiations. The existing agreement was due to expire on March 31 and the Government must indicate their intentions and plans to deal with the period when no agreement would be there. Sir Ziauddin said the textitle industry was not entitled to have the protection both of high tariff duties as well as of import quotas. Either the one or the other should be removed. *Pandit K. K. Malaviya* declared that if there was any justification in any year for throwing out the Finance Bill it was this year. He charged the Government of India with a deliberate attempt to keep down the prices of agricultural commodities in India so that they could be exported to the United Kingdom as cheaply as possible. The Government, he asserted, wanted to stop exports of these commodities to neutral countries in order that an artificial depression in prices might be created for the benefit of the United Kingdom, He opposed the incresed sugar duty. Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* called upon the Finance Member to prove to the House that increased sugar duty would not adversely affect the manufacturer, the canegrower or the consumer and to explain why the sugar tariff board report had been shelved. In view of the surplus in the budget he urged the Finance Member to consider the desirability of raising the exemption limit with regard to incometax from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2000. Mr. Lalchand said that the slab system was introduced last year as an experiment and he suggested that the surplus was possibly the result of that system. If so, some relief was due to the incometax payer. He urged the reduction of the salt duty from Rs. 1-4 to Re 1 and objected to the reduction in the salt import duty. He pressed for the establishment of a radio station at Karachi and the development of telephone communication in the interior and pleaded for greater representation of Sindhis in the services. Mr. *Azharali* said that the annual sessions of the Congress and the League were to be held in Ramgarh and Lahore and that they would bring more revenue to the railways,

Why then, he asked, did Government raise the rates and fares. The demand for declarations of Government's intentions with regard to India was, in his opinion, useless, because declarations had been made on many occasions before. right from the time of Queen Victoria, but had been treated as scraps of paper. What was required was unity in the country and if that was achieved, a small constituent assembly of eleven members would be sufficient to frame the constitution. *Maulana Zafar Ali* declared : It is the duty of every civilized Government to see to it that not one of its subjects starves, that bread is supplied to every man and woman in this country—not bread with butter, because butter is scarce—but only bread. Has any census been taken of the number of people who are starving ? Is there a poor house in India ? If not now, at least after the war, let the Finance Member make provision in the budget for an old age pension for everyone in India above 60 years of at least Rs. 10. (Laughter.) People would be prepared to tax themselves for this but not for the palatial Government buildings. Does the Finance Member know the rate of unemployment, that Madras graduates are selling betels, and Bombay graduates are shoe-blacks." Sir *Jeremy Raisman* began by emphasizing the extreme uncertainty of the prospect which faced the country in the year ahead. The budgetary policy, he declared, was one which would ensure the financial stability of the country in the face of the probable adverse influences and enable it to withstand the shocks she might receive. He repudiated the charge of underestimation of revenue and pointed out that if that was true, none would have expected some large surplus emerging, unless expenditure also had been greatly expanding. But actually, during the three years preceding the current year, the figures of revenue collected and the actual expenditure charged to that revenue showed surpluses of Rs. 121 lakhs, 172 lakhs and Rs. 174 lakhs respectively, which were insufficient to provide for the three crores of sinking fund each year. Nor had expenditure increased greatly during these years. Sir Jeremy went on to stress the fact that the criterion of a budget was whether the general result was reasonably close to the original estimate. He asserted that the present policy must be to facilitate and ensure the fullest and most effective utilization of India's economic resources for the purpose of winning the war and coupled with the measures taken to ensure that end there must be due regard for the necessity of placing the country in the strongest possible position after the emergency. He was sure these were the main objectives which must be kept in view throughout. He criticized those who talked on the one hand of the exploitation of India for the benefit of the Allies and complained that India was not being given full opportunity to cater to the requirements of the Allies. Defending the sugar duty and the petrol duty, he asked his critics to suggest alternatives and declared that the additional taxation of luxuries must be ruled out because they were in the nature of uncertain sources. He reiterated the view that sugar, more particularly in India than elsewhere, was the vehicle for an important revenue tax. He said that he was fully aware of the difficulties of the industry but it was clear that the price of sugar had been maintained for an unduly long time at an unjustifiably high level and high prices maintained at the sacrifice of the consumer had led to the high prices of cane and the industry found itself involved in a vicious circle. He contended that a change was bound to come about in the conditions of the production and the marketing of sugar and that change was inevitable whether the excise duty was maintained unchanged or increased or reduced. The House passed the motion for consideration and on the next day, the **29th. March**, an attempt to fix the petrol duty at ten annas instead of twelve was made by *Maulvi Abdul Ghani*. Sardar Sant Singh, Maulana Zafar Ali and Mr. M. S. Aney, who supported Maulvi Ghani, complained of high prices of petrol and urged price control. They argued that the enhanced duty would hit industries hard. Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, replying, pointed out that the use of petrol for stationary engines in industries was a negligible fraction of the total and it was in his opinion not a consideration which should carry any weight in dealing with the increase of duty. As for the question of high petrol prices, here, as in the case of sugar, questions of that kind were not directly relevant to the Finance Bill. He was not prepared to accept that it would be open or justifiable for the Government to attempt any far-reaching scheme of regulation. *Maulvi Abdul Ghani's* amendment was negatived as also Mr. Lalchand Navalrai's amendmend to fix the duty at eleven annas. Efforts were made by Mr. *Navalrai* and *Maulvi Abdul Ghani* to reduce the price of postcards and to raise the income-tax exemption limit from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,000 but failed. Moving that the Bill as amended be passed, Sir Jeremy Raisman expressed gratification that the House had been so reasonable

in dealing with the Bill. Maulvi Abdul Ghani, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai and Mr. Aney opposed the motion. The Finance Bill, it will be recalled, had been thrown out at the first or second reading stages during the last five years. The Bill, with one amendment exempting sugar produced upto February 29 from the enhanced duty, was passed without a division to-day.

British Subjects' Defence Service Bill

1st. APRIL :—Unusually excited scenes were witnessed to-day when the Bill relating to military service by European British Subjects in India came up for discussion. The House divided no less than four times. Once on a closure motion, as feelings ran high and elected members opposite seemed determined to fight for certain questions of principle raised in the Bill. The Division List disclosed that with the exception of Mr. Shahban and Raja Kushpalsingh, who generally sit with Official Members, all Indian elected members belonging both to the Muslim League and the Nationalist Party voted together against the measure on the ground of principle. Commenting on Government's refusal to amend the bill Mr. *L. K. Maitra* satirically cried, "They should be given a riding allowance for riding roughshod over our wishes". Mr. *Jafar Ali* deplored the absence of Congress members and said, "If they had been here, they would have made you dance." On the other hand, one Nationalist Member regretfully observed, "We find it increasingly difficult for decent people to be here." The main objections to the bill were three, according to the trend of to-day's debate. Firstly, Government was charged with racial discrimination as the Bill provided opportunities of military service only to Europeans, and not to Indians also. Mr. *Ghiasuddin* referred to the fact that the Bengal, the Punjab and Sind legislatures had agreed to help Britain in war, and bitterly asked, "Why don't you include Punjabis, Bengalis and Sindhis in the Bill ?" The second objection was inclusion of European British Subjects belonging to the Dominions and colonies. This was vehemently opposed as a calculated affront to Indian nationhood, as the Bill proposed to give facilities for military service to people coming from territories, where Indians were treated as "worse than animals". The third objection was to the words "National service" used in the Bill. This was criticised as a misnomer by Mr. *Aney*. There was nothing according to him National about it. The motion for consideration of the bill moved by Mr. *A. De. C. Williams*, Defence Co-ordination Secretary, was pressed to a division and passed by 41 votes to 22, the Moslem League and Congress Nationalist Party members joining to vote against it and the European group, nominated and Government members voting for the motion. The third reading of the bill was passed by 40 votes to 12.

Defence of India Amend. Bill

The bill to amend the Defence of India Act in order to provide among other things, for the prevention of the spread of reports or prosecution of purposes prejudicial to His Majesty's relations with foreign powers was next taken up. Mr. *Williams*, moving consideration of it, explained objects, and added that the provisions of the Act were proposed to be extended to Indian states and tribal areas. Sardar Sant Singh, Maulana Zafar Ali and Pandit L. K. Maitra opposed the bill. *Sardar Sant Singh* dealt at length with the working of the Act in the provinces, and said his information was that it was being used by Provincial Governments to oust their political opponent. In the Punjab alone, there were already 300 convictions under the Act. He urged the appointment of a committee to enquire into the working of the Act. After referring to the action taken against Prof. Ranga, he said that Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons gave the assurance that Government would devise machinery to keep a check on the executive in matters of externment and internment of individuals. Sardar Sant Singh asked the Government of India to do likewise. *Maulana Zafar Ali* said he was at one with the Government if the bill was used against those who obstructed the prosecution of the war, but his grievance was that the Act was being used against persons holding advanced political views. Pandit *Maitra* charged the Government of India with failure to carry out the undertaking to keep a careful watch on the Provincial Government's use of the powers under the Act. In Bengal, there had been 539 convictions under it, and the press had been muzzled. The provisions had been distorted and made applicable to cases to which they did not in fact have any reference. He asked why the act was being extended to the tribal areas. The debate had not concluded, when the House adjourned.

Agricultural Produce Cess Bill

2nd. APRIL :—The Agricultural Produce Cess Bill, as reported upon by the Select Committee, was taken up for consideration to-day. *Sir G. S. Bajpai*, moving that the Bill be taken into consideration, replied to certain criticisms made on the Bill since the debate on its reference to Select Committee. He said firstly the incidence of the proposed cess would in no case rise even to one pice per unit involved and secondly, since the introduction of the Bill, the prices of agricultural produce as shown by index prices had suffered no adverse effect. Thirdly, the proposed cess of half per cent advalorem was well below the rate of cess already levied in the case of other commodities such as jute, rice, coffee. Applying these three tests, therefore it was not reasonable to argue that this modest cess for the benefit of the agriculturist was going to operate as a handicap to him. Sir Girja Shankar gave the assurance that the right to ask questions and move resolutions with regard to all matters pertaining to the activities of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for whose financial benefit the cess would be levied would not be abated one jot or tittle because of the passing of the Bill. He also assured the House that the effect of the Act on export trade would be watched and pointed out that the Government had power to remove from the list of commodities on which the cess would be levied anything which was adversely affected by the cess. Maulana *Zafar Ali* urged the need for facilities for export of agricultural commodities and declared that the Government had not done enough to secure a sufficient supply of manure to agriculturists. He suggested a prohibitive duty on the export of manure. Mr. *Nauman*, opposing the Bill, said that though the incidence of the cess might be low, the principle of the levy was in itself objectionable. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, he said, should not be looked upon as a commercial concern but should have its expenses met from the Central Exchequer. Mr. *J. D. Boyle* (European Group) asked whether the cess would apply to commodities already ordered before the introduction of the Bill but not yet shipped. He urged that the Government should reconsider the list of articles on which the cess was proposed and drew attention to the case of pepper, groundnuts and cashew nuts which, he asked, should be exempted. Sir *Zia-ud-din Ahmed* did not object to the principle of levying the cess but pleaded that it should be examined by a competent committee of the merchants concerned. He pleaded that the House should have time to discuss the rules under the Act, and should be given the assurance that the powers of the Legislature over the affairs of the Imperial Council were not diminished and periodical reports of the working of the Act should be placed before the members. Pandit *K. K. Malaviya* supported the Bill but suggested that waste cotton should also be included in the list because it was an important article which every country in the world was at present conserving. Sir *G. S. Bajpai*, replying, pointed out that a prohibitive export duty on manure such as had been suggested would meet only an insignificant part of the money required but he gave the assurance that the Imperial Council would consider the suggestion for conserving the supplies of manure. He assured Mr. Boyle that the position of commodities bought before the Bill was introduced would be sympathetically examined. He thought that it should be possible to give relief if it was found to be due. During the second reading, Sir *G. S. Bajpai* accepted two amendments moved by Mr. *Nauman* for the omission from the list of raw hides cuttings and raw skins cuttings, and the Bill, with this change, was passed.

Insurance Act Amend. Bill

The House then passed Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill to amend the Insurance Act with two important changes, which were explained by the mover. The first, said Sir Ramaswami, confined the rights of reciprocity to insurance companies in Indian States instead of extending them, as originally proposed in the amending Bill, to companies outside India also. He accepted this restriction in view of certain apprehensions expressed by insurance companies with regard to the extension of the reciprocity provisions beyond India. Secondly, with regard to actuarial valuation by which the Government under the Act had to satisfy themselves about the soundness of companies before permitting them to amalgamate, he accepted the suggestion that if one of the companies had a standing which was well-known to the Government, a fresh actuarial valuation should not be necessary and the last actuarial report, provided it was not more than five years old, should be considered sufficient for the purpose of amalgamation. Mr. *L. C. Buss* and Mr. *Nauman* welcomed the Bill which was passed.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX BILL (CONTD.)

The House also assented to the amendments made in the Council of State to the Excess Profits Tax Bill.

PARSI MARRIAGE & DIVORCE ACT

Earlier in the morning, the House, on Sir *H. P. Mody's* motion, passed the Bill to amend the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act as passed by the Council of State.

TARIFF ACT AMEND. BILL

4th. APRIL :—*Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar*, in moving for consideration of the second Tariff Bill to-day, explained why duties on wheat and broken rice were being continued for another year and those on silk for another two years. Referring to wheat, the Commerce Member said that the question bristled with difficulties. Soon after the outbreak of war, one set of opinion in India wanted price control while another wanted no control particularly with regard to agricultural commodities. In between these two sets of opinions, there was the question of retaining the import duty on wheat. It was pointed out that the duty artificially raised the price of wheat and that shipping difficulties and current prices of that article could adequately protect the interests of the cultivator. Taking the long range view, however, the Government decided to continue the duty for another year. As for silk, the Commerce Member said that the report of the Tariff Board was submitted to the Gorvernment in January last year. It was then too late for the Government to reach a decision and bring up the necessary legislation during the budget session. Since then war had broken out and had radically changed the conditions on which the recommendations of the Tariff Board were based. It was found that due to import difficulties, the prices of silk were already higher than were regarded fair prices by the Tariff Board. In fairness to the industry, the Government had decided to continue the existing duties for a further period of two years. The Bill was passed.

THE DRUGS BILL

5th. APRIL :—The Assembly to-day passed the Drugs Bills. During discussion of the clauses, on Pandit *L. K. Maitra's* motion, the House agreed to the enlargement of the Drugs Technical Advisory Board by the addition of an elected representative of the Central Council of the Indian Medical Association and an elected representative of the branches in India of the British Medical Association.

As the result of a compromise, a new clause was added, providing for the constitution of a Drugs Consultative Committee. The House agreed to the proposal made by *Pandit Maitra* and accepted by Sir *G. S. Bajpai* that the two schedules to the Bill should be brought together into one single schedule and consequential changes were made in the relevant Clauses 7 and 15. The Bill, as amended, was passed.

MINES ACT AMEND. BILL

The House then passed Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill to amend the Indian Mines Act.

PETROLEUM ACT AMEND. BILL

The Commerce Member's Bill to amend the Petroleum Act was taken up and had not been disposed of when the House rose for the day.

MOTOR VEHICLES ACT AMEND. BILL

6th. APRIL :—The Budget session of the Assembly concluded to-day. The House passed *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's Pertroleum Bill* and *Sir Andrew Clow's Bill to amend the Motor Vehicles Act.* The House was then prorogued.

The Bengal Legislative Council

LIST OF MEMBERS

President :—Hon'ble Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra
Deputy President :—Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury

Elected Members

Shrish Chandra Chakravarty
Kanai Lal Goswami
Rai Manmatha Nath Bose Bahadur
Rai Satish Chandra Mukharji Bahadur
Ranjit Pal Chowdhury
Rai Sahib Jatindra Mohan Sen
Rai Brojendra Mohan Maitra Bahadur
Rai Keshab Chandra Banerjee Bahadur
Rai Sahib Indu Bhusan Sarker
Lalit Chandra Das
Alhadj Khan Bahadur Shaikh Muhammad Jan
Khan Bahadur Naziruddin Ahmad
" " S. Fazal Ellahi
" " Ataur Rahaman
Humayun Reza Chowdhury
Khan Bahadur Mukhlesur Rahman
" " Mohammed Asaf Khan
" " Mohammad Ibrahim
Alhadj Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mohammad Esmail
Khan Bahadur Kazi Abdur Rashid
" Sahib Abdul Hamid Chowdhury
" Bahadur M. Abdul Karim
Moazzemali Choudhury (*alias* Lal Mia)
Khorshed Alam Chowdhury
Khan Bahadur Syed Mohammad Ghaziul Huq
Khan Bahadur Rezzaqul Haider Chowdhury
Nur Ahmed
H. C. A. Hunter
W. F. Scott-Kerr
W. B. G. Laidlaw
Dr. Radha Kumud Mookherjee
Khan Sahib Subidali Molla
Kamini Kumar Dutt
Mohammed Hossain
Amulyadhone Roy
Rai Radhica Bhusan Roy Bahadur
H. G. G. MacKay
J. B. Ross
H. P. Poddar
Bankim Chandra Datta
Naresh Nath Mukherjee
Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan
Sachindra Narayan Sanyal
Hamidul Huq Chowdhury
Mesbahuddin Ahmed
Kader Baksh
Saileswar Singh Roy
Narendra Narayan Roy
Hon. Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra
Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain
Narendra Chandra Datta
Humayun Kabir
Raja Bhupendra Chandra Sinha Bahadur of Nashipur
Nawabzada Kamruddin Haidar
E. C. Ormond
Khan Bahadur M. Shamsuzzoha
Rai Surendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur
Begum Hamida Momin
K. D'Rozario
Krishna Chandra Roy Chowdhury, M.B.E.
Latafat Hossain
Dr. Arabinda Barua
Dr. J. Cohen

January Session—Calcutta—3rd. January to 19th. January 1940

The Bengal Money-lenders' Bill

The Bengal Legislative Council commenced its January Session in Calcutta on the **3rd. January 1940** after the X'mas recess and took up the further consideration of the Bengal Money Lenders Bill, 1939. The House disposed of a large number of amendments moved by the opposition and the Coalition Party relating to the Explanatory clause of the Bill, (clause 2). Amendments of the opposition were all lost without any division while two or three amendments of minor importance moved by the Coalition Party were accepted by the Hon'ble Nawab *Musharuff Hussain*, Judicial Minister, and passed. The consideration of a few amendments relating to the definition of the word 'loan' for the purpose of the bill tabled by both sections of the House were postponed at the request of the Government. To-day's discussion was dull, which was practically confined between the mover of an amendment and the Hon'ble the Minister. The amendments relating to clause 3 of the bill which dealt with 'notified bank' for the purpose of this bill was also postponed. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **4th. January**, when it passed as many as 11 clauses (clauses 4 to 14) with few amendments. Though large number of amendments stood in the name of different members belonging to either section of the House, only a few

were moved. There was no debate on any of them and the discussion was confined between the Hon'ble Minister, *Nawab Musharuff Hossain* and the mover of the amendments. A few amendments of the Coalition Party suggesting changes in the draft of the clauses were accepted by the Hon'ble Minister and were passed. There were two divisions on amendments moved by the Congress party and on each occasion the Congress sustained defeat by a difference of about 20 votes.

BOUNDARIES OF BENGAL

5th. JANUARY :—Non-official resolutious were discussed in the Council to-day. A resolution urging the Government to move the authorities concerned for obtaining an order-in-council under the provisions of Section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935, for altering the boundaries of the province of Bengal on the basis of linguistic affinities, and the re-union of all Bengali-speaking areas in the province of Bengal, was discussed. It had been moved by Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutt* and partly discussed before the Christmas recess. Intervening in the debate, the *Chief Minister* said that, in his opinion, the real object in moving such a resolution was not to secure administrative efficiency, but to get rid of the Muslim majority in Bengal. The resolution was lost without a division.

LAW & ORDER IN BENGAL

An assurance that the Ministry were determined to maintain law and order in the province and that they would at once take steps if they found that Muslim masses were really going out of control, was next given by the Chief Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, in the course of a debate on a non-official resolution moved by Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* (Congress), on the communal tension in Noakhali district. Mr. Das's resolution urged the appointment of a committee with the power to take evidence, to enquire into the causes of strained relations between Hindus and Muslims in the district of Noakhali and to suggest remedies. The resolution was discussed on the **12th. January**, the next non-official day, when the Congress party strongly argued that sufficient materials had been placed before the Council to cause an inquiry by the Government and emphasised that the leaders of the Muslim community had been given unrestricted liberties as a result of which Hindus of Noakhali, who were in hopeless minority, had been terrorised and were suffering immensely in silence. In reply to these allegations against the present Government of Bengal, the *Home Minister* and the coalitionists maintained that the charges were baseless, malafide and had been made merely as a counter-blast to the charges made by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister of Bengal, (Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq) against the Congress Governments. The resolution when put to vote was declared lost. No division was called for. This was followed by the consideration of the non-official Bills.

BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS' BILL (CONTD.)

8th to 11th. JANUARY :—The Council resumed discussion on the Moneylenders' Bill on the **8th. January** and continued it till the 11th to decide if money-lending was a mere subsidiary function of a bank, or a primary one. The matter arose out of a point of order raised by a member of the Progressive Party on the 8th as to whether it was within the competence of a Provincial Legislature to legislate on banking which was federal subject. The hon. *Nawab Musharaff Hossain*, Minister in charge of the Bill, maintained that the provincial legislature had every right to legislate on the regulation and control of money-lending in Bengal. Whether the transaction was between an individual and an individual, or between an institution and an institution, money-lending was merely a subsidiary function of a bank, and as such it could be dealt with by the Provincial Legislature. Dr. *Radha Kumud Mookerjee* (Congress) argued that money-lending was the very life and breath of a bank, and was an integral part of a bank's function. Mr. *C. E. Ormond* of the European Group suggested that the Government should refer the matter to His Excellency the Viceroy in order that he might obtain the opinion of the Federal Court on the matter. The hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Commerce and Labour, remarked that Mr. Ormond's suggestion might be "a way out," but, he added, no such convention had been created. He did not think it would be wise to refer the matter to the Governor-General for the opinion of the Federal Court. Speaking on the point of order, Mr. *Kaminikumar Dutta*, Leader of the Opposition, said that while he admitted that it was one of the functions of a bank to lend money, he would like to point out that the Bill was *intra vires* of the Provincial Legislature. Dr. *Radha Kumud Mookherjee* (Congress) remarked that money-lending as such could be controlled by a Provincial Legislature, provided lending of money was

pursued not by corporations and banks, but by individuals in the course of their ordinary avocations. But if money-lending was carried on by corporations, then the subject passed out of the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature into that of the Central. The *President*, giving his ruling on the 18th. **January** on the point of order that the Bill was *ultra vires* of the provincial legislature, inasmuch as it sought to deal with the conduct of banking business by corporations which was an item in the exclusive Federal List, gave the benefit of doubt in favour of the contention that the bill was *intra vires* of the provincial legislature and held that discussion of the clause in reference to which the point of order had been raised might be proceeded with. The point of order was raised by Mr. *Indu Bhushan Sarkar* (Progressive) before the Christmas recess in reference to Sub-clause 13 (d) (1) of Clause 2 of the Bill which includes within the purview of the Bill loans advanced by banking corporations other than scheduled and notified banks. The point of order was allowed to be discussed by the President for two days in which all sections of the House participated. The President gave the following ruling :—"I have given most anxious consideration over this matter and considering all aspects of the question I have come to the conclusion that when I am not free from doubts in my mind, I am not in a position to hold that the matter is outside the scope of the provincial legislature. Unless in my mind it be indisputably clear that the provision of the Bill relating to banks is beyond the jurisdiction of the provincial legislature without any reasonable doubts, I shall not by my ruling deprive the Council of the opportunity to discuss any clause on merits and arrive at its own decision. In the circumstances, I give the benefit of doubt in favour of the contention that the Sub-clause referred to in the point of order is *intra vires* of the provincial legislature. The discussion of the clause referred to in the point of order may accordingly be proceeded with." On the **17th January**, the President disposed of another point of order raised in connection with the consideration of the Bill. The point of order was that since promissory notes were specially mentioned in the exclusive Federal List the matter was beyond the jurisdiction of the Provincial legislature. The opposition contended that money-lending and negotiability were the two most important functions of a promissory note which were affected by some of the provisions of this Bill. It was argued on behalf of the Government that promissory notes did not necessarily deal with money-lending. In giving his ruling, the *President* pointed out that it was evident that a promissory note need not necessarily be based on money-lending as the consideration of such a sum need not be a loan. The bill in its present form might hamper to a certain extent the negotiability of such a note but it did not prohibit its negotiability. The President held that the provisions of the Bill on which the point of order had been raised were not *ultra vires* of the provincial legislature. The Council then adjourned till the next day, the **19th. January** when the Bill, as settled, was passed. The Bill was piloted by the Hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* in the Assembly last year and the Hon. *Nawab Musharuff Hossain* carried it through in the Council. The Bill principally aimed at to give relief to the poor agriculturists who had been oppressed and suppressed on account of heavy interests charged by the mahajans of the province. By this bill. the maximum rates of interest to be charged for loans other than commercial loan, debentures, and money advanced by the co-operative societies, and Banking organisations had been fixed at 10 and 8 per cent respectively for the unsecured and secured loans. The other important provision made in this bill was to provide for easy instalments to repay the loans. While giving their support to the measure so far as the general principle underlying the Bill was concerned, the Congress Party criticised the ministry for having given the retrospective effect of the Act, for excluding debentures, aud for making 'invidious' distinction between banks and other societies etc. The Congress Party further by way of amendments wanted to reduce the maximum rate of interests. The above provisions, they feared, might affect the credit system of the province. The Government and their supporters, on the other hand, maintained that they had tried their level best to make the measure up to the line as far as possible and denied that the Bill would affect the credit system of the province in any way.

Budget Session—Calcutta—16th. February to 2nd. April 1940

General Discussion of the Budget

The Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Council commenced on the **17th. February 1940** when the Hon'ble Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, **Finance Minister**,

presented the Budget estimates for the year 1940-41 whereafter the House adjourned till the 21st. February when the general discussion of the Budget took place. The debate was initiated by Khan Bahadur *Sayed Muzzemuddin Hossain* of the coalition party. The Khan Bahadur said that the budget as presented did not disclose initiation of any ambitious scheme as admitted by the Finance Minister himself and then he ascribed it as due to financial strigency and in view of the war condition in Europe. Mr. *J. B. Ross*, while congratulating the Finance Minister for the very able way in which he had formulated the budget estimates for the current year, suggested that the Government should make arrangement for suitable propaganda to enlighten the rural population about their franchise rights. Mr. *Radha Kumud Mukherjee* (Congress) remarked that the real clog in the wheel of Bengal's progress was the hopelessly inadequate allotment of revenue to this province by the Centre. As a result of extremely unjust financial adjustment against Bengal, the province was having deficit budgets since 1921. By this process, she had suffered a loss of ten crores of rupees and this money had to be found by means of additional taxation. Naturally, with such inadequate resources, deterioration was bound to occur in every department of the nation's activities. Mr. Mukherjee pointed out how Bengal showed badly in the matter of expenditure on education, health, medical and other nation-building departments in comparison with Bombay and Madras. This, in spite of the fact that Bengal was the richest of all the provinces with a total gross revenue of 38 crores of rupees. He suggested that every party in Bengal, irrespective of their political creed, should strive unitedly to obtain from the Central Government full financial justice to the province. Mr. *Humayun Kabir* (Krishak-Praja) remarked that the budget was not only extremely conservative but was reactionary. The Finance Minister had not only not conserved the progress already made in some of the nation-building departments but had in some instances actually gone back. It had been said that slump always followed in the wake of war. That might be true. At the present moment, however, Bengal was in a fortunate position financially on account of war. There was no reason why, anticipating a future slump, they must curtail their expenditure on nation-building departments. It was permissible to argue that to-day they might be suffering from adversity but they might have prosperity in the future and in view of that they should have increased expenditure in the nation-building departments. Next day, the 22nd. February, Mr. *Ranjit Pal Choudhury* (Congress) also condemned the proposal for further taxation, which, he said, was "inequitable, unjust and cruel". He was not opposed to further taxation on principle, but his point was that the money derived from this source should be spent for the benefit of the people. Mr. *Kader Baksh* (Coalition) was surprised that the Finance Minister had presented a deficit Budget in spite of the fact that the present economic outlook was brighter than had been the case at any time during the last 10 years. Examining the Budget proposals, he said that the provision made for education, particularly primary education, was most inadequate. Referring to the irrigation budget, on behalf of the inhabitants of North Bengal, he expressed gratitude to the Minister for the provision made for irrigation in North Bengal. Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutt*, Leader of the Congress Opposition, said that the Budget lacked a well-planned scheme for the development of the province. In preparing a budget the Ministry should bear in mind that their primary duty was to the province. If this were done, a budget would not bear the impress of individual or party influence as was the case with the present Budget. The real test of a budget was whether it provided ways and means for the people to have more money. But in the present instance it was nothing but a catalogue of doles and grants made here and there and a list of administrative expenditure. He also criticized the proposal for further taxation without formulating a well-planned scheme as to how the money that the proposed taxes would yield was going to be spent. Rai Bahadur *S. N. Sinha*, also regretted that the Ministry proposed to levy further taxes when the taxation measures passed by the Legislature last year had already caused discontent in the province. He said that if the sources of revenue already tapped were further explored and some economy effected, not only would the deficit be wiped out but also some additional money found to make larger provisions for the nation-building departments. The discussion continued till the 27th. February when, replying to the debate, the *Finance Minister* informed the House that the sum of Rs, 25,000 provided in last year's budget for the Visvabharati had been released by the Finance Department for payment. He also told the House that another sum of Rs. 25,000 had been allotted in the current year's budget for

the same institution. The Finance Minister assured the House that the Government would not come forward with any proposal for fresh taxation unless they had comprehensive schemes ready in hand, and that the money available from the imposition of such taxation would be spent only on nation-building departments.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

23rd. FEBRUARY:—A number of non-offiicial Bills was disposed of to-day, The more important of them were the Patni Taluks Regulation (Amendment) Bill, the Abolition of Dowry Bill and the Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill. The first named Bill which was introduced by Khan Bahadur *Rezzaqul Haidar Chowdhury* sought to remove some of the difficulties experienced by patnidars by providing "sure mode of registering transferee's name in the *sherista* of the zemindar on payment of transfer fee at the time of registration of the transfer". The Bill was passed.

The Abolition of Dowry Bill, for which Rai Bahadur *Surendra Narayan Sinha* was responsible, aimed at putting a stop to "the practice of giving and taking dowry as a consideration for marriage, a system widely prevalent in Bengal". The Rai Bahadur (who had introduced the Bill in August 1938) sought to move for the consideration of the Bill without reference to a select committee. *Nawab Musharraf Hossain*, Minister, while expressing sympathy with the principles underlying the Bill, suggested reference of the Bill to a select committee to consider the measure in its various aspects. In view of the opinions expressed, the *President* was reluctant to suspend the rules and the Bill remained at its original stage.

The Bengal Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill introduced by Mr. *Humayun Kabir* sought the abolition of nominated seats in local bodies and the introduction of adult franchise so far as election to those bodies were concerned. It also proposed to debar chairmen of municipalities and district boards from standing for election to provincial legislatures. On a motion by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca the Bill was circulated for eliciting public opinion. The Council then adjourned.

THE BENGAL FINANCE AMEND. BILL 1940

29th. FEBRUARY:—The question as to whether the dignity and prestige of the House were affected by the Government coming forward with an amending Bill to modify the decision of the Council arrived at a few months before, was discussed in connexion with the motion of Hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* that the Bengal Finance Amendment Bill, 1940, be taken into consideration. By this amending Bill the Government proposed that they should be given powers to frame rules to exempt person or class of persons from the operation of the Bengal Finance Act, 1939, without the approval of the legislature. Originally the Bengal Finance Act contained provision giving powers to the Government to frame rules without approval of the legislature but subsequently the Council amended the clause to the effect that the rules framed by the Government for exempting persons or class of persons from the operation of the Act must have the approval of the legislature, and the modification made by the House as accepted by the Assembly. Now the Government wanted to restore the original provision of the Act and the Assembly had passed the amendment. When the Bill came up for discussion to-day, the members took strong exception to the proposed amendment which they characterised as the culmination of a series of outrages that were being perfected by the present Government upon the dignity and liberties of the Upper House. In the interest of democracy the Government should ask the approval of the legislature in framing the rules. The Government had not given even a trial of the decision of the legislature and yet had come forward for a revision of their decision without any reason whatsoever. Here was the instance whereby the executives wanted to pit themselves against the legislatures, the members opined. The most noticeable feature was that though Khan Bahadur *Abdul Karim* throughout his speech opposed the motion he voted for the motion, which was ultimately carried by 24 to 19.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

1st. MARCH:—A demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all the political prisoners now in jail, was made in a resolution moved on behalf of the Congress Party by Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* to-day. The resolution was negatived by the House without a division. In moving the resolution, Mr. Das applied to the Government to revise its policy with regard to the question of release of political prisoners and replace the one they were pursuing now by a policy of general amnesty to all political prisoners. Dr. *Radha Kumud Mukherji* (Congress),

supporting the resolution, appealed to the Government to release the remaining political prisoners on the ground of higher statesmanship. Opposing the resolution, Khwaja Sir *Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, pointed out that the Government had a definite policy laid down and approved of by the legislature in regard to the release of political prisoners. And according to that policy, the Government had taken action so far. Out of the 87 political prisoners now in jail, he said, there were 35 who could get out immediately provided they accepted conditional release. The Minister complained that of the released prisoners about 40 to 50 per cent, instead of settling down, were going out to the countryside and taking part in activities, which, however, he must say, were not Congress activities. A war was on and there was special emergency and in such circumstances they had no alternative but to oppose the resolution. The Home Minister did not think that opinion expressed by a handful of persons gathered in parks and resolutions passed by them constituted public opinion. If that was so, remarked the Home Minister, then Gandhiji would have been the most hated man in Bengal to-day, because all along his journey from Goalundo to Sealdah he had been shown black-flags at stations by a handful of youths and students. That was not public opinion. Public opinion in the matter of the Government's policy with regard to the release of political prisoners had been declared through its representatives in the Assembly. The Council then adjourned till March 11.

BENGAL TENANCY 3RD. AMEND. BILL

11th. MARCH :—The Council held a brief sitting to-day when on a motion of Mr. *E. C. Ormond* it referred the Bengal Tenancy (Third Amendment) Bill, 1939, as passed by the Assembly, to a Select Committee with instructions to submit their report by March 21, 1940. By this amending Bill it was proposed *inter alia* to provide that the only step that should be taken in execution of a rent decree was to bring the entire tenure or holding to sale. In order to prevent collusion at sales it was also proposed to provide that if the purchaser bids less than the amount due under the decree or certificate the property should pass to him subject to a liability to pay the difference. The Bill was introduced by *Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*. While expressing sympathy with the object of the Bill, the members discussed the question as to whether the Bill should be referred to the Select Committee or for public opinion.

THE BENGAL FINANCE AMEND. BILL 1940 (CONTD.)

13th. MARCH :—The Council passed to-day, without a division, the Bengal Finance Bill, 1940, which empowered the Government to levy an ungraduated tax of Rs. 30 per head per annum on all professions, trades, callings and employments, the tax being payable by those who are assessable to income-tax. The Bill, which had already been passed by the Assembly, also empowered the Government to prescribe rules for exemption or remission of the tax, which was being imposed by the Government for the second year. The Finance Minister, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, assured the House that, before prescribing the rules, the Government would publish a draft thereof in the Gazette, in order to give the public and members of the Legislature an opportunity to discuss the matter. The Finance Minister added that the Government proposed to give relief to persons who had been wrongly assessed to income-tax, to persons who earned barely an income assessable to income-tax and to those who were temporarily posted in Bengal for war purposes.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

15th. MARCH :—Several non-official Bills were dealt with to-day. Khan Bahadur *Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain* introduced four Bills, namely, the Bengal Land Revenue Sales Amending Bill, the Bengal Water Hyacinth Amending Bill, the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Bill, 1938, and the Bengal Emergency Rent Remission Bill, 1938. The first two were referred to Select Committees and the third circulated on the 29th. March.

The Calcutta Improvement (Amendment) Bill 1940, sponsored by Mr. *Kader Baksh* was, on the motion of Mr. *Mesbahuddin Ahmed*, circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion on it by May 31.

On the motion of Rai *Surendra Narayan Sinha* Bahadur the Abolition of Dowry Bill, 1938, which stood in his name, was referred to a Select Committee with instructions to report by March 25, 1940.

The Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy Bill, which was brought forward by Khan Bahadur *Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain* was, on the motion of Sir *Bejoy*

Prosad Singh Roy, Revenue Minister, circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion on it by December 31, 1940. The Council then adjourned.

BENGAL JUTE REGULATION BILL 1940

19th. to 27th. MARCH :—The consideration of the Bengal Jute Regulation Bill, 1940, as passed by the Assembly, was the only item of business on the 19th. There were no less than 238 amendments of which 52 were disposed of. Of these four were lost, an equal number were withdrawn, and the rest were not moved. Mr *Tamizuddin Khan*, Minister, in moving that the Bill be considered, gave a short history of the measure and the main problems confronting the jute industry. The Bill, he added, was extremely urgent and if there was any delay in passing it, it would be very difficult for Government to prepare a record of the existing jute on the land. Under the circumstances he requested members who had tabled amendments, not to press them unless they involved any change in the principle of the Bill. Further, because there was no provision in the Bill it must not be surmised that Government had not got the idea of fixing a price for jute. Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee with instructions to report by April 30, 1940. The *Minister* said there was an impression abroad that during the War, cultivators might grow as much jute as they liked. But as a matter of fact, despite the huge orders for standbags, the total consumption of loose jute for War purposes up-to-date was not very much. This Bill was an emergency measure, and unless something was done very quickly the situation might become very serious. He assured the House that unless the co-operation of the other jute growing provinces was secured, Bengal would not be able to enforce the regulation of jute. Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* withdrew his motion on the Minister's assurance. After disposing of a large number of amendments on this day and on the next day, the House adjourned till the **27th. March** when the Bill was passed without any substantial change.

OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

28th. MARCH :—A number of Government Bills were disposed of to-day. The Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provision) Bill 1940 piolated by the Hon Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, The Administrator General's (Bengal Amendment) Bill 1940, and the Official Trustees (Bengal Amendment) Bill, piolated by the Hon. *Nawab Musharuff Hussain* were passed by the Council.

BENGAL TENANCY 3RD. AMEND. BILL (CONTD.)

Yet another surprise was sprung by the House when the Bengal Tenancy (Third Amendment) Bill, 1939, was being discussed. The Bill was piolated by the Hon. Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*. The Hon. President (Mr. *S. C. Mitter*) held that some of the amendments tabled to the Bill contravened the provision of section 299 clause (2) of the Government of India Act, 1935. An amendment moved by the coalition party was being discussed when Mr. *H. C. A. Hunter* of the European Party said that they generally agreed with the underlying principle of the Bill but they had serious objection regarding one or two clauses of the Bill which were clearly of expropriatory character. He added that unless suitable amendments were agreed to by the Hon. Minister his party would most reluctantly oppose the Bill during its final stage. Mr. *E. C. Ormond* pointed out that the effect of the amendment would result in extinguishing or modifying of some of the existing rights in land and as such it could not be considered in the House until previous consent of the Governor was obtained. The *Chair* agreed to the contention of Mr. Ormond and held that previous sanction was necessary to have the amendment discussed. Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh* Roy proposed that the consideration of the Bill be postponed for necessary sanction. The House then adjourned till the **2nd. April** when it met twice to conclude consideration of the Bill. During the afternoon session the Ministerialist Party suffered a defeat when an amendment sponsored by the party was rejected by the House by 19 votes to 18. The European group, which to a great extent holds the balance in the House, joind the Congress and Progressive parties in voting against the amendment. Since certain modifications had been made in the Bill in this House, it was to be sent back for consideration to the Lower House, which had alreay passed tt. The council was prorogued after it had passed the Bill.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker —Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Haque, C.I.E.
Deputy Speaker :—Asraf Ali Khan Choudhury, Bar-at-Law

Elected Members

Jatindra Nath Basu
Santosh Kumar Basu
Iswar Das Jalan
Dr. J. M. Das Gupta
Jogesh Chandra Gupta
Sarat Chandra Bose
Barada Prasanna Pain
Tulasi Chandra Goswami
Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri
Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal
Surendra Mohan Maitra
Pratul Chandra Ganguli
Maharajkumar Uday Chand Mahatap
Adwaita Kumar Maji
Pramatha Nath Banerji
Banku Behari Mandal
Dr. Sarat Chandra Mukherjee
Debendra Nath Das
Ashutosh Mullick
Manindra Bhushan Sinha
Kamal Krishna Ray
Debendra Lall Khan
Krishna Prasad Mandal
Kishori Pati Roy
Harendra Nath Dolui
Dr. Gobinda Chandra Bhawmik
Iswar Chandra Mal
Nikunja Behari Maiti
Dhirendra Narayan Mukherjee
Radhanath Das
Sukumar Datta
Manmatha Nath Roy
Pulin Behary Mullick
Rai Jogesh Chandra Sen Bahadur
Hem Chandra Naskar
P. Banerjee
Anukul Chandba Das
Haripada Chattopadhyay
Lakshmi Narayan Biswas
Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal
Rai Sahib Kirit Bhusan Das
Atul Krishna Ghose
Rasik Lal Biswas
Nagendra Nath Sen
Hon. Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick
Patiram Ray
Satyapriya Banerjee
Atul Chandra Kumar
Tarinicharan Pramanik
Premhari Barma
Shyama Prosad Barman
Nishitha Nath Kundu
Khagendra Nath Das Gupta
Hon. Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikut
Upendra Nath Barman
Jotindra Nata Chakrabarty
Kshetra Nath Singha
Puspajit Barma
Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty
Madhusudan Sarkar
Atul Chandra Sen
Dhananjoy Roy
Kiron Sankar Roy
Charu Chandra Roy
Amrita Lal Mandal
Birendra Kishore Rai Choudhury
Monomohan Das
Surendra Nath Biswas
Birat Chandra Mandal
Promatha Ranjan Thakur
Narendra Nath Das Gupta
Upendranath Edbar
Jogendra Nath Mandal
Dhirendra Nath Datta
Jagat Chandra Mandal
Harendra Kumar Sur
Mahim Chandra Das
Damber Singa Gurang
Hon. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E.
M. A. H. Ispahani
K. Nooruddin
Khan Sahib Maulvi Md. Solaiman
Hon. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy
,, Nawab K. Habibullah Bahadur
Maulvi Abul Hashim
, Md. Abdus Rasheed
Khan Bahadur Dr. Syed Muhammad Siddique
,, ,, Maulvi Alfaz-ud-din Ahmed
Maulvi Abdul Quasem
Khan Sahib Maulvi S. Abdur Rauf
Jasimuddin Ahmed
Yousuf Mirza
Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdur Rahaman
M. Shamsuddin Ahmed
Mohammad Mohsin Ali
Maulvi Aftab Hosain Joarder
Hon. Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huq, C.I.E.
Syed Badrudduja
Sahibzada Kawanjah Syed Kazem Ali Meerza
M. Farhad Raza Chowdhury
Syed Nausher Ali
Maulvi Waliur Rahman
Serajul Islam
Khan Bahadur Maulana Ahmed Ali Enayetpuri
Abdul Hakeem

Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy
„ Mostagawasal Haque
M. Ashraf Ali
Maulvi Maniruddin Akhand
„ Mohammad Amir Ali Mia
„ M. Moslem Ali Molla
„ Mafizuddin Choudhury
„ Hafizuddin Choudhury
„ Abdul Jabbar
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mahatabuddin Ahmed
Hon. Khan Bahadur Nawab Mushrraff Hossain
Khan Bahadur A. M. L. Rahaman
„ „ Shah Abdur Rauf
Haji Safiruddin Ahmed
Kazi Emdadul Haque
Mia Abdul Hafiz
Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar
Ahmed Hossain
Maulvi Rajibuddin Tarafdar
„ Mohammad Ishaque
„ Azhar Ali
Dr. Mafizuddin Ahmed
Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali
A. M. Abdul Hamid
Abdur Raschid Mahmood
Abdullah-Al-Mahmood
Md. Barat Ali
Maulvi Zahur Ahmed Chowdhury
Maulvi Idris Ahmed Mia
Khwaja Shahabuddin, C.B.E.
Maulana Muhammad Abdul Aziz
S. A. Salim
Maulvi Mohammad Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri
Razaur Rahman Khan
Maulvi Aulad Hossain Khan
Maulvi Abdul Latif Biswas
Maulvi Mohammad Abdus Shaheed
Syed Shah Alum
Fazlur Rahman
Mahammad Abdul Jabbar Palwan
Giasuddin Ahmed
Abdul Karim
Maulvi Abdul Majid
Maulvi Abdul Wahed
Maulana Shamsul Huda
Maulvi Abdul Hakim
Al-Hadj Maulvi Masud Ali Khan Panni
Mirza Abdul Hafiz
Syed Hassan Ali Chowdhury
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Kabiruddin Khan
Abdul Hossain Ahmed
Maulvi Md. Israil
Maulvi Abdul Hamid Shah
Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmad
Shamsuddin Ahmed Khandakar
Maulvi Ahmed Ali Mridha
The Hon. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan
Yusuf Ali Chowdhury
Mahammad Abul Fazl
Al-Hadj Gyasuddin Ahmed Choudhury
Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq
Abul Kader
Khan Sahib Maulvi Hatemally Jamadar
Khan Sahib Maulvi Syed Md. Afzal
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hashem Ali Khan
Sadaruddin Ahmed
Abdul Wahab Khan
Maulvi Mahammed Mozammel Huq
Haji Maulvi Tofel Ahmed Chowdhury
Maulvi Mustufa Ali Dewan
Nawabzada K. Nasarullah
Maqbul Hossain
Maulvi Mafizuddin Ahmed
Ramizuddin Ahmed
Asimuddin Ahmed
Maulvi Mahammed Hasanuzzaman
Moulvi Jonab Ali Majumdar
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Abidur Reza Chowdhury
Mr. Shahedali
Maulvi Mohammad Ibrahim
Khan Sahib Maulvi Aminullah
Shah Syed Golam Sarwar Hosaini
Syed Ahmad Khan
Syed Abdul Majid
Maulvi Abdur Razzak
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad
Khan Bahadur Mohammad Anwarul Azim
Maulana Md. Maniruzzaman Islamabadi
Dr. Sanaullah
Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fazlul Qadir
Miss Mira Dutta Gupta
Mrs. Hemaprova Majumdar
„ Hasina Murshed, M.B.E.
Begum Farhat Bano Khanam
Miss. P. B. Bell-Hart
J. W. Chippendale
L. T. Maguire
C. Griffiths
I. A. Clark
Sir Henry Birkmyre, Bart
R. J. Hawkins
Curtis Millar
A. O. Brown
G. Morgan, C.I.E.
H. Brabant Smith
William C. Patton
J. W. R. Steven
F. J. Marindin
Dr. H. C. Mukherji
S. A. Gomes
P. F. S. Warren
Rogers Haywood
M. A. F. Hirtzel
F. H. French
R. M. Sassoon
David Hendry
W. C. Wordsworth
K. A. Hamilton

H. R. NORTON
W. A. M. WALKER
I. G. KENNEDY
C. W. MILES
G. G. MACGREGOR
R. B. WHITEHEAD
SIR HARI SANKER PAUL
NALINI RANJAN SARKAR
DEBI PRASAD KHAITAN
RAI MOONGTU LALL TAPURIA BAHADUR
ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI
HON. SIR BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY
HON. MAHARAJA SRISCHANDRA NANDY OF COSSIMBAZAR
KUMAR SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY
MAHARAJA SASHI KANTA ACHAJYA CHOUDHURY OF MUKTAGACHHA,
RAI KSHIROD CHANDRA ROY BAHADUR
J. N. GUPTA
AFTAB ALI
DR. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE
NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR
SIBNATH BANERJEE
A. M. A. ZAMAN
B. MUKHERJEE
BABU LITTA MUNDA SIRDAR
DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE
FAZLUR RAHMAN

The Budget Session—Calcutta—15th. February to 9th. April 1940

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1940—41

The Budget session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly commenced in Calcutta on the **15th. February 1940** when the Hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* presented the Financial Statement for the year 1940-41. The estimates for the coming year were based on the existing level of taxation. The Finance Minister explained that he had not had time since he assumed charge of the Finance portfolio in December to appraise the situation sufficiently to suggest concrete remedies. He was now engaged, however, in a survey of possible sources of new revenue and anticipated that before the end of the coming year he would place before the House proposals for new taxation.

"The immediate effects of the war", said Mr. Suhrawardy, "have been for the most part beneficial to the economy of the province, but it would be dangerous to enlarge our commitments on the basis of that prosperity against the slump which all previous experience suggests must inevitably follow. Further, we must be ready and prepared to take our due share in the burden of the war, should events move nearer home and involve us more directly and closely. For this reason the Departments had not taken up any new long-range schemes likely to involve the finances of the province in recurring expenditure of considerable magnitude. In my opinion, it would be fatal to the finances of the province, if, deceived by an artificial prosperity due to war conditions, we permitted ourselves to undertake new commitments that we cannot hope to be able to maintain." Dealing first with the year 1938-39, the Finance Minister said that the deficit of 21.77 lakhs shown in the revised estimates had not materialised and the year had ended with an almost exact balance on revenue account. Mr. Suhrawardy then turned to the current year, the revised estimates for which show the immediate influences of the outbreak of the war. He revealed that the revenue receipts are expected to be 25 lakhs more, and expenditure on revenue account 48 lakhs less, than was anticipated in the previous budget. The Finance Minister recalled that his predecessor, in presenting last year's budget, announced that it was based on the assumption that war would not break out. The falsification of this hypothesis had naturally upset the estimates. The former Minister had also assumed that a loan of one crore would be raised in order to cover the deficit ; in view of the uncertainty of world conditions, however, the Government had decided that it would be inadvisable to resort to a loan. As a result, treasury bills aggregating 150 lakhs had been or would be issued during the current year : of this amount 90 lakhs would, according to present expectations, be repaid before the close of the year, and it was hoped to repay the balance of 60 lakhs in the course of the coming year. Mr. Suhrawardy went on to relate the effects of the war. The stoppage of exports to Germany, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia has caused an appreciable decline in receipts from the jute duty, and so far, the increased off-take of the Allies in the form of sand-bags and hessians has not been sufficient to compensate in full the decrease in exports to Central and Northern European countries. Greater activity in the Share Market and better trading results have led to an improvement under receipts from non-judicial stamps. As a result of the improvement in railway earnings, a larger contribution under income-tax is expected.

Finally, some improvement in land revenue collection is anticipated as a result of the rise in prices of agricultural produce.

The revised estimates delimit the increases expected under the above heads as follows :

Source	Increase
Incometax	21 lakhs
Land revenue	7 ,,
Stamps	8 ,,

The decrease in the jute duty is expected to be 30 lakhs. As against the increases in revenue, the war has necessitated certain extraordinary charges, the most important of which were on account of air raid precautions, control of prices, and the employment of extra police to guard protected areas. The bulk of these charges, the Minister added, will eventually be recovered from the Government of India. The war had also caused the abandonment or postponement of certain items of expenditure, such as curtailment of leave to Indians, non-utilisation of state scholarships in European countries, and the postponement of some civil work in view of the general rise in the price of materials.

Turning to the coming year, the Finance Minister said that, on the assumption that the existing level of taxation will be maintained and no new sources of revenue will be tapped during the year, revenue receipts have been placed at 13 crores 97 lakhs, as compared with the 14 crores 3 lakhs of the revised estimates for the current year. The decrease of 6 lakhs is due mainly to falls under extra-ordinary receipts and land revenue, with compensatory increases under jute duty, income-tax and other taxes and civil work, the latter increase being due to larger transfers from the Road Development Fund in order to finance a more extensive programme of road development. The expected increase from the jute duty is based on hopes of improved shipping facilities causing an improvement in exports. The estimated expenditure on Revenue account is put at 14 crores 54 lakhs, which is 37 lakhs higher than the revised estimates. The main increases are intended for civil works—which in view of the straitened financial circumstances will be confined to those which cannot be postponed without serious administrative inconvenience—Public Health—which includes 7½ lakhs for rural water supply, and 5 lakhs for free distribution of quinine—irrigation, and debt conciliation.

In conclusion, Mr, Suhrawardy said, "Our expenditure has now reached a point at which we are living a little beyond our means, and pending a detailed survey of the possible new sources of revenue, there is no alternative but to mark time. We have been fortunate that we have not had to curtail the many beneficent activities that we have undertaken since we assumed office. But I am sure the House will agree with me that this is not enough. We must expand and expand progressively". Mr. Suhrawardy added that they must seize the opportunity in Bengal to develop resources and build up reserves against "the depression that we all fear will follow ; we must aim at being in a position to lighten the severity of the inevitable slump by undertaking large scale schemes of civil works, irigation and drainage.

The Bengal Finance Amend. Bill

The Bengal Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1940, introduced next by the hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Finance Minister, was passed. The Opposition opposed the second reading of the Bill and the Finance Minister's motion to take the Bill into consideration was passed by 96 to 47 votes. The Bengal Finance Act of 1939 provided for the levy of an ungraduated tax of Rs. 30 per head per annum on all trades, callings, professions and employments, those who were assessable to income-tax being liable to pay the tax. The Act empowered the Government to make rules providing for the exemption or remission of the tax, subject to the approval of the Provincial Legistature. The Amending Finance Bill which was passed by the House to-day empowers the Government to make rules providing for exemption or remission of the tax without reference to the Legislature.

Externment Order—Adj. Motion

16th. FEBRUARY :—The Congress Party's adjournment motion to discuss the order served by the Bengal Government on February 14, under the Defence of India Rules on eleven Kisan and Labour leaders, externing them from Calcutta and suburbs was rejected to-night by 102 to 76 votes. The debate lasted nearly two hours. In winding up the debate on behalf of the Opposition, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* held out a threat that unless the Defence of India Act and the rules made

thereunder were made a dead letter, he and other members of the Party would go out of the Assembly to disobey this Act and rules made thereunder, with a view to making it a dead letter. Month after month, day after day, protests had been made against this and the rules made thereunder, but no heed appeared to have been paid to these protests by the Government. Mr. Bose warned the Government that unless they retraced their steps he and other members would consider the jails places of pilgrimage in order to make the Act and the rules a dead letter. He hoped that in this, they would have the support of other parties composing the Opposition in this House, and also parties outside which did not owe allegiance to or hold views similar to that of the Congress. Replying to the debate on behalf of the Government, Sir *Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, said that every one of the Congress Governments when they were in power had utilised the rules made under the Defence of India Ordinances. Proceeding, the Minister referred to the Opposition's contention that the orders had been served on these persons with a view to stifling the Labour movement and turning out people who were connected with organising labour in connection with the forthcoming Calcutta Corporation elections, and characterised this argument as "childish". Several of the speakers, on behalf of the Opposition, the Home Minister continued, had not mentioned the activities of persons who had been publishing unauthorised leaflets and placarding walls of educational institutions and other places with anti-war posters and of people who were continuously moving about trying to foment trouble and create disturbances. It could not be denied, the Home Minister proceeded, that hundreds and thousands of such leaflets were being distributed, not only in mill areas and in the city of Calcutta, but also in certain rural areas. It was the deliberate aim of members of the Communist Party to create disturbance, and disaffection in the country with the ultimate aim of bringing about a mass revolution. There were persons before the outbreak of the war and there were persons also now, who professed communistic ideals. The Minister then proceeded to read extracts from a leaflet circulated surreptitiously in the name of Communists in November, 1939, in which it was declared that they should carry on anti-war propaganda and hold demonstrations with a view to utilising the situation created by the outbreak of the war, for the fulfilment of their objective. The House then adjourned till the 21st.

General Discussion of Budget

21st. FEBRUARY :—A substantial reduction in the cost of the general administration was urged by Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, initiating the general discussion on the Budget for 1940-41 to-day. Mr. Bose regretted that the grant of Rs. 25 000 which was provided in the last year's budget for Viswabharati at Santiniketan, had not been continued in the coming year's budget, and requested the Finance Minister to provide money for the institution in the coming year's budget as the Viswabharati did not, according to Mr. Bose, belong to Bengal or India, but was an institution belonging to the world. Referring to the Finance Minister's hint at new taxation proposals, Mr. Bose remarked that if the proposals were brought forwad for the purpose of meeting the deficit the Opposition was not prepared to support the same. Speaking on behalf of the European group, Mr. *W. A. Walker* congratulated the Finance Minister on his budget speech. Referring to the question of jute and jute restriction Mr. Walker remarked that the Government had been overhasty in their decision regarding this year's jute crop. He added that the Government had not considered the possible consequences of restriction this year and the grave danger to the province which might arise through prices being forced up to an economic level.

Criticism of Ordee on Newspaper

22nd. FEBRUARY :—The Government order under the Defence of India Rules directing the editor of the *Hindusthan Standard*, a Calcutta newspaper, to submit to the Special Press Adviser for scrutiny all editorial articles intended for publication in that paper for a period of three months, formed the subject of an adjournment motion. The motion, which gave rise to a heated debate, was rejected without a division. The European members did not take part in the discussion. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, described the order as "a flagrant abuse" of the powers given under the Defence of India Act and the Rules framed under those powers. He said that if their appeal to the Government for withdrawal of the order went in vain, they would not only raise a storm of protest in this city and province but would also take every step to render the business of the House impossible. The Premier, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* emphati-

cally denied the suggestion made by certain Opposition speakers that the order represented an attempt to muzzle the nationalist Press. He said that this particular journal had been guilty of consistently flouting the authorities and violating all rules and laws necessary for the preservation of peace and tranquillity during the time of war. A recent article published by the paper had given rise to a crisis which left no alternative to the Government but to pass the order.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET (CONTD.)

23rd. & 24th. FEBRUARY :—Initiating the discussion of the Budget, to-day, Mr. *Shamsuddin Ahmed* held the Government responsible for not having any definite constructive scheme for the betterment of the province. So far as the cost of administration was concerned, if the Government had any ideology and if they had any real desire to do good to the province as a whole he could assure the Ministry that they would extend their co-operation for carrying out those schemes. Instead of doing any constructive work, continued Mr. Shamsuddin, the Ministers roamed about the villages and were fomenting the spirit of communalism by the cry of Islam in danger. The Chief Minister promised 'dal bhat' and free primary education but he could not materialise his promises in spite of ample facilities. If the Ministry wanted to do beneficial work for the masses, he could assure the House that his party would not offer any obstruction. Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker* criticised the present year's budget in a forceful way. Mr. Sarker referred to the omission of grant to Biswha Bharati and Sriniketan and said that those two institutions were not only famous in their own province but those two institutions were known outside India. He, in his last year's budget, provided grant for those two institutions and had got appreciation not only from Bengal but from outside Bengal. Proceeding, Mr. Sarker regretted the pessimism of the Finance Minister which he had expressed in his budget statement with regard to the inevitable slum immediately after the war. Mr. Sarker showed from the past records that the economic condition of the country would be better after the war. He said that after the last great war the demand of jute was increased to a considerable extent and the price considerably went high and he could possibly anticipate that the price of jute must go high after the war. Mr. *Abdur Rahman Siddique* deplored the observation made by the leader of the European group with regard to the restriction of jute. Restriction of jute, emphasised Mr. Siddique, was the only means to bring back the prosperity of Bengal. If the Government of Bengal caught hold of that golden fibre and utilised it in various other ways, it would bring money from all parts of the world. Jute and jute alone would bring enormous money in Bengal. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **24th. February**, when the necessity of fresh taxation to meet the expanding needs of the province was emphasised by the hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Chief Minister, who referred to the introduction of free and compulsory primary education throughout the province, which, he said, would require a sum of about five crores. He also referred to the question of adult education, and the establishment of dispensaries in each union. These schemes would require money and they could realise that Bengal must have a few more crores added to her present revenues in order to meet the expanding needs of administration. If they considered the question dispassionately there was no escape from the conclusion that, in order to meet the expanding needs of the province, they would have to take to taxation. It was no use saying that Bengal should not be over-burdened with taxation. Mr. Huq agreed with the members of the Opposition that Bengal should have more of that amount which went to the Central Exchequer. But till they could get that money, they had to find it themselves, So far as he was concerned, if not for anything else, at least for the purpose of the introduction of free and compulsory education, they would have to have recourse to taxation. He announced that in the near future the Government would come up before the legislature with their taxation bills. The Budget discussion concluded at this stage and the House adjourned till the 26th.

BENGAL JUTE REGULATION BILL, 1939

26th. FEBRUARY to 4th. MARCH :—The announcement that the Government proposed to undertake the preparation of another record of lands under jute cultivation in Bengal next year, when jute would be on the lands, was made by Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, Minister for Agriculture to-day in the course of the discussion on the Bengal Jute Regulation Bill of 1939 when that Bill, which was introduced by Government and referred to a Select Committee in the last July session of the Assembly but which was not proceeded with in the session, was placed before the

House for consideration. The Ministers told the House that the Bengal Government was in correspondence with the neighbouring jute-growing provinces in respect of its policy of restriction of jute crop and if unfortunately co-operation could not be secured from other jute-growing provinces in this respect, Government would have to revise its own plan in this regard. On behalf of the Opposition, it was pointed out that they would not oppose the passage of the Bill but what they would like to emphasise was that, if Government did not simultaneously bring forward a comprehensive measure providing for the fixation of a minimum price of jute, a regulated market and the establishment of warehouses, the Bill would be worse than useless. Speaking on behalf of the European Group, Mr. *I. G. Kennedy* said that although they were opposed to re-committal, his Party would urge Government to reconsider their decision to regulate the jute crop of 1940-41. The recommittal motion was rejected without a division and the House proceeded with consideration of the Bill. The House disposed of Clauses 1 and 2 and was discussing Clase 3 of the Bill when the House adjourned. The Jute Regulation Bill, 1939, empowers Government to undertake the preparation of a record of lands under jute cultivation in any given year and also empowers Government to regulate the jute crop, by restricting the acreage of lands under jute cultivation in any given year. Next-day, the **27th February**, the question of election was raised in connection with the question of the constitution of Union Jute Committees. The Bill as originally introduced by the Government provided that the Union Jute Committees be appointed by the Collector or by such servant of the Crown other than a Police Officer, as may be authorised by the Collector in this behalf. The Select Committee to which the Bill was referred recommended a system of elections for the constitution of the Union Committees except for the year 1940, for which year the Committee recommended that the Committees would be appointed by the Collector. Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, Minister moved an amendment urging the acceptance of the original provisions of the Bill providing for the appointment of these Committees by the Collector. The Minister's amendment met with vehement opposition and evoked a storm of protest from the members of the Opposition. Replying to the debate, Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan* thought that there was misconception about the duties and, functions of these Committees. These Committees would have no discretion in matter of reduction or extension of the acreage of land to be sown with jute by a cultivator according to the notification issued by the Government. The Government amendment providing for the appointment of these Committees by the Collector was carried by 108 to 65 votes. The House further considered the Bill till the **4th. March** when the Bill was passed. While not opposing the passage of the Bill, to-day, the Opposition expressed the view that the object of the Bill would be defeated unless it was accompanied by other measures dealing with the other problems of jute. The Opposition suggested therefore the bringing forward of a comprehensive measure next year to deal with all the aspects of the jute problem. The hon. Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan* emphasised that the problem of problems was the regulation of the crop and he pointed out that the fixation of a minimum price for jute, the ware-housing scheme etc., would be absolutely futile if the supply was not regulated to the demand. He told the House that Government had decided to abandon its policy of regulation of the crop in 1940 with a very heavy heart because, on account of the proposal of regulating the crop this year being given up, an apprehension existed that the next year's crop would be very much in excess of the proper demand and if that apprehension proved to be true, the price would fall. Therefore, he thought that those who had urged the Government to withdraw the restriction policy in 1940 had taken a very grave responsibility on themselves. The hon. Minister did not agree with the observation made by one of the opposing members that the interests of the mill-owners and those of the cultivators were always antagonistic. He pointed out that mill-owners performed a very important function in the matter of distribution of the commodity. He maintained that the situation might be very critical during the coming season and the Government would watch the situation with the keenest interest and would not fail to take whatever feasible and reasonable step might be necessary under the distressing circumstances.

War Bonus to Mill Employees

1st. MARCH:—A non-official resolution moved by Dr. *Suresh Chandra Banerjee* urging the Government of Bengal to take steps to compel the authorities of all mills and factories within the province of Bengal to grant at least 25

percent, of their pay as War Bonus to all class of employees employed by them to mitigate the hardship caused to the labourers by rise in the price of foodstuffs due to war was negatived to-day by 58 against 111 votes.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

5th. to 11th. MARCH :—Series of incidents which led the *Speaker* to suspend the meeting for a quarter of an hour, and a walk-out by the Congress and Proja Opposition, marked the proceedings when demands for grants in connexion with the Budget came up for consideration on the 5th. The first incident, in which Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* and the Home Minister (*Khwaja* Sir *Nazimuddin*) principally figured, occurred when Mr. *Khagendra Nath Das Gupta* was speaking on two cut motions in connexion with a demand by the Home Minister for a grant of Rs. 1,19,26,000 for general administration. Mr. Das Gupta was referring to alleged oppression of peasants in certain parts of Jalpaiguri district, which, he said, he could prove by producing copies of notices issued and also copies of orders. Thereupon, another member of the Congress Party, Dr. *Sanyal*, went up to Mr. Das Gupta, obtained the copies, orders and summons, crossed the floor and placed them on the Home Minister's desk. The *Home Minister* protested against this, and flung away the papers. Mr. *Shamsuddin Ahmed*, Leader of the Krishak Proja Party, thereupon asked one of the peons on duty inside the Chamber standing near him to pick up the papers and return them to Mr. Das Gupta, The Home Minister asked the peon not to do so. This gave rise to a general uproar when the *Speaker* intervened, and instructed the Secretary to have the papers picked up and returned to Mr. Das Gupta. Mr. *Shamsuddin Ahmed* protested against the manner in which the Home Minister had prevented the peon from picking up the documents. Mr. Ahmed was joined in this protest by members of his party and those of the Congress. Meanwhile, Dr. Sanyal rose up to read out the contents of the documents when there were shouts of "sit down, sit down" from the Coalition Benches, followed by counter-shouts of "go on, go on" from Congress benches. In the midst of the general uproar, the Speaker adjourned the Assembly for fifteen minutes. When the House reassembled, Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, informed the Speaker that they felt that they could not take any further past in the proceedings of the day unless the Home Minister offered a complete "free and frank apology for the unceremonious and most undignified manner" in which he had flung away the documents which had been presented to him by a member of the House and the manner in which he had prevented a peon from picking them up. The *Home Minister* pointed out that as the subject under discussion related to his department, he was closely following the debate, and no one had the right to disturb him in the manner in which he had been disturbed when the documents were placed on his desk. He would like to emphasise that he was as zealously guarding the prestige and dignity of the House as anybody else. Khan Bahadur *Azizul Haque* held that the conduct of Dr. Sanyal was "most reprehensible." The Khan Bahadur condemned the action of the peon, especially when he had instructions not to cross the floor when the House was in session. At the same time, he would like to say that the manner in which the Home Minister, in a fit of excitement, had asked the peon not to pick up the documents, instead of exercising patience, was unsatisfactory. Mr. *Sarat Chandra* Bose said that the Speaker was entitled to give his decision in any manner he liked. But at the same time the Opposition had also the right of recording their protest in a parliamentary manner. He would therefore withdraw his party from the House for the day and as to whether they would abstain themselves from the rest of the session, they would decide the next day. Thereupon, the Congress Party and the Krishak Proja Party withdrew. The House continued its discussion on the General Administration Budget for another ten minutes, and adjourned till the next day, the **6th. March** when the opposition again created uproarious scenes by way of shouting and thumping of desks for the *Home Minister's* failure to order "free, frank and complete apology" for his "undignified and discourteous conduct" as demanded by the Congress Party. The House met to-day in a tense atmosphere, and all the party leaders were found present just from the very beginning. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, the Premier, first made a statement, before the interpellations, in which he referred to yesterday's unfortunate incident and held that the first offender was Dr. *Nalinakhya Sanyal* and if he was prepared to offer an unqualified apology, the *Home Minister* would

make a statement which, he believed, would be acceptable even by the most fastidious member of the House. The leader of the House was followed by the leader of the opposition and after interpellations the House was adjourned for the prayer. After the interval, when Sir *Nazimuddin* again rose to speak, interruptions still continued. At this stage the *Speaker*, finding that his request was of no avail, asked Mr. Kiron Sankar Ray, Mr. Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty, Mr. Surendra Mohan Maitra, Mr. Haripada Chatterjee, Mr. Khagendra Nath Das Gupta, Mr. Niharendra Dutt Majumdar and Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal, all Congress members, to withdraw from the House, All of them declined to do so unless they were removed. Interruptions still continued when the Speaker put the cut motions of Das Gupta to vote which were lost by 65 against 126 votes. The Speaker then put the original motion of Sir Nazimuddin to vote which was passed without division. The House then adjourned till the **8th. March**, when in striking contrast to the stormy scense of the last two days, the sitting began quietly. There was no demonstration against the Home Minister, and he was permitted to address the House without interruption. Immediately after question-hour, Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu*, Deputy Leader of the Bengal Congress Assembly Party, rising on a point of order, maintained that the procedure adopted by the Speaker at the last sitting on Thursday in leaving undisposed of most of the "cut" motions and in putting to vote the main demand under the head "General Administration" before the scheduled time, was in clear contravention of the provisions of Section 79 (2) of the Government of India Act and Section 15 (2) of the rules framed by the Governor for the conduct of the proceedings of the House and was therefore wholly illegal, irregular and *ultra vires*. Mr. Basu said that when the Speaker put the demand te vote under this head, there were twenty-one "cut" motions awaiting disposal and more than an hour remained for the time fixed for the rising of the House. He would, therefore, request the Speaker even at this stage to regularise the entire proceedings. The *Speaker* remarked that, as Mr. Basu had raised a very important question, he would like to give a written reply which he hoped to do either after the prayer interval to-day, or to-morrow morning, when the House re-assembled. Thereafter, the Education Budget was taken into consideration. The Hon'ble Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* moved that a sum of Rs. 1,53,36 000 be granted for expenditure under the head 'Education-General'. Mr. *Harendra Nath Roy Chawdhury* moved a cut motion of Rs. 100 for raising discussion in the inadequacy of grants to non-government secondary schools and the administration of such grants. The debate was adjourned till the next day, the **9th. March**, when the failure of the Government to introduce free and compulsory Primary education in all the districts of Bengal without imposition of tax on the agriculturists was the subject of trenchant criticism by way of cut motions. While the members of the Krishak Proja Party in the Opposition group urged upon the Government the need of introducing free and compulsory primary education without taxation, the Coalition party and the Hon'ble Chief Minister maintained that Primary Education without imposing cess to the agriculturists was an impossible task. The original motion for grant was then put to vote and was passed without division. In giving his ruling on the point of order raised by Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu* yesterday questioning the legality of the proceedings of 6th March, the Hon'ble *Speaker* held that he had absolutely no doubt in his mind that the proceedings of the 6th March were regular, valid and legal and not *ultra vires* or irregular. The House then adjourned till the **11th March** when Sir *Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, replying to the Police Budget declared that at least forty to fifty percent of the released detenus are still active. Their secret organisations still exist. The entire demand of Rs. 2,12,92,000 was sanctioned without a 'cut'. Sir Nazimuddin added : "They do meet and they are recognising themselves." The Home Minister emphasised the necessity of having a Secret Service, to which objection had been taken on the ground that there was at present no terrorist movement in the province. Was there, the Minister enquired of the member who had raised the objection, any terrorism in Madras ? "If not, why did Mr. Rajagopalachari when he was in office defend the Secret Service grant ?" asked Sir Nazimuddin and said : "You cannot govern a country without a Secret Service." Proceeding, Sir Nazimuddin said : I may state that this increased grant is necessary, because we have released over 3,000 persons who were involved in certain underground conspiracy, and at least 40 to 50 per cent of the released detenus are still active." The fact that the Opposition had agreed to devote only an hour and a half to the discussion of the Police budget, was, Sir Nazimuddin considered, sufficient testimony to the efficient manner in which the Police Department was run. He denied the charge that the Police had not

taken steps to deal with the crimes against women, offences like defilement of temples, etc. The Police took every possible step to check these crimes, he assured the House. Cut motions moved by Opposition members were all rejected without a division. The House also sanctioned the demand for grant of Rs. 34,49,000 under the head 'Jails and Convict Settlements' without a 'cut'.

BENGAL NON-AGRICULTURAL PROVISIONS BILL

The members reassembled at 9-30 p.m. on the **11th. March** and took up consideration of the measure entitled the Bengal Non-Agricultural (Temporary Provisions) Bill, 1940. It provided for the stay of all suits and proceedings in courts of law for ejectment of non-agricultural tenants for a period of two years, pending enactment of further legislation. All the clauses except one were dealt with and the Bill had a smooth passage on the next day.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS (CONTD.)

12th. & 13th. MARCH :—A demand for the fixation of minimum price of jute at least at Rs. 10 per maund was made to-day by the members of the Krishak Proja and scheduled caste party by way of cut motions on agricultural grant. The cut motion of Mr. *Waliur Rahman* demanding fixation of minimum price of jute at Rs. 10 per maund was lost by 69 against 97 votes. The House sanctioned without any cut the entire demand for grant of Rs. 16,68,000 moved by the Hon'ble Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan* for expenditure under the head "Agriculture". Next day, the **13th. March**, the failure of the Government to open textile mills at Government initiative to make Bengal self-sufficient in matters of clothes was the subject of severe criticism by way of cut motions. The cut motion of Mr. *Abu Hossain Sarker* to raise a discussion regarding the failure of the Government to start cotton mills was lost without division. The House sanctioned without any cut the entire demand for grant of Rs. 15,12,000 moved by Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan* for expenditure under head 'Industries' and Rs. 5,59,000 under head Industries—Cinchona' moved by Mr. *Prasanna Deb Raikut.*

RESOLUTION ON NIEMEYER AWARD

At its after-dinner sitting on the **13th. March** which continued till 11 p. m., the Assembly unanimously adopted a special non-official motion urging the revocation of the Niemeyer Award and the restoration of the *status quo ante.* The motion, which was moved by Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker*, ex-Finance Minister of the Government, was in the following terms :—"This Assembly is of the opinion that an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor through the Hon. the Speaker for communication to His Majesty-in Council praying that His Majesty-in-Council be graciously pleased to revoke the recent Amendment to the Government of India (Distribution of Revenue) Order, 1936, and to restore the *status quo ante.*" Dr. *Nalinaksha Sannyal* (Congress) who moved an identical motion on the subject but suggested a different method of representation to the proper authorities, eventually withdrew his motion with a view to securing unanimity on the subject in the House. Speaking on behalf of the Government, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Finance Minister, said that the Government had every sympathy with the motion and supported the spirit of the resolution. "I base my claim for a revision", the Finance Minister remarked, "on justice and fair-play and there is no justification, I maintain, for taking away a larger share from the provinces by the new Order-in-Council than what will have been taken away had the Award remained in existence." The Finance Minister pointed out that they would join with other members of the House in pressing for a modification of the amended Order-in-Council and he hoped that the other provinces would follow the lead given by Bengal in this respect.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS (CONTD.)

14th. to 29th. MARCH :—A demand for the establishment of village dispensaries one in each Union throughout the Province was made to-day by the opposition members by way of cut motions on the demand for grant under head "Medical." The cut motion of Mr. *Giasuddin Ahmed* demanding establishment of village dispensaries one in each union throughout the province was lost by 44 against 71 votes. The House accepted the demand for grant of Rs. 51,27,000 for expenditure under the head "Medical" moved by the Hon'ble *Nawab Khwaja Habibullah* Bahadur of Dacca without division. Next day, the **15th. March**, the lack of any comprehensive scheme for improving the sanitation of Bengal was severely criticised in the course of a debate on the budget demand for a grant of Rs. 47,12,000 for expenditure under

the head "Public Health" moved by the Hon'ble *Nawab Khwaja Habibullah* Bahadur of Dacca. The cut motions moved by the Congress and Krishak Proja party members were negatived without division. The House accepted the entire demand without any cut. The House then adjourned till Monday, the **18th. March,** when all other cut motions being negatived the House sanctioned without any cut the entire demand of Rs. 28 08,000 moved by Sir *Bijoy Prosad Singha Roy* for expenditure under the head "Land Revenue." The House also sanctioned a further sum of Rs. 2,00,000 for expenditure under the head "Famine." The House rejected by 87 votes to 41 the Krishak Proja Party's cut motion to the land revenue grant urging a general reduction in the rate of rents. Next day, the **19th. March,** various irrigation projects, both big and small, which the Government have in view or which are in actual process of execution were described by Maharaja *Srish Chandra Nandy* of Cossimbazar, Minister for Irrigation, Works and Communications, when he moved for the bugdet grant of Rs. 31,60,000 for "Irrigation—Working Expenses." The cut motions were lost and the entire demand was voted. The Assembly then adjourned till the **20th. March,** when it sanctioned the entire demand for a sum of Rs. 72,74 000 moved by the Hon'ble *Nawab Musharruff Hossain,* for expenditure under the head 'Administration of Justice.' The cut motions of the Congress and the Krishak Proja Party were all negatived without division. The House next met on the **26th. March,** when the announcement that Prohibition introduced in Noakhali district as an experimental measure had proved "a wonderful success" was made by Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq,* Prime Minister replying to the debate raised on a cut motion to the excise grant. The "cut" was moved by a member of the Krishak Proja Party, other members of which as well as Congress members criticised the Government for its failure to implement its promises in respect of Prohibition. The oppositionists urged complete Prohibition. Explaining the view-point of the European Group, *Sir Henry Birkmyre* pointed out that experiments in Prohibition in the United States and in other provinces in India had not succeeded. Even if it was feasible, he thought Bengal could not risk an attempt now because, in view of a series of deficit budgets, ever mounting taxes and also of many schemes of public welfare requiring money, no shrinkage of revenue could be allowed at this stage. The *Premier,* explaining the Government's policy, said that Prohibition had been a success at Noakhali and informed the House that the Government now proposed to consider the question of extension of Prohibition to the two adjoining districts of Chittagong and Comilla. While assuring the members that Prohibition was still the goal of the Government, he explained that it wanted to reach the goal by easy stages. The cut motion was rejected by 73 votes to 36 and the entire demand for grant of Rs. 21,53,000 was passed. The House next adjourned till the **27th. March,** when the maladministration of the Co-operative Department, and the failure of the Government to check corruptions in the Co-operative societies were pointed out by members of the opposition in connection with the budget demand for a grant of Rs. 15.25,000 moved by the Hon'ble Mr. *Mukunda Behari Mallick* for expenditure under the head "Co-operation." All the cut motions being defeated without division, the main demand for grant under "Co-operation" was sanctioned by the House. The House also sanctioned a sum of Rs. 23,12.000 for expenditure under the head 'Debt Conciliation' moved by Mr. *Mukunda Behari Mullick.* Next day, the **28th. March,** the "failure of the Government to formulate a policy for the supply of cheap electricity in mofussil areas" came in for much criticism by Congress members, Dr. *Nalinaksha Sannyal* and Rai *Narendra Nath Chowdhury* each moved a "cut" in the demand for Rs. 1,45,000 for expenditure under the head "Other taxes and duties" to raise the discussion. "It is a matter of regret," said one of the members, "that while other provinces in India have gone ahead with the development of electricity schemes, none has been formulated in Bengal though she has richer resources." Mr. *R. J. Hawkings* of the European Group suggested that if the Government were considering any large electrical development scheme they should appoint a Board of Commissioners and expert engineers who should be given a free hand to further the development of electrical supply. While the policy that cheap electricity should somehow or other be provided had been formulated, the question now was how it could be done, said Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy,* Minister for Commerce, in explaining the Government policy. Now the question was one of method. "I must confess," he remarked, "that this problem, namely, the problem of development of cheap electricity, has to a very large extent eluded me and the best way out that I can find is the appointment of a Board of Electricity Commissioners which will be able to assist the Government in framing the

scheme. The cut motions were rejected without division and the demand was carried. The Assembly then adjourned, till the next day, the **29th. March,** when it concluded the consideration of the budget demand for grants for expenditure under different heads. The demand for grants of Rs. 4,77,000 for expenditure under head 'Miscellaneous, Rs. 4,84,00 for expenditure under the head 'Ports and Pilotage', Rs. 23,48,000 for expenditure under the head 'Stationary and Printing and Depreciation Reserve fund Government presses, Rs. 5,000 for expenditure under the head 'Interest on Debt and other obligations', Rs. 76,99,000 for expenditure under the heads 'Superannuation allowance and Pensions, commutations of pensions financed from ordinary revenue and payment of commuted value of pensions, Rs. 77,93,000 for expenditure under the head 'Miscellaneous', Rs. 4,05,000 for expenditure under the head 'Interest Free Advances' and Rs. 14,17,000 for expenditure under the head 'Loans and advances bearing interest' moved by the Hon'ble Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* were sanctioned by the House without any cut. The House also sanctioned a demand for grant of Rs. 12,10,000 moved by the Hon'ble Khwaja *Sir Nazimuddin* for expenditure under the head 'Extraordinary charges in India'. The House then adjourned.

Press Censorship Criticised

30th. MARCH :—The operation of press censorship in Bengal was severely criticised to-day when the Government's supplementary demand for the grant of a sum of Rs. 15,21,000 for expenditure under seven different heads in the year 1939-40 was presented to the House. The question was raised by means of a cut motion moved by Mr. *Surendranath Biswas* (Congress) in connection with the demand for the grant of a sum of Rs. 5,55,000 for expenditure under the head "Extraordinary Charges in India." These represent charges incurred in connection with the war. Mr. Biswas moved his cut motion to emphasise that the expenditure on the Press Censor was unnecessary. He moved another cut motion to point out that the expenditure on air raid precautions was a "sheer waste of public money." He said that the Press Censorship Department was absolutely unnecessary and thought that it existed for political purposes in the interest of the present Ministry in Bengal ; it was there only to gag public opinion and the expression of public opinion. Replying, the Home Minister, Khwaja Sir *Nazimuddin* referred to the question of expenditure on air raid precautions and said that the first thing to be remembered in this connection was that most of this expenditure would be recovered from the Government of India. As regards Press Censorship and the allegation that it had been used more or less to keep the Government in power, the Home Minister pointed out that practically no action had been taken by the Government against any paper for any criticism of their policy. The Government had only taken steps under the Defence of India Act against newspapers which were writing against the war. Whatever might be the merits or demerits of the action of Government or the Press Officer, the allegation that the Defence of India Act had been used for the purpose of maintaining the Government in power was absolutely baseless. Mr. *Biswas's* first cut motion which emphasised that the expenditure on the Press Censor was unnecessary was rejected without a division. The Opposition forced a division on his second cut motion which pointed out that the expenditure on air raid precautions was a "sheer waste of public money." The cut motion was rejected by the House by 90 votes to 52. The demand for Rs. 5,55,000 for "Extra-ordinary Charges in India" was passed.

Protest against Ban on Congress

8th. APRIL :—The recent order of the Provincial Government, prohibiting publication in Bengal of any news of, comment upon, or reference to the programmes and activities of the suspended Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Swami Sahajananda or any organisation with which Mr. Bose or Swami Sahajananda were connected, was the subject matter of an adjournment motion to-day. In admitting the motion, notice of which was given by Mr. *Santosh Kumar Bose* (Congress), the *Speaker* remarked that during the discussion, they could not raise the question of Government having abused its power under the Defence of India Rules curtailing the liberties of the Press. They could simply discuss it on the basis of the Government order itself. The motion was taken up for discussion on the next day, the **9th. April** when it was rejected by 104 to 73 votes, The House was then *prorogued.*

The Punjab Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker :—Hon. Chaudhury Sir Shahab-ud-Din, K.B., KT.
Deputy Speaker :—Sardar Dasaundha Singh, B.A., LL.B.

Elected Members

Mian Abdul Aziz
Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan
The Hon. Mian Abdul Haye
Mian Abdul Rab, B.A., LL.B.
Chaudhury Abdul Rahim
Chaudhury Abdul Rahim
Syed Afzaalali Hasnie
Chaudhri Ahmad Yar Khan
Khan Bahadur Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana, C.B.E.
Sardar Ajit Singh
Pir Akbar Ali, M.B.E.
Chaudhri Ali Akbar
Khan Bahadur Nawab Malik Allah Bakhsh Khan, M.B.E.
Syed Amjad Ali Shah, O.B.E.
Chaudhri Anant Ram, B.A., L.L.B.
Captain Ashiq Hussain, M.B.E.
Qaderi Sayed Badr-Mohi-ud-Din
Rao Bahadur Captain Rao Balbir Singh, O.B.E.
Sardar Baldev Singh
Sardar Balwant Singh
Malik Barkat Ali, M.A., L.L.B.
Lala Bhagat Ram Choda
Pandit Bhagat Ram Sarma
Rai Bhagwant Singh
Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, B.A., LL.B.
Diwan Chanan Lall, B.A. (Oxon.)
Sardar Chanan Singh
Hon. Rao Bahadur Sir Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, B.A., L.L.B.
Lala Deshbandhu Gupta
Mr. Deb Raj Sethi
Captain Dina Nath
Lala Duni Chand
Mrs. Duni Chand
Rai Faiz Muhammhd, Khan
Shaik Faiz Muhammad, B.A., L.L.B., M.B.E.
Chaudhri Faqir Chand
„ Faqir Hussain Khan
Subedar Major Raja Farman Ali Khan
2nd. Lieutenant Bhai Fatehjang Singh
Khan Sahib Raja Fateh Khan
Mian Fateh Muhammad
Malik Fateh Sher Khan
Khan Bahadur Nawab Chaudhri Fazal Ali Khan, O B.E.
Khan Sahib Chauduri Fazal Din
Mian Fazal Karim Bakhsh
Mr. E. Few
Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan
Khan Bahadur M. Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din
„ „ Ghulam Qadir Khan
Chaudhri Ghulam Rasul
Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad
Mahant Girdhari Das
Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, M.A., PH.D.
Rai Bahadur Lala Gopal Das
American Sardar Gopal Singh
Dr. Bhargava Gopi Chand
Sardar Bahadur Gurbachan Singh
Malik Habib-Ullah Khan
Khan Haibet Khan Daha
Bhagat Hans Raj, B.A., LL.B.
Rai Sahib Hari Chand Rai
Munshi Hari Lal
Sardar Hari Singh
„ Harjab Singh
Lala Harnam Das
Captain Sodhi Harnam Singh
Rai Sahib Chaudhri Het Ram
Sardar Indar Singh
M. Jafar Ali Khan
Beddi Tikka Jagjit Singh
Sardar Jagjit Singh Man
Mrs. Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, M.B.E.
Chaudhuri Jalal-ud-Din Amber, B.A.
Sardar Jogindar Singh Man
Chaudhri Jugal Kishore
Master Kabul Singh
Sardar Kapoor Singh, B.A., LL.B.
Shaikh Karamat Ali, B.A., LL.B.
Chaudhri Kartar Singh
Sardar Kartar Singh
Mr. Khalid Latif Gauba
The Hon. Major Nawabzada Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, O.B.E.
Seth Kishan Dass
Sardar Kishan Singh
Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt
Sardar Lal Singh, M.Sc., LL.B.
The Hon, Mr. Manohar Lal, M.A.
Mir Maqbool Mahmood
M. Mazhar Ali Azhar, B.A., LL.B.
Sayed Mohy-ud-Din Lal Badshah
Sayed Mubarik Ali Shah
Chaudhury Muhammad Abdul Rahim Khan
Khan Bahadur Raja Muhammad Akram Khan
Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Alam, B.A., LL.D.
Khan Sahib Shaikh Muhammad Amin
Chaudhri Muhammad Asraf

SARDAR MUHAMMAD AZAM KHAN
NAWABZADA MUHAMMAD FAIYAZ ALI KHAN
CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD HASSAN
KHAN BAHADUR SARDAR MUHAMMAD HASSAN KHAN GURCHANI, C.I.E.
KHAN BAHADUR MAKHDUM SAYED MUHAMMAD HASSAN
NAWAB SIR MALIK MUHAMMAD HAYAT KHAN NOON
SARDAR MUHAMMAD HUSSAIN
CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD HUSSAIN B A., LL.B.
MIAN MUHAHMAD IFTIKHAR-UD-DIN, B.A.
KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB SIR MUHAMMAD JAMAL KHAN LEGHARI
MAJOR SARDAR MUHAMMAD NAWAZ KHAN
MIAN MUHAMMAD NURULLAH. B.Com.
CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD QASIM
MAKHDUMZADA HAJI SAYED MUHAMMAD REZA SHAH JEELANI
KHAN SAHIB KHAN MUHAMMAD SAADAT ALI KHAN
CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD SARFRAZ KHAN
RAJA MUHAMMAD SARFRAZ KHAN
KHAN SAHIB CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD SHAFI ALI KHAN
MAKHDUMZADA HAJI SAYED MUHAMMAD WILAYAT HUSSAIN JEELANI
CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD YASIN KHAN, B.A., LL.B.
KHAN MUHAMMAD YUSUF KHAN, B.A., LL.B.
RAI BAHADUR MUKAND LAL PURI
SARDAR MULA SINGH
PANDIT MUNI LAL KALIA
KHAN BAHADUR MIAN MUSHTAQ AHMED GURMANI
SARDAR MUZAFFAR ALI KHAN QIZILBASH
KHAN BAHADUR CAPTAIN MALIK MUZAFFAR KHAN
„ „ NAWAB MUZAFFAR KHAN, C.I.E.
CHAUDHRI NASIR-UD-DIN
PIR NASIR-UD-DIN SHAH
RANA NASRULLAH KHAN
LIEUTENANT SARDAR NAU NIHAL SINGH MANN, M.B.E.
SAYED NAWAZISH ALI SHAH
KHAN BAHADUR MIAN NUR AHMAD KHAN
SARDAR PARTAB SINGH
KHAN SAHIB CHAUDHRI PIR MUHAMMAD
RAO POHOP SINGH, M.A., L.L.B.
CHAUDHRI PREM SINGH
MAHANT PREM SINGH
SIDDHU SARDAR PRITAM SINGH, B.A., L.L.B.
SHRIMATI RAGHBIR KAUR
CHAUDHRI RAM SARUP
„ RANPAT SINGH
BEGUM RASHIDA LATIF BAJI
KHAN BAHADUR CHAUDHRI RIASAT ALI
RAI SAHIB THAKUR RIPUDAMAN SINGH
SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, KT., C.I.E.
SARDAR RUR SINGH
SHAIKH SADIQ HASSAN, BA., BAR-AT-LAW
KHAN SAHIB CHAUDHRI SAHIB DAD KHAN
CHAUDHRI SAHIB RAM
SARDAR SAMPURAN SINGH
SARDAR SAHIB SARDAR SANTOKH SINGH
DR. SANT RAM SETH
DR. SATYA PAL
KHAN SAHIB RAI SHAHADAT KHAN
NAWAB SIR SHAH NAWAZ KHAN
PANDIT SHRI RAM SHARMA
KHAN BAHADUR MAJOR SIRDAR SIR SIKANDAR HYAT KHAN, K.B.E.
DIWAN BAHADUR S. P. SINGH
LALA SITA RAM
RAI SAHIB LALA SOHAN LAL
SARDAR SOHAN SINGH JOSH
SETH SUDARSHAN
SULTAN MAHMUD HOTIANA MIAN, B.A.
CHAUDHRI SUMER SINGH, B.A., L.L.B.
THE HON. SARDAR SIR DR. SUNDAR SINGH MAJITHIA, SARDAR BAHADUR, KT. C.I.E., D.O.L.
CHAUDHRI SURAJ MAL, B.A., L.L.B.
KHAN TALIB HUSAIN KHAN
SARDAR TARA SINGH
„ SARDAR TEJ SINGH
CHAUDHRI TIKKA RAM, B.A., L.L.B., M.B.E.
SARDAR BAHADUR SARDAR UJJAL SINGH, M.A.
SARDAR UTTAM SINGH, DUGAL
„ WALI MUHAMMAD SAYYAL HIRAJ

Budget Session—Lahore—8th. January to 29th. April 1940

REVIEW OF PUNJAB'S FINANCES

The Budget session of the Punjab Legislative Assembly commenced at Lahore on the 8th. January 1940 when it adopted the report of the Public Accounts Committee and voted seven excess demands for the year 1937-38 amounting to Rs. 1,82,323. Mr. *Manoharlal*, Finance Minister, reviewing the financial position of the province, said that the general standard of accuracy in budgeting for the first year under the Provincial Autonomy had shown great improvement on the previous year. The control over expenditure had been properly exercised throughout. The Finance Minister added that the revenue position of the Province during the year under report was sound and the debt position was satisfactory. The debt at the end of the year was Rs. 32¾ crores. As against this, the capital outlay

on irrigation and the hydro-electric schemes was nearly Rs. 41 crores. The irrigation works—productive and unproductive—combined yielded a net return of 9·92 per cent and though there was still a gap between the hydro-electric income and the expenditure, the position was gradually improving as the load developed.

PRIMARY EDUCATION BILL

9th. JANUARY:—*Mian Abdul Haye*, Education Minister, then moved consideration of the Punjab Primary Education Bill as reported on by the Select Committee. The Bill provided for the compulsory attendance of children at primary schools, and had been before the House for about two years. After a three-hours debate the House rejected without a division a motion for circulation of the Bill and took it into consideration clause by clause. During the discussion several members took exception to the clauses providing co-education. It was suggested that it would offend Moslem religious feelings. The Premier, *Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan*, declared that there was nothing in the Bill which infringed the principles of Islam. He disapproved the practice of compelling girls below the age of nine to observe *purdah*. Islam did not enjoin the observance of *purdah* at all times. The question of having separate syllabus for boys and girls of primary schools in the Punjab was raised on the **15th. January** by an amendment to Clause II by Mr. *Ghulam Samand* (Unionist). The amendment was defeated without a division. Replying to the debate, the Education Minister, *Mian Abdul Haye* said that the Syllabus Committee had recommended a common syllabus both for boys and girls up to third and fourth standards but for fourth and fifth standards certain modifications had been suggested. The Government had accepted these recommendations. As regards religious instruction, the Minister said that the present Government had already issued orders that in a certain number of girls' schools, religious instructions should be imparted after school hours. He assured the House that if this worked satisfactorily, the Government would not only introduce it during school hours but also extend it to other girls' schools. Among those who supported the amendment was *Begum Rashida Latif*, veiled Muslim woman-member of the Unionist Party, who said that many people did not send their girls to schools because the present education had created a feeling in girls that it was below their dignity to do any domestic work. *Begum Shah Nawaz*, Parliamentary Secretary to the Education Minister, drew the attention of the House to the recommendations of the Women's Education Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education that there should be a common syllabus both for boys and girls in primary stages. *Bibi Raghbir Kaur* (Congress) deplored that obstacles were being placed in the way of the spread of primary education. She wanted the women of this country to be fully educated so that they could even offer themselves for recruitment in the Army.

WORKING OF DEBT RELIEF ACT

11th. JANUARY:—The Assembly to-day debated for over three hours a resolution moved by *Sardar Naunihal Singh Mann* (Unionist) recommendating to the Government to take the necessary steps to appoint, in consultation with the Lahore High Court, an experienced judicial officer to enquire and report, whether the laws enacted to afford protection to debtors were being properly given effect to by subordinate courts. The resolution received all round support in the House. *Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan*, Parliamentary Secretary to the Revenue Minister, lending support to the resolution said that he had received several complaints that the legislation, which was passed by the House for the protection and relief of debtors, was not being acted upon. *Mir Maqbool Mahmood*, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier, expressed the opinion that the Courts had exercised their discretion in a manner which was most objectionable. The discussion had not concluded when the House adjourned.

HEALTH INSURANCE BILL

18th. JANUARY:—The announcement that legislation designed for the welfare and benefit of workers was under the close consideration of the Punjab Government was made by *Mian Abdul Haye*, Minister for Education and Health, to-day, opposing the introduction of the Punjab Health Insurance Bill, sought to be introduced by *Dr. Satyapal* (Congress). The Education Minister said that the Government intended to establish for the benefit and welfare of employees a Fund which would be administered by a committee of representatives of employers as well as employees. If it were ultimately decided to undertake legislation for the

purpose it would be placed before the House. The Assembly refused to grant leave to *Dr. Satyapal* to introduce his Bill.

Ghee Colourisation Bill

Mr. *Ch. Sumer Singh* (Unionist) then moved that his Punjab Artificial Ghee Colourisation Bill be taken into consideration. Mr. *K. B. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani* moved that the Bill should be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon. He pointed out that Government was in sympathy with the principle of the bill and themselves proposed to introduce legislation with the object of restricting the sale of artificial or adulterated ghee. Dr. *Gopichand Bhargava* characterised this as dilatory tactics on the part of the Government and said that such a measure should have been passed long ago. After a full-fledged debate in which about a dozen speakers participated, Mr. Gurmani's motion for circulation was rejected without a division and the motion for consideration was carried. The House then adjourned till the 29th instant.

State Aid to Industries Bill

29th. JANUARY :—Sir *Choturam*, Development Minister, moved that the Punjab State Aid to Industries (Amendment) Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration. An Opposition member, *Sardar Kapoor Singh*, moved that the Bill be recommitted to the same Select Committee with instructions to make definite provisions in the Bill for the purpose of encouraging cottage industries in rural areas. After a full-fledged debate, the Opposition motion was negatived without a division and the House proceeded to consider the Bill clause by clause. Three out of the five clauses of the Bill were passed and the fourth was under discussion when the Assembly adjourned till the **5th. February** when the Bill was passed. Sir *Chhotu Ram*, winding up the debate on the third reading, assured the House that subsidies would be granted only in just and deserving cases. The Minister said that under the Old Act, subsidies could be given only for research work, whereas according to the present Bill subsidies would be available for any purpose which could help in the improvement of village and cottage industries.

Official Bills Introduced

30th. JANUARY :—Two new bills, namely the Punjab Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill and the Pujab Thal (Increase in Value) Bill, were introduced. The consideration of these bills was postponed as sufficient time to enable the members to study them had not been given.

Major Khizar Hyat Khan, Minister for Public Works, introduced the Punjab Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill

Punjab Thal Bill

Sir *Chhoturam*, Development Minister, also introduced the Punjab Thal Bill which provided for the levy of a tax on lands, the value of which would be enhanced by irrigation from the Thal canal. The proceeds of the Tax would be utilised in lining the main canals and branches in order to prevent water-logging. The motion of the Opposition to circulate the Bill for the purpose of eliciting public opinion, was defeated by 82 to 35 votes on the **8th. February** and the House accepted the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. The Bill was passed on the **19th. April.**

The Factories Amend. Bill

Sir Chhoturam then moved for the reference of the Factories (Punjab Amendment) Bill to a Select Committee. The Bill, which sought to regulate the establishment and extension of factories in the province affects textiles, glass, cement, chemical, hydrogenated oils, cotton ginning and pressing factories, hosiery manufacture and flour mills. It provided that no factory shall be established or extended for the purpose of carrying on one or more of the manufacturing processes or for purposes incidental thereto, save with the permission in writing of the Provincial Government or such person or persons as it may direct. The penalty for contravention of this provision, suggested by the Select Committee, was simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or fine which may extend to Rs. 5,000. This clause evoked strong criticism both from members of the Opposition and of the Ministerialist Party on the **24th. April.** With a view to accommodating their point of view Mr. *Tikka Ram*, Parliamentary Secretary, by an amendment, sought to remove the penal part of the provision and the clause as amended by the House now provided that contravention shall be punishable

with a fine which may extend to Rs. 5,000 and in addition with a fine of Rs. 100 for each day of the period during which the contravention continues. Another official amendment accepted by the House provided that an aggrieved person, whose application had been rejected, will have the right to appeal to the Provincial Government. The House also agreed to the amendment of Sir Gokulchand Narang, which sought to include steel rolling mills in the schedule of factories to which the provisions of this Bill will apply.

HUNGER-STRIKE IN FEROZEPUR JAIL

1st. FEBRUARY :—Moving the adjournment motion on the Hunger Strike in the Ferozepur Jail to-day, Dr. *Satyapal* explained the circumstances which led to the prisoners to resort to hunger-strike. He alleged that, when the grievances of the political prisoners were represented to the Superintendent of the Jail, he ordered fetters to be put on the ringleaders. *Sardar Hari Singh* (Congress), supporting the motion, said that when he interviewed some of these prisoners on the eve of their starting the hunger strike they complained of maltreatment by the jail authorities. The general complaints were for about diet, medical treatment, facilities for correspondence and general behaviour of Jail authorities. The Minister for Jails in reply stated that out of 131 political prisoners confined in the Ferozepur Jail four were on hunger-strike—three since January 24 and one since January 27. On January 30, in response to a request made by some of the prisoners, the Inspector-General of Prisons visited the jail. There was no substantial complaint to which the Government should give consideration. None of the prisoners was in a precarious condition and they were offering the least possible resistance to feeding. The Minister however warned the House that hunger-strike was a jail offence triable by a Magistrate. It would prejudice the case, he added, if they discussed the matter. As regards the allegations that the prisoners resorted to hunger-strike because they were ill-treated by the jail authorities, the Minister stated that the Superintendent of the Jail concerned was an Officer of long experience and great ability. He was not likely to be a person to insult or abuse the prisoners. The Minister added that he would be extremely sorry if the Superintendent had really used abusive language. He assured the House that nothing serious had happened to any of the prisoners. The motion was defeated by 42 votes to 28.

TRIBAL RAID IN PUNJAB

21st. FEBRUARY :—In the Assembly which met this afternoon after the Moharram recess, the Speaker, *Sir Shahabuddin*, ruled out of order an adjournment motion tabled by *Lala Dunichand* seeking to discuss a tribal raid on Isakhel, a village in Mainwali District of the Punjab, on February 13. Making a statement in connection with the raid, Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan*, Premier said that a gang of approximately two hundred trans-border people came all the way through North-West Frontier Province. On their way, they burnt a police station in the Frontier Province and then headed for the Punjab. The Frontier Police gave timely intimation and the citizens of Isakhel were warned in time, with the result that they were prepared for this large horde of raiders, who were all armed. When the raiders arrived, they entered the city through different gates and were received with a volley of fire from all quarters. The citizens themselves had organised different parties in different parts of the city under the direction of the police and the speaker paid a tribute to the police and also to the Sub-Assistant Surgeon who very bravely associated himself with the police and the citizens. One of their colleagues here, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Qadir Khan, also took up one of the most difficult positions in the city and he was responsible for expelling the raiders without any loss so far as he was concerned except that one of his servants was wounded, while one of the raiders was killed and his body was left there. It is believed that four other raiders were killed and their bodies were carried away. There was no loss of property. The raiders thereafter went away and took refuge in the adjoining hills. Subsequently, information was received that three hundred other people had come to join them with a view to avenging themselves on the citizens of Dera Ismail Khan who had inflicted such loss on them. Unfortunately the police force there was not adequate to meet the attack of a big raiding party like that. So they had to seek the help of the military authorities. A battalion of Infantry left the same evening from Rawalpindi for Kalabagh so that they may round up the raiders and see that they did not get back. The Frontier Police on their side strengthened their various positions and the people and the Government were thus able to corner the raiders.

EXCISE AMEND. BILL

22nd. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly to-day resumed discussion on the Punjab Excise (Amendment) Bill which had been introduced by Sir *Chhoturam*, Development Minister. The Bill sought to secure the return of used excise bottles to the distilleries as new bottles which used to be imported from Germany were no longer available owing to the war. Intervening in the debate, the Premier, Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* said that he was at one with the members who wanted to introduce Prohibition but the Punjab Government was watching the results of Prohibition in other Provinces. The Premier assured the House that the present legislation would not help in increasing the consumption of liquor but on the other hand have a salutary effect in controlling illicit distillation. Mr. *Manoharlal*, Finance Minister, said that the object of the Bill was to regulate the liquor trade and to stop as far as possible illicit distillation. The Government, he added, was prepared to give its support to any industrialist who intended to start manufacturing battles but so far, no one had approached the Government with such a request. *Diwan Chamanlal* said that since the Unionist Government had come into power in the Punjab, the consumption of liquor had greatly increased as was evidenced by the rise in the number of excise licences. He did not understand why the Government had come out with this Bill to provide facilities to the distillers in face of the mandate of the electorate to usher in a "dry" era. If the Bill did become operative it would tend to cheapen country liquor which was detrimental to the health of the people. Diwan Chamanlal also took objection to the wide powers to be given to the police through this legislation. After three hours' debate, the House took into consideration the Bill by 54 against 35 votes. The circulation motion moved by *Diwan Chamanlal* was rejected without a division and the House adjourned.

THE DEBT RELIEF BILL

26th. FEBRUARY to 15th. APRIL:—The Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Amendment Bill was taken into consideration to-day and the House proceeded to discuss the Bill clause by clause. The Congress motion to circulate the Bill for the purpose of eliciting public opinion on it was rejected. Mr. *Krishna Gopal Dutt* (Congress) suggested that the Government should create a Debt Redemption Fund and also provide short-term cheap credit. Sir *Chhoturam*, Development Minister, said that if the Government were to relieve the debtors of their burden by paying on their behalf they would have to cut down expenses on education, medical relief, police, etc., and also impose new taxes. The Minister added that the Government had never been in favour of repudiation of debts. They kept a balance between capitalism and socialism. They did not want to end capitalism but only some of its objectionable features. On the 28th. February *Lala Dev Raj Sethi* moved an amendment seeking to exempt any banking company registered after 1st April 1937 from the provisions of Clause 3 which declares that the court shall deem interest to be excessive if it exceeded 7½ per cent per annum simple interest in the case of secured loans, or 12½ per cent per annum simple interest in the case of unsecured loans. Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan*, the Premier said that he would have gladly accepted the amendment but his information was that several "dishonest" money-lenders after the passage of the agrarian legislation had floated banks in order to evade the Money-lenders Act. The Premier added that if the Government accepted the amendment the main object of the Bill would be nullified. The amendment was lost without a division. The House also rejected another amendment to Clause 3 moved by Mr. *Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt* suggesting that the co-operative societies should not be exempted from the provisions of the Bill. Sir *Chotu Ram*, Minister for Development, said that the co-operative societies stood on a different footing from individual money-lenders. He said that cooperative societies were not a new type of money-lenders and open only to agriculturists. The co-operative societies were open to all. *Lala Bhim Sen Achar* moved an amendment proposing that an insurer registered under the Insurance Act 1938, should also be exempted from the provisions of Clause 3 of the Bill. The amendment which was opposed by the Government was lost without a division and Clause 3 was passed. The House then discussed the other clauses on different dates and then adjourned till the 15th. April, when the third reading of the Bill was passed. The Premier, *Sir Sikander Hyat Khan* appealed to the House to pass the measure unanimously as it would benefit both agriculturists and non-agriculturists and was in consonance with the principles of the Congress. Referring to the suggestion

of a Congress member that the benefits of the Bill should be limited to those paying an annual land revenue of Rs. 500, the Premier pointed out that the number of those who paid land revenue of more than Rs. 500 was 1,875, whereas those whom the measure would directly benefit numbered 3,470,000. They would not, added the Premier, expect the Government to enact a separate law for the former. Referring to the rate of interest on loans which was sought to be fixed by the Bill, the Premier said that the rate proposed in the Bill (7½ per cent for secured loan and 12½ per cent for un-secured loan) was fair and equitable both to the creditors and the debtors. The Premier strongly repudiated the suggestion that the measure would lead to the destruction of credit in the Province. *Sir Chhoturam*, Development Minister, intervening in the debate earlier, congratulated the agriculturist members of the Congress Party on having supported the Bill. The Minister characterised as impracticable the proposal for the wiping out of the entire indebtedness of the Province. He said that the interest alone on an indebtedness of fifty crores would amout to five crores which would be a drain on the provincial exchequer and the agriculturists knew that ultimately it would affect their pockets. An interesting feature of the Bill was that, it also afforded protection to non-agriculturists whose one main residential house was exempted from attachment in execution of money decrees. The main opposition to the measure came from the Independent Party led by *Sardar Santokh Singh*. It was pointed out that the Government was exploiting the name of the poor to benefit the big landlords. *Sardar Santokh Singh* alleged that by this Bill all principles of jurisprudence, equity and fairplay had been thrown to the winds. He particularly criticised the provision which accorded differential treatment to banking companies as against individual moneylenders. *Sir Gokulchand Narang*, ex-Minister and member of the Independent Party, and *Sardar Sohan Singh Josh* (Congress) suggested that the entire indebtedness should be wiped off. Sir Gokulchand Narang criticised the extended powers of the Conciliation Boards which had deprived the civil courts of their legitimate powers, and expressed the belief that the Bill would lead to corruption and would destroy the credit of the province.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1940—41

1st. MARCH :—A revenue deficit of Rs. 28 lakhs, which is covered by extraordinary receipts of Rs. 50 lakhs, with no corresponding expenditure, leaving a surplus balance of Rs. 22 lakhs was revealed by the Finance Minister, Mr. *Manohar Lal*, presenting the budget estimates for the next year to the Assembly this afternoon.

The total estimated revenue receipts stand at Rs. 11,74 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 12,02 lakhs. The deficit is due entirely to famine in Hissar district, which for a third consecutive year seriously affects the finances of the Province. Provision is being made for a direct expenditure of Rs. 32 lakhs on famine. But for it these estimates would show a revenue surplus of Rs. 4 lakhs. Further there is likely to be a loss of revenue in additional suspensions and remissions of Rs. 11 lakhs, proceeding on the basis of normal kharif in 1940. The famine, thus, said the Finance Minister, has worsened our finances to the extent of Rs. 43 lakhs, but its existence brings once again into relief the essential soundness of our finances. The revised deficit for the current year is Rs. 49 lakhs, due to a direct famine expenditure of Rs. 72 lakhs and special loss in revenue, because of abnormal suspensions and remissions, of Rs. 16 lakhs. But for the famine there would have been a revenue surplus of no less a magnitude than Rs. 39 lakhs. No new taxation is proposed and action on the report of the Punjab Resources and Retrenchment Committee is deferred until the verdict of the Assembly is available.

A comparison of the budget estimates for the next year with the revised estimates for current year reveals an estimated improvement of Rs. 17 lakhs under Land Revenue (gross). A noticeable feature that promises to last is the steady and welcome increase under receipts under the Motor Vehicles Act.

Increased expenditure on account of expanding irrigation projects and on Beneficent departments is a characteristic feature of the whole financial policy of the present Government ever since April 1937, said the Finance Minister. The Haveli Project, which was an achieved fact during the current year, will provide perennial irrigation to more than half a million acres and non-perennial irrigation to about half a million acres. The estimated cost of the Thall Project, which has been taken in hand, is about Rs. 7½ crores calculated on pre-war rates and the headworks are not expected to be ready before April, 1942.

Referring to the Bhakra Dam Project, the Finance Minister said : "The importance of providing irrigation to the parched districts of Hissar and Rohtak has been

brought home to us all with particular emphasis during the past two years, when Government has had to spend Rs. 2¾ crores in direct and indirect relief, and I stand to assure the House and those districts that not a day is being wasted in coming to practical grips with the many problems involved in the scheme."

Explaining the growth of beneficent expenditure, Mr. Manohar Lal said : "There is larger provision to attack illiteracy on which the Ministry has declared a relentless war, and girls' education continues to receive increasing attention. Rupees 10,000 are to be given as scholarships to weavers and special classes and a provision of Rs. 33,000 has been made for soldiers' children. Schemes for the supply of drinking water are to cost Rs. one lakh and there is a special provision of Rs. 10,000 for wells for the scheduled castes. Some provision is made for grants to educated young men to help them in starting handicrafts and village industries. The provincial additional police is being maintained and war needs have necessitated further strengthening of our police force. The growing evil of counterfeiting of coins has also involved expenditure, as it has been found necessary to provide a special staff for the detection of cases of this serious offence."

Striking figures of land revenue suspensions and remissions were given by the Finance Minister, who said : "Since the present Ministry came into power suspensions and remissions have totalled Rs. 3,62,37,000 as against Rs. 1,47,37,000 for the three years immediately preceding the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy." The Finance Minister called attention to the fact that during the current year the land revenue suspensions and remissions amounted to as much as the aggregate for the three years immediately preceding Provincial Autonomy. Water rate remissions disclose a similar position. For next year, allowance is being made under land revenue suspensions and remissions to the amount of Rs. 1,24,00,000 and under abiana remissions to the amount of Rs. 21 lakhs.

Voting on Budget Demands

9th. to 29th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced on the **9th. March** and after two days' debate, the Government demand for a grant of Rs. 21,23,900 in respect of Industries was passed. A cut motion of *Sardar Bahadur Santokh Singh*, Leader of the Independent Party, was negatived by 81 votes to 25. Winding up the debate, Sir *Chhotuarm*, Minister for Development, explained the achievements of the industries department since the advent of provincial autonomy. The Minister reminded the House that the Punjab was the first province in India to undertake an industrial survey on a provincial scale. It was also the first in starting a Stores Purchase Department. The Minister then referred to the various acts enacted by the House for developing and encouraging industrial development of the province. Sir Chhoturam paid a tribute to the present Director of Industries, Rai Bahadur Ramlal, who would be retiring in August next after a brilliant career, and would be succeeded by a distinguished Muslim Officer. *Choudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt* (Congress) charged the Premier with nepotism for appointing his brother-in-law as Director of Industries in the place of Rai Bahadur Ramlal. The latter, he said, was a most capable Officer. He did not understand why his services were being terminated. *Nawab Muzaffar Khan* deplored the "communal tendencies" of those who criticised the appointment of a Muslim in succession to the present Director of Industries. Sir *Gokulchand Narang* said that the industry as a whole was not flourishing in the province. Neither the previous nor the present Ministry had been able to do much for industrial development. *Sir William Roberts* thought that the high rate of interest hampered the growth of industries in the province. He complained of Government's miserliness in granting aid to industries. On the **15th. March**, after, two days' full-dress debate, the Government demand for the grant of Rs. 93,02,800 in respect of General Administration was voted. The Opposition Party's cut motion which sought to discuss the policy of the Government underlying general administration, was negatived by 79 votes to 30. With a view to enabling the Congress members to attend the Congress Session, the Assembly dispersed to meet again on the 26th instant. Over a dozen members participated in the debate on the 15th. The speakers of the Opposition Party charged the Unionist Government with suppressing civil liberties and banning the entry in the province of distinguished political leaders of India. They further alleged that securities amounting to Rs. 2,22,000 had been demanded while securities amounting to Rs. 15,500 had been forfeited by the present Government. They also accused the Government of demoralising the Press. Replying to the debate, Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* regretted that yesterday's debate was below the dignity of the House and warned the Congress members that, if they did not change their attitude, the Congress

would be liquidated, in the province. The Premier appealed to the Congressmen to "behave properly" and co-operate with him in the welfare of the province. Comparing the figures of crimes in the Punjab with those in the United Provinces, the Premier stated that there had been a larger increse in crimes in U. P. after the advent of the provincial autonomy than in the Punjab. The Premier strongly repudiated the allegations that the Government had demoralised the Press. He read out a communication from members of the Press Gallery lodging their strong protest against the allegations made against the Punjab Press by certain members of the Opposition. *Major Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana*, Minister for Public Works and *Mian Abdul Hayee*, Minister for Education, also replied to the criticism levelled against their respective Departments. On the **28th. March**, the policy of the Public Works Department was criticised during the debate raised on a token cut under the demand for grant for Rs. 16,09,900 in respect of charges on the Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Establishment. *Sardar Kapur Singh* pointed out that 54 lakhs were being spent annually by the Government on the provincial roads whose total mileage was 4 thousand, whereas a paltry grant of 3 lakhs had been given to the District Boards for the maintenance of their roads whose mileage was twenty thousand. He urged that the grants to the District Boards in this respect should be increased as the roads maintained by them directly benefited the rural population. A suggestion to raise a loan of three crores of rupees for the purposes of metalling two thousand miles of roads in the Punjab, was made by Mr. *Amjad Ali*, Private Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier. The cut motion which was sponsored by the Opposition provided an opportunity to the members of the Ministerial party to voice the grievances of their respective constituents. About a dozen members mostly from Ministerial benches participated in the debate which remained inconclusive. On the **29th. March**, guillotine was applied by the *Speaker* while the demand for grant in respect of the Public Works Department was under discussion. The remaining thirty demands for grants including Police, Agriculture, Education, Administration of Justice and Land Revenue amounting to over eleven crores of rupees were voted without any discussion. By mutual arrangement between the Ministerial and the Opposition parties, 5 out of 35 demands were selected and were fully discussed for 10 days. They amounted to about Rs. 82 lakhs only. The Opposition claimed a division on the Police grant which was, however, passed by 58 votes to 21.

BAN ON KHAKSARS—PREMIER'S EXPLANATION

26th. MARCH :—The Assembly rejected to-day by 93 votes to 43 the adjournment motion relating to the recent firing in Lahore moved by Mr. *K. L. Gauba*, after a comprehensive statement made by the Premier, Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan*, on the circumstances relating to the firing. The Premier's announcement that the Government would give due consideration to that part of the Muslim League resolution which urged for the cancellation as soon as possible of the order declaring the Khaksar Association unlawful was greeted with prolonged applause. Explaining his reasons for imposing the ban on the Khaksars, Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* reminded the House that the ban on the activities of semi-military organisations in the Punjab, which numbered 18, had been imposed in response to a demand from the public and all sections of the House, including the Leader of the Opposition, who were taken into confidence before the decision was taken. He added that no Government could allow private armies to function.

Sir Sikander stated that since the ban was imposed, certain people had been trying to exploit the situation for their own ends and were determined to mar the success of the Muslim League session and bring the Ministry into disrepute. He revealed that all possible precautions were taken to prevent any incident on March 21 and a gas squad was also kept ready.

The Premier related the events on March 19 which led to the firing. He said that when the Senior Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Superintendent of Police were seriously injured, there was no officer left to control the police who opened fire. No order was given by any responsible officer. It was now for the Enquiry Committee which had already been appointed to take evidence and come to a conclusion on the matter. After paying a tribute to the two officers who were injured, the Premier gave the casualties as 32 killed. The Premier also hinted that action would be taken against people responsible for inciting the Khaksars to break the law. He revealed that several meetings had been held at the house of a member of the Punjab Assembly where Khaksars were incited to break the law. At this stage, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, *Dewan Chamanlal* raised a

point of order and requested the Premier to name the member, but the Speaker, Sir *Shahab-ud-din* said that he would not allow him to name the member.

Referring to the resolution of the All-India Muslim League, the Premier said that if he found that the Khaksars' organisation was no longer violent and the Khaksars intended to continue only their social activities, he would give due consideration to that part of the resolution which asked for cancellation, as soon as possible, of the order declaring the Khaksars' Association as unlawful. The Premier assured the House that the Government would do everything to secure purity of investigation and spare nobody however high placed he might be. The motion when put to vote was lost by 93 votes to 43.

PUNJAB WAR SERVICE BILL

11th. APRIL :—Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* moved to-day that the Punjab Legislative Assembly (War Service) Bill, which was designed to prevent membership of any of His Majesty's forces or the holding of an office under the Defence Department in connection with the war being a disqualification for membership of the Punjab Assembly, be taken into consideration. *Sardar Sohan Singh Josh* (Congress) moved that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereupon by June 1. Mr. Josh represented the Congress viewpoint on the prosecution of the war and said that they could not subscribe to the unconditional support to the British Government to which the Punjab Ministry had pledged themselves. *Major Firman Ali* (Unionist) said that the Congress did not represent the whole of India and consisted mostly of non-martial classes. The circulation motion was rejected by 44 votes against 16 and the House took the Bill into consideration. Replying to the debate on the second reading, the *Premier* said that a similar measure had been passed by the British Parliament in a few minutes. He pointed out that they were not responsible for the errors of the British in the past or even to-day and said that the time had come when the chains of bondage were about to be broken and any wrong step on their part at this moment would again strengthen the hold of Britain. The Premier added that danger was ahead and they should help the British with a view to retaining their own independence. In the Punjab they would have to fight for their very existence and it would be a wrong policy to non-co-operate with Britain because it had not accepted the demand for a Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Scheme. The Bill was passed by 63 votes to 18.

CR. P. C. AMEND. BILL

22nd. to 29th. APRIL :—The hon'ble Mr. *Manoharlal*, Finance Minister, introduced on the 22nd. the Code of Criminal Procedure (Punjab Amendment) Bill, which sought to restore to Section 27 of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, the meaning which had generally been attached to it in the past, namely, that so much of a confession made to a police officer, or while in the custody of a police officer, may be proved as may have led to any particular discovery. The Bil had been necessitated by a recent Full Bench ruling of the Lahore High Court which held by a majority that the amendments made in Section 162 of the Code of Criminal Procedure in 1923, have, by implication, repealed Section 27 of the Indian Evidence Act. The *Finance Minister* agreed to the suggestion of the Opposition to refer the Code of Criminal Procedure (Punjab Amendment) Bill to a Select Committee, the report of which was moved on the **26th. April**. Two Congress members, in a minute of dissent, attached to the Select Committee Report, pointed out that any alteration in Section 162 could be left to the Central Legislature as the Code was an All-India Act. Mr. *Harilal* (Congress), supported by Dewan Chamanlal, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, and others objected to the consideration of the Bill on the ground that it was *ultra vires*. The objection was, however, ruled out by the Speaker. *Chaudhri Krishnagopal Dutt* (Congress) then moved for the circulation of the Bill for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by 31st January 1941. This motion was rejected by 63 to 28 votes and the House took the Bill into consideration by 64 to 28 votes. The Bill was passed by 56 votes on the 27th. On the **29th. April** Sir *Chhoturam*, Development Minister, moved that the Punjab Trade Employees' Bill as reported by the Select Committee be taken up for discussion. The Bill sought to limit hours of work of shop assistants and commercial employees and to make certain regulations concerning their holidays, wages and terms of service. The House then adjourned.

The Sind Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker :—The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Miran-Mahomed Shah
Deputy Speaker :—Miss J. T. Sipahimalani

Members

Dr. Popatlal A. Bhopatkar
Rustomji Khurshedji Sidhva
Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas
Hon'ble Mr. Nichaldas Chatumal Vazirani
Lolumal Rewachand Motwani
Hon'ble Rai Saheb Gokaldas Mewaldas
Dr. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhwani
Doulatram Moohandas
C. T. Valecha
Hassaram Sunderdas Pamnani
Newandram Vishindas
Rai Bahadur Hotchand Hiranand
Ghansham Jethanand Shivdasani
Ghanumal Tarachand
Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani
Partabrai Khaisuhdas
Sitaldas Perumal
Akhji Ratansing Sodho
Khan Sahib Allah Bakhsh Khudadad Khan Gaboi
Muhammad Hashim Faiz Muhammad Gazdar
Muhammad Usman Muhammad Khan Sumro
Muhammad Yusif Khan Bahadur Khair Muhammad Khan Chandio
Pir Ghulam Hyder Shah Sahibdino Shah Bubri
Ghulam Muhammad Abdullah Khan Isran
Pir Illahibux Nawaz Ali
Hon. Syed Ghulam Murtaza Shah Muhammad Shah
The Hon'ble Abdul Majid Lilaram
Khan Bahadur Amirali Tharu Khan Lahori
Mir Muhammad Khan Nawab Ghaibi Khan Chandio
Mohamed Amin A. Khoso
Khan Sahib Sohrab Khan Sahibdino Khan Sarki
Khan Sahib Jaffer Khan Gul Muhammad Khan Burdi
Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Md. Umar
Shamsuddin Khan Abdul Kabir Khan
Abdul Satar Abdul Rahman
Khan Sahib Pir Rasul Bakhsh Shah Mahbub Shah
Khan Bahadur Sardar Kaiser Khan Ghulam Muhammad Khan
Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Allahando Shah
Sayed Nur Mahammad Shah Murad Ali Shah
Rais Rasul Bakhsh Khan Muhammad Ahan Uner
S. B. Jam Jan Md. Khan Muhammad Sharif Junejo
Sayed Khair Shah Imam Ali Shah
Makhdum Ghulm Haider Makhdum Zahir-ud-din
Hon. Mr. Miran Muhammad Shah Zainulabdin Shah
Mir Ghulam Allah Khan Mir Haji Hussain Bakhsh Khan Talpur
Hon. Mir Bandehali Khan Mir Haji Muhammad Hussan Khan Talpur
Mir Ghulamali Khan Bundehali Khan Talpur
Sardar Bahadur Mir Allahdad Khan Imam Bakhsh Khan Talpur
Khan Bahadur Sayed Ghulam Nabi Shah Moujali Shah, M.B.E.
Arbab Togachi Mir Muhammad
Miss Jethibai Tulsidas Sipahimalani
Mrs. Jenubai Ghulamali Allana
J. Fraser
Colonel H. J. Mahon
Issardas Varandmal
Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Kt., K.C.S.I.
Dewan Dialmal Doulatram
Narayandas Anandjee Bechar
Lt.-Colonel W. B. Hossack

Budget Session—Karachi—26th. January to 1st. April 1940

Resignation of Hindu Ministers

The Sind Legislative Assembly, which commenced its Budget session at Karachi on the **26th. January 1940**, adjourned without transacting any business on the motion of Miss *Jethi Siphahimalani*, Deputy Speaker, who said that to-day being the Independence Day, the Congress group had important functions to attend. Hence she requested the Speaker to adjourn the House for the day. The Premier, *Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh* expressed his sympathy with the sentiments of the

mover of the motion and the Speaker, Mr. *Miran Mohamed Shah*, put the motion saying that it was intended to respect the feelings of the Congress group. No member objected and the Speaker adjourned the House.

Two Hindu Ministers, Mr. *Nichaldas Vazirani* and Mr. *Dialmal Doulatram*, tendered resignations of their office this morning in obedience to the Hindu Party's mandate. *Rao Sahib Gokuldas*, Parliamentary Secretary, also resigned. The resignations were a sequel to the decision taken at a meeting of the Hindu Independent members of the Assembly on the eve of its budget session. The party, by a majority, decided to withdraw its support to the Allah Baksh Ministry and to go into the opposition.

Adjournment Motions Ruled out

27th. JANUARY :—The Government of Sind did no desire under the present circumstances to control prices of foodstuffs, stated Premier *Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh* during the discussion on the admissibility of an adjournment motion tabled by Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa* to discuss the failure of the Government to control prices. The Speaker, Mr. *Miran Mohamed Shah*, ruled the motion out of order. The Hindu Independents were occupying the opposition benches. The Speaker announced that he had received as many as 10 adjournment motions, all from the Congress benches. A lively discussion followed the announcement on the question whether an adjournment motion had the same effect as a no-confidence motion. The *Premier* suggested that instead of tabling 10 adjournment motions the Congress party could as well have tabled a no-confidence motion, thus saving time without interrupting the normal business of the House. The Congress members contended that an adjournment motion amounted to censuring the Government policy, but when it was carried it was not incumbent on the Ministry to resign as in the case of a no-confidence motion, with which contention the Speaker agreed. Taking the motions one by one, the *Speaker* ruled out of order the first motion relating to the murder of Bhaghat Ram in September and the second on the prevailing lawlessness in Sind. The next motion by the same member to discuss the failure of Government to control the prices of foodstuffs produced another lively debate. The Speaker asked the mover whether it was of public importance as the majority of agriculturists desired a rise in prices. The Premier admitted that the matter was of public importance. The Government could always control prices if they desired, but he disputed the urgency of the matter. The prices had already come down, not gone up. The Speaker, however, took the view that the matter was not of public importance and ruled out the motion.

Vaids & Hakims Bill

The House thereafter passed all the three readings of the Vaids and Hakims Bill moved by Mr. *Nichaldas Vazirani*. It was a Government measure.

Correction in Non-official Bills

29th. and 30th. JANUARY :—An important ruling on a point of order raised by the Premier, whether the Speaker has the power to amend or to make an important correction to a non-official Bill on his own initiative before its introduction, was given by the Speaker, Mr. *Miran Mohd. Shah*, on the 30th. The *Premier* raised an objection on the 29th. to Mr. *Sidhwa's* Bill seeking to repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932 on the ground that the Speaker acted beyond his powers in carrying out a substantive change in the year on his own initiative to the original Bill, tabled by the mover seeking to repeal the Act of 1935, which required the sanction of the Governor-General. Mr. *Nichaldas Vazirani*, ex-Minister, who had crossed the floor on the 30th, and occupied the seat of the Leader of the Opposition, held that there was only one Criminal Law Act which was passed in 1932 and the subsequent Act of 1936 was an amending one giving permanence to the old Act. Moreover, leave was granted by the House only to the present Bill and no objection was raised at the time of introduction and the House could not take cognisance of what had transpired before leave for introduction was granted. Upholding the point of order, the *Speaker* ruled that his predecessor had transgressed his powers in carrying out a correction and the Bill before the House was that seeking to repeal the 1935 Act, which required the previous sanction of the Governor-General and hence was out of order.

Press Act Repeal Bill

Quick progress thereafter was made by the House and as many as 15 non-official Bills were disposed of within two hours. They were either dropped,

withdrawn or rejected. There was a heated debate on Mr. *Sidhwa's* Bill to repeal the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act. The hon. *Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah*, opposing it, pointed out that even in Congress provinces, nobody had sought to repeal the measures and in Sind, where communal tension prevailed, it was necessary that the Government should be armed with more powers. He instanced certain articles in journals written before and after the Sukkur riots which were responsible for hundreds of communal murders. This statement was the signal for an exchange of words between members of the Muslim League and the Law Minister. Concluding, Sir *Ghulam Hussain* assured the House that the Government did not desire to control liberty of normal activities of the Press in any way. The Bill was rejected.

THE PROHIBITION BILL

1st. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly passed the first and second readings to-day of a Bill which sought to restrict the consumption of intoxicants by the public, prohibited the consumption of intoxicants at religious and charitable places and also prohibited persons below the age of twenty years consuming it at any place in the province. During the debate, the hon. *Khan Bahadur Alla Bux*, Premier stated that the Government had decided to bring about total prohibition by stages. There was general support to the measure though members of the Congress Party expressed the opinion that the legislation had not taken them far enough but stated that they wholeheartedly supported the measure. Speaking on the first reading of the Bill, the Premier admitted that the Bill was not all that was required. He believed that his policy of temperance would in course of time lead towards total Prohibition. The province at present was not in a position to undertake a full-fledged programme of Prohibition but it would be brought about anytime when finances permitted. He asserted them that by this legislation the younger generation could be prevented from acquiring the drink habit. When the necessary money was found the Government would gradually by notifications impose more restrictions by the raising of the age limit. Referring to the criticism that the Bill affected only a small percentage of the population, the Premier said that there were a number of charitable houses where people collected and indulged in intoxicants and drug smoking. If such places were closed a large number of people could be prevented from acquiring the habit. The elimination of drink would mean purification of the village and the town, the life of the people in general. With regard to certain objections raised by the European members, the Premier assured them that the Government were prepared to exempt the European community from the purview of the Bill. Mr. *Nichaldas Vazirani*, ex-Minister, Mr. *Gazdar* (Muslim League) and Miss *Jethi Sipahimilani* (Congress) commended the Bill to the House. Mr. *Jamshed Mehta* characterised the Bill as a camouflage and appealed to the Premier to withdraw the Bill and to bring in a real and better Prohibition Bill. Discussion of the Bill clause by clause was then taken up and concluded. An amendment exempting the European community from the operation of the legislation was accepted by the Government.

LAW & ORDER IN SIND

5th. FEBRUARY :—Mr. *A. S. Pamnani* moved to-day an adjournment motion to discuss the Sukkur riot situation and condemn the Government in this connection. The Premier made a long statement and after further speeches the motion was talked out. The Premier, Mr. *Allah Bux*, deplored the continuance of a state of lawlessness in Sukkur District and announced that the Government was prepared to appoint a Select Committee to devise ways and means to cope with the situation, which, he admitted, was a grave blot on the fair name of the Province. The Premier also assured the House that, with a view to inculcating a feeling of brotherhood between the two major communities and a sense of responsibility on the part of the majority community, the Government was willing to provide the fullest opportunity and allot the necessary funds therefor. The Premier characterised the recent happenings at Sukkur as disgraceful for which he laid the responsibility on a section of the Muslim Leaguers and such of the Hindu leaders who, unmindful of the consequences, indulged in provocative utterances particularly, at the Hindu Sabha Conference presided over by Dr. Moonje. Dealing with the causes of the riots, the Premier, in the course of his statement said that, in order to gain political power at whatever cost, one section had resorted to undesirable methods, even creating a state of lawlessness. This was chiefly responsible for this conflagration. It would be disastrous for the province if the idea was allowed to

gain strength that ends, political or otherwise, could be gained by resorting to aggression. He never expected that his Muslim brothers would so forget themselves and the rights of their non-Muslim neighbours in the villages, as to indulge in such an orgy of loot and arson in the villages and resort shamelessly to kidnapping of Hindu womenfolk and molestation of their honour.

Referring to the Manzilgah issue, the Premier said that the matter was not easy of solution. On the one hand were people who honestly believed that one of the Manzilgah buildings was a mosque and therefore it should be restored to the Muslims. On the other hand, there was a section which honestly held that none of the Manzilgah buildings had ever been a mosque. Yet another section believed that even if it was a mosque, its restoration to the Muslims was likely to be a source of constant friction between the major communities on account of the buildings being in proximity of the Sudhbela shrine. Yet another section wished to exploit the situation for political ends. The Government were fully conscious of the extreme desirability of an early solution but unfortunately when the matter seemed nearing a decision, the Muslim League Restoration Committee threatened Government with Satyagraha unless the Government decided to surrender. Replying to the question, why the Government did not take immediate action to end the agitation, the Premier said, ostensibly the agitators had not exceeded the bounds of lawful action whatever be the underground propaganda, The Government also hoped that better sense would eventually prevail and the Restoration Committee would agree to come to satisfactory understanding between them and the Government. The Restoration Committee collected a large number of volunteers little realising the consequence of its action. Government feared that immediate suppression of the movement would involve use of much force and released prisoners in the hope that, when passions had subsided the Committee would realise the unwisdom of creating a situation which was fraught with the greatest danger to public peace and safety. Thereafter, the Government decided to make one more effort with a view to avoiding serious consequences arising out of the use of force. The Government got into contact with the Chairman of the Restoration Committee who represented to them that he and some other members were doing their best to induce the Committee to agree to a settlement, but the majority of the Committee were not agreeable. Extensions of time were obtained by the Chairman with a view in securing the consent of the non-assenting members of the Committee. When their efforts had failed, the Chairman and his supporters did not wash their hands off the Committee with the result that a feeling of disobedience to Government's orders was aroused among the people. The Hindus simultaneously carried on an agitation and the Hindu Conference at Sukkur under the presidentship of Dr. *Moonje* added weight in the same direction. The result was that the Government was compelled to use force, assert its authority and take possession of the buildings the Satyagrahi volunteers had forcibly taken possession of.

"What is the solution" ? asked the Premier. He continued, in the Government's opinion, it was necessary to create a feeling of respect for law and order, and goodwill and harmony between the communities. The former was not attainable as long as those responsible for the disturbances were not made to realise that their conduct was positively harmful to society and for that purpose inflict on them the necessary punishment which would serve as a lesson to others. For securing the latter object, the Government was prepared to carry on propaganda with a view to inculcating among the people in the villages a sense of responsibility. This duty particularly must be realised by the majority community of creating a sense of security among the few non-Muslims living in their midst. The Government was prepared to make available the necessary funds and opportunities for the attainment of this end. Inviting the different groups in the Assembly to extend co-operation in ending the deplorable state of affairs, the Premier asked the Muslim Leaguers not only to condemn those responsible for the creation of such a situation but co-operate with the Government in bringing all the offenders to book.

The Premier regretted that the Hindu Independent group had thought fit to withdraw its representatives from the Cabinet at this juncture when their help was most needed and characterised this action as unwise and hoped that better sense would prevail and the Party would extend its fullest co-operation. Turning to the Congress group, the Premier said, he hoped that the Gandhi-Viceroy talks would solve the constitutional tangle and make it possible for the Congress Ministries to resume office in various provinces. Government might then be in a position to ask the Congress group to share with the Government the responsibility for the government of Sind.

Until then, as long as his Government continued in office, he hoped that the usual support on the basis of merits of each measure would continue to be extended to him. Concluding, the Premier said that, if the motion was talked out, the Government would take it that the House preferred the appointment of a Committee to suggest ways and means to meet the situation. If however the motion was pressed to a division, the Premier prayed that the discussion would be closed in time to allow for voting. If the motion was carried, he would tender resignation of office to-morrow morning, as it was no use sticking to office which was no bed of roses.

Moving his adjournment motion, Mr. *H. S. Pamnani* suggested reshuffling of the Ministry to assure the people that lawlessness would end and peace would be restored. He accused the Government of failure of the execution of its primary functions of maintaining law and order. Lawlessness still continued and if the Minister for Law and Order was responsible for the state of affairs, he should have taken on himself responsibility for it and resigned, or if the Premier was responsible then he should have resigned. Not only the Hindus but many Muslims had suffered. Adverting to the Premier's statement, he made it clear to the House that he was not satisfied with it and was not going to tolerate lawlessness anymore. The Minister should have been in Sukkur when the riot broke out. He had not discharged his duties properly and had belied the trust reposed in him by the people.

Nearly half a dozen speakers followed the mover. *Khan Bahadur Khuro*, Leader of the Muslim League Party, refuted the charges levelled against the Muslim League. Referring to the accusation that the Manzilgah movement was started by them with the ulterior motive to seek power, he said, the movement had started as early as 1937, when the Muslim League had not come into the picture. Moreover, the Satyagraha movement had been conducted by the League in a peaceful manner and only when the Government had arrested leaders and used force and other measures to eject the Satyagrahis from Manzilgah, the trouble started. He, however, expressed sincerest sympathy with the sufferers and was sorry for what had happened in the district. He was prepared to co-operate with the Hindus in whatever way to restore harmony. In conclusion he charged the Premier with "procrastination and lack of foresight", which had resulted in the disastrous riots.

Col. Mohan appealed to the members of the House to put their shoulders to the wheel and help the Government in the difficult situation instead of castigating the Government. Dr. *Choitram* accused the Government of inaction and tactlessness in handling the situation and movingly described the situation in Sukkur district after the riots and the privations suffered by the inhabitants. Mr. *Jamshed* opined that the bane of Sind could be removed in two ways, by having a detached view in handling the situation and having a firm Government. He held that Sukkur riots were the result of disunity in the Sind Assembly and lack of firmness on the part of the Government. He appealed to the House to sink differences and establish a firm Government.

Prof. *Ghanshyam*, Leader of the Congress Party, made a statement, saying it was not the intention of the Congress Party to overthrow the Government but to draw their attention to the lawlessness and insecurity in the province and criticise the policy of the Government in dealing with the situation. It was usual for the Opposition in such circumstances to overthrow the Government which was responsible for such lawlessness. But it was not possible for the Congress Party in the Sind Assembly, owing to provincial and All-India considerations, to form or be a party to the formation of an alternative government. After expressing dissatisfaction with the Government's steps in dealing with the situation and with the statement of the Premier, Prof. Ghanshyam said, his party, however, did not wish to press the motion to a division.

Replying to the debate, Sir *Ghulam Hussein*, after expressing sympathy with the sufferers in the riot said, every Sindhi would have to hang his head in shame for the exhibition of this violence. He appealed to the members of all sides to sink differences and find out ways and means to restore peace in the province. He added that the Government intended to establish a Committee to carry on propaganda all over the province and preach unity in the villages. He urged that it was the duty of the majority community to protect the minority community and said that if they composed their differences even a most difficult situation would be solved. The motion was talked out.

COURT OF ENQUIRY BILL

6th FEBRUARY :—The Assembly to-day passed all the three readings of the Bill to provide for the constitution of Courts of Enquiry which, it was claimed by the Premier to be the first of its kind in the whole of India. While accepting the principle of the Bill, the Muslim League opposed many of its provisions and moved various amendments all of which were defeated.

FRONTIER REGULATION EXTENSION BILL

The Bill seeking to extend the Frontier Regulation to Sukkur District met with stout opposition from the Muslim League Party. *Khan Bahadur Khurro* raised a point of order at the outset, objecting to the introduction of the Bill on the ground that the Bill sought to amend a Governor-General's Act which required the previous sanction of the Governor-General. Mr. *Nichhaldas Vazirani*, ex-Minister replying to the point of order contended that the regulation was passed in 1872 by the Governor-General in Council which was then a Legislative Body. Secondly, the Bill only sought to extend an already existing legislation to another district and did not amend or repeal or was repugnant to a Governor-General's Act. The Speaker, *Miran Mohd. Shah*, observed that the Bill, which was proposed to be introduced, was of a far-reaching character, requiring most careful consideration. After quoting various authorities, the Speaker ruled that as he still felt doubtful whether it was a Governor-General's Act or not, he must under the circumstances refer the matter to the Governor-General for decision.

HINDU WOMEN'S INHERITANCE BILL

9th. FEBURARY :—The Assembly rejected to-day Miss *Jethi Siphaimilani's* Hindu Women's Rights of Inheritance Bill, after a lively debate, lasting the whole day. She had to fight her battle with the assistance of the other lady member Mrs. *Allana*, who in a short speech championed the cause. Opposition came from unexpected quarters, namely, from the Hindu Independent Party and even a number of members of the Congress Group who contended that the measure was a premature one and as drafted would not help women in any way, but disturb the joint family system, ultimately leading to a lot of litigation. Speakers from the Treasury Benches agreed with the principle of the Bill and commended its circulation for eliciting public opinion. They, however, made it clear that they would not force any measure on the minorities against their wishes. Replying to the debate, Miss *Jethi Siphaimilani* dealt with all the objections raised in the course of the debate. Quoting the recommendations of the National Planning Committee, she declared that it was the fundamental creed of the Congress to fight for equal rights for men and women. Objections raised by Hindu members of the House, she declared, were due to the desire of men to dominate the other sex and to see that their pockets were untouched. The Muslim Section expressed their wish to remain neutral. The motion, when pressed to a division, was lost by 13 to 11 votes.

THE DEBT RELIEF BILL

12th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly passed into law to-day the Agriculturist Debt Relief Bill after a lively discussion on amendments lasting the whole day. The measure received spontaneous support from all sections of the House with the exception of the Hindu Independent Party who considered that the provisions were of an extreme nature. The Bill which had been drafted in the manner of the Madras Act benefits an agriculturist debtor who either cultivates the land personally or whose holding does not exceed fifty acres in the case of debts incurred before 1932 by wiping out all interest outstanding on October 1, 1939, and if he has paid twice the amount of the principal whether by way of principal or interest, by declaring the whole debt discharged. Those who incurred the debt after 1932 also benefit by the measure which fixes the rate of interest of such debt at six per cent per annum simple. Another provision of importance is the clause that makes special provision in the case of debt due by tenants to Zamindars for cultivation of lands by wholly discharging debts outstanding on April 1, 1939. The passage of the Bill marks one of the quickest acts of legislation in the Sind Assembly of far-reaching importance. The Bill was introduced on February 6 and was referred to a Select Committee on the same day. The Committee submitted its report in three days and the Bill was passed into law to-day, in less than a week after the introduction. The Assembly thereafter discussed a Bill seeking to prohibit publication and sale of the Quoran by non-Muslims. Discussion had not concluded when the House rose for the day.

THE AGRICULTURISTS MARKETING BILL

13th. FEBURARY:—The Ministry suffered a defeat to-day, when a Congress amendment on the Agriculturists Marketing Bill was carried against the Government by 26 to 16. At the request of the Premier, Khan Bahadur *Allah Buksh*, the House was adjourned for the day. After a lengthy debate the amendment, which urged that contributions from Hindu traders for charitable purposes should not be regarded as trade allowances, and was pressed to a division and carried with the support of the Moslem League. On the announcement of the result of the division, the Premier requested the Speaker to adjourn the House for the day to enable him to reconsider the situation with particular reference to the Bill as he felt that the Government were not in a majority. The Premier's announcement was taken in political circles as a virtual invitation by him to the Opposition to combine and take over the reins of Government or permit the present Ministry to function as best as it could, the Opposition extending support to it on the merits of each measure. The Bill, a measure on the lines of those enacted in several other provinces, has been framed to enable the agriculturist to get a reasonable share of the ultimate value of his produce by regulating the scale of market rates. At present his share is reduced as he has to pay a number of minor allowances mainly for charitable purposes. Ministerial spokesmen contend that the Government is solely interested in seeing that producers get a fair deal and is not influenced by extraneous considerations such as establishing of market committees throughout the provinces to have trade practices controlled, to ensure uniform scales, weights and measures and to disseminate reliable market prices to the cultivator. Government, however, have deleted Sukkur and Karachi cities from the purview of the Bill, as well regulated markets already exist at those places. Hindus are critical of the measure contending that it will detrimentally affect the custom of making deductions for charitable purposes while purchasing agricultural produce, which in the long run go to benefit both Hindu and Moslem villagers. Next day, the **14th. February**, the Premier made a brief statement in the course of which he stated that since the defeat of the Government in the House yesterday, the position of the Ministry had not altered, and hence he asked the Deputy Speaker to adjourn the House till 2 p. m. on the 21st February, by which time he hoped that he would command a majority and, if not, he would resign. Meanwhile, he continued, the Opposition would also have a chance to form an alternative ministry. The House was adjourned accordingly till the 21st instant but on the **19th.** the Premier, tendered the resignation of his Cabinet. On the **21st. February** there was an atmosphere of suspense when the *Premier*, at the outset, requested that the House should be adjourned till Monday as the political situation had not changed nor had the Cabinet's resignation been accepted by the Governor and the Opposition were unable hitherto to form an alternative Ministry. The Premier added that his Ministry was working as a stop-gap. He would, however, leave the House to decide whether they should proceed with the business of the day including the introduction of the Budget or not. As the Opposition leaders, *Khan Bahadur Khurro* (Muslim League) and Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa* (Congress) on behalf of their respective parties, stated that they did not desire an adjournment of the House, the Speaker, Mr. *Miran Mahomed Shah* asked the Assembly to proceed with the day's business, and the *Premier* then presented the Budget.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1940—41

"I am a firm believer in balanced budgets. It has been truly said that the country which accepts a policy of budget deficits is treading a slippery path, which leads to general ruin", observed Premier *Khan Bahadur Allah Buksh*, introducing the buget estimates for 1940-41. Mr. Allah Buksh added , "Ours is a deficit province partially supported at the expense of the rest of India and it is our primary duty to maintain out credit and our financial stability." Dealing with the Prohibition policy of the Government, Mr. Allah Buksh said that Sind was not in a position to undertake a full-fledged programme of Prohibition, He hoped that the restricted Prohibition measure recently passed by the Assembly would bring substantial reduction of consumption of intoxicants and if the age limit prescribed in the measure was increased each year, the desired result would be obtained in due course. The Premier declared that the Excise revenue for 1938-39 amounted to 37½ lakhs, but as a result of Prohibition of the sale of charas and the passing of the Prohibition measure mentioned above, and because of anticipated decrease of the import and sale of foreign wines and spirits consequent on the outbreak of the war, it was

expected that Sind's income from the source during the coming financial year would amount to 30 lakhs only. Referring to the precautionary safety measures taken in Sukkur, Mr. Allah Buksh said that provision had been made for additional police force and also a police reserve force on the Punjab model, consisting of 228 men. Provision had also been made for increasing the number of police outposts in Dadu and Larkana districts for protection against raids by dacoits from trans-Frontier territory.

A revenue surplus of Rs. 1,46,000 is anticipated in the Budget estimates for the year 1940-41. The revenue receipts during the year are placed at Rs. 3,99,93,000, and the expenditure charged to revenue is put at Rs. 3,98,47,000.

According to the revised estimates, the year 1939-40 is expected to close with a revenue surplus of Rs. 5,91,000.

Sind's debt to the Central Government on account of the construction of Sukkur Barrage and for other purposes, amounts to Rs. 28,69,39,000. As against the debt, it is anticipated that during the year 1940-41, Sind will receive a subvention of Rs. 1,05,00,000 from the government of India, besides a share of Rs. 5,50,000 from the proceeds of the Income-tax.

The Budget estimates contain provisions for Rs. 25,05,000 for general administration ; Rs. 12,78,000 administration of justice ; Rs. 6,60,000 jails and convict settlements ; Rs. 43,58,000 police ; Rs. 31,45,000 education ; Rs. 8,60,000 medical ; Rs. 3,18,000 public health ; Rs. 9,30,000 agriculture ; Rs. 1,25,000 veterinary ; Rs. 1,18,000 co-operation and Rs. 1,68,000 industries.

Under general administration expenditure, provision has been made for Rs. 66,000 as salary to His Excellency the Governor, Rs. 8,000 sumptuary allowance of the Governor, Rs. 36,000 Secretariat Staff of the Governor, Rs. 48,000 staff and household of the Governor, Rs. 18,000 expenditure for contract allowances, and Rs. 1,26,000 for Ministers. The Budget provision for the administration of justice for 1940-41 shows an increase over the year 1939-40, which is explained as due to a rise in the number of criminal cases in Sind and consequent appointment of many special public prosecutors. The estimated capital expenditure to be incurred during the year 1940-41 is Rs. 2,63,000.

The Prime Minister in his speech maintained that disturbances in Sukkur district in November last and outbreak of war were responsible for certain items of extra expenditure during the year 1939-40.

Provision for an additional police force in Sukkur district owing to the communal riots, and air-raid precaution measures, Press Censorship, price control and additional police establishment on account of war emergencies has been made in budget estimates of 1940-41.

"The question of recovering from Government of India expenditure incurred on war measures," the Finance Minister added, "is receiving attention of the Government. Provision has also been made in budget estimates of 1940-41 for the College of Agriculture at Sakrand and for the Soil Classification Scheme."

Some of the more important items included in the new year's budget directed towards the development and social welfare of the province, are training and employment of midwives at the aided dispensaries Rs. 1,200 ; scheme for the investigation of alternative crops to cotton, wheat, etc., in Barrage area, Rs. 8,760 ; soap-making demonstration party Rs. 2,700 ; establishing peripatetic demonstration parties for imparting training in small scale industries and handicrafts and opening a Bee Culture Station Rs. 14,130 ; establishing an Industrial and Commercial Intelligence Service Rs. 7,364 ; industrial survey of Sind Rs. 5,990 ; scheme for snb-surface investigation work in the Lloyd Barrage areas in Sind Rs. 10,490 and grants to various social welfare associations amounting to Rs. 15,500.

"As regards financing of its ways and means programme," the Finance Minister explained, "all balances not immediately required for day to-day expenditure are being regularly invested in the Treasury Bills of the Government of India. It is anticipated that during the current financial year, the estimated receipts on account of interest on Treasury Bills will amount to Rs. 4,75,000."

With regard to new measures of taxation, the Motor Vehicles Tax Act has already come into force which is expected to bring forward to Government Rs. 23,000. Estimated Provincial Excise receipts during the year would amount to Rs. 4,87,000. The Sind Government have also carried through the House legislation enhancing rates of entertainment tax and the duty on the consumption of electricity. Other taxes and duties will also result in revenue of Rs. 5,83,000 during the year 1940-41.

The Finance Minister in conclusion struck a note of pessimism about the

future of Sind in view of heavy debt liabilities which have to be redeemed from 1942-43. He said : "The above review of the financial position will show that, although surplus budgets have been presented so far, it cannot be said that the problem of the province is solved. This problem is that of being able to meet the debt liabilities from the year 1942-43 onwards and these can never be absent from our minds in planning expenditure of a recurring nature. The Government is committed to guaranteeing a debenture issue to stabilise the position of the Sind Provincial Co-operative Bank and it may be necessary to pursue it or to supply cash credit to the Bank till it is possible to float the debentures. The Government has already given a guarantee in respect of the Khadro-Nawabshah Railway and a provision of Rs. 36,000 on this account has been made in the Budget for 1940-41."

NO-CONFIDENCE IN MINISTRY

26th. FEBRUARY :—The House met to-day in full strength when *Seth Doulatram*, moving his motion of "no-confidence" in the Ministry, charged the Government with failure to maintain order and of having thrown away Hindus and their families in the villages predominantly inhabited by Muslims into the hands of dacoits and murderers. Seth Doulatram traced the series of acts of lawlessness beginning with the murder of a popular Hindu saint, Bhagat Kawalram, whose assailant was still at large. He said that over the Manzilgah question, the Government played the double game of trying to please both the Hindus and the Muslims—in the end pleasing nobody. When satyagraha was launched by Muslim Leaguers, they surrendered to the satyagrahis and allowed them to take forcible possession of the Manzilgah buildings. Mr. Doulatram next narrated stories of loot, arson and murder in the Sukkur District, and singled out the mob atrocities in Gosserji village where the wife and child of a Hindu priest were burnt alive and incidents in a village where a whole Hindu family of eight members was murdered. The state of lawlessness was still continuing. Even last week, a Hindu was murdered and his house burnt in a village in Sukkur district. It was evident that the Government would give the fullest latitude to Muslim bad characters. He mentioned a man against whom, he stated, prosecution was pending for the last thirty-three months and who had not yet been produced in court. Finally he referred to the fact that the *Om Mandali* which was banned long ago, still carried on its activities. Mr. Doulatram appealed to all sections of the House to support the motion. Mr. *H. S. Pamnani* (Congressite), who moved the adjournment of the House over the Sukkur happenings a fortnight ago, accused the Government of betraying the trust the House reposed in them, by not maintaining law and order and not creating a sense of security in the province. He concluded that as long as the present Government functioned, there was no hope of maintenance of law and order. *Khan Bahadur Khurro*, Leader of the Muslim League Party, asserted that his Party was not supporting the motion with a view to seeking power, but because the Ministry was without any policy or programme, and had failed to please either the Muslims or the Hindus. He attributed the Sukkur riots to the weak and procrastinating policy of the Government, and their failure to take the right decision at the right time. Khan Bahadur Khurro referred the charges levelled against the League, and declared that the League was even agreeable to the Congressites' suggestion for the appointment of a tribunal. The *Premier*, replying to the debate, said that he had given a clear field to the members of the Opposition groups to form an alternative Ministry, but they had failed. A "No-Confidence" motion against a Ministry which had already resigned was tantamount to flogging a dead horse, but he asserted that the Opposition groups, including Congressites, were not guided by any policy or principle. He continued that everybody in the country knew that the Muslim League was responsible for the Sukkur riots. He was surprised that Khan Bahadur Khurro charged the Government with responsibility for the riots. The League's leaders were in a position to prevent the riots but they failed to do so. Khan Bahadur Allah Bux warned the Hindu Independents against surrendering to aggression, especially at this critical juncture, adding that it would take them many years to retrieve their position. He was always ready to welcome the Hindu Independents. It was open to them to join him at any moment. Pointing to the Congress benches, the Premier said that he considered the Congress, the only really nationalist organisation wedded to the creed of non-violence and truth, but he was sorry to say that the local Congressites had failed to live up to the creed. He accused Congressites of goading the Hindu Independents to exact their pound of flesh from the Ministry. The Congress Party, which had decided not to press the adjournment motion over

Sukkur riots, was the very next day carried away by the wave of communalism created by the Hindu panchayts, and pledged its support to Hindu Independents for the 'no-confidence' motion. He would have gladly welcomed, if instead of taking this step, they had presented to him the legitimate demands of the minority community, which he was pledged to safeguard. Warming up, the Premier concluded : "I on my part will not succumb to the combination of groups or surrender to aggression, and will not compromise on principle or policy, whatever may happen to me."

The Ministry however survived the no-confidence motion, voting resulting in a tie each side obtaining 29 votes. The *Speaker* gave his casting vote in favour of the Ministry maintaining the *status quo*.

Voting on Budget Demands

5th. to 14th. MARCH :—During the voting on Budget demands for grants the Ministry scored a victory when the first 100-rupee cut moved by Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa*, Congress Member, under the head "Revenue" was defeated by 31 votes to 21 after a two days' lively debate. But on the **14th. March**, the Ministry sustained a defeat when the combined Opposition succeeded in turning down the demand under civil works by 30 votes to 27. The defeat of the ministry was the culmination of intense efforts in the past few weeks on the part of the Hindu Independents and Muslim Leaguers who had in the meantime coalesced into a Nationalist party, and the Congress party. While the oppositionists claimed that to-day's vote was a clear and unequivocal demonstration that the Allah Bakhsh Government did not enjoy the confidence of the House and the Governor had no alternative but to accept the Government's resignation tendered three weeks ago and call upon the leader of the Nationalist party to form an alternative government, the supporters of Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh held that as the Congress had not definitely pledged its support to an alternative ministry if formed but only given an undertaking not to throw out the new ministry for a reasonable time, they still had a majority among the rest of the members of the House and given a short time to consolidate their position, they were confident of getting the overthrown demand and also the remaining demands passed by the Assembly before April 1.

New Ministry Formed

18th. MARCH : —The resignation of the Allah Buksh Cabinet was accepted, by *His Excellency the Governor* to-day, and *Mir Bundeh Ali Khan*, Revenue Minister in the late Cabinet and leader of the Nationalist Party, formed a new Cabinet. Mir Bundeh Ali Khan (Premier), Khan Bahadur Khuhro, Shaik Abdul Majid, Mr. G. M. Syed, Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani and Rai Saheb Gokuldas were sworn-in as Ministers at the Government House.

New Premier Outlines Policy

26th. MARCH : —The galleries were packed to capacity and most of the members of the House were in their seats when the Premier, *Mir Bandehali Khan Talpur*, successfully piloted all the demands for grants not moved in the last session. An atmosphere of cordiality prevailed. The new Ministers warmly shook hands with the Opposition members. The whole business was gone through within half an hour, and thereafter, the Premier made a statement setting out the policy and programme of the Government. The Premier was frequently interrupted, while speaking, by the Oppositionists.

The decision to refer the Manzilgah dispute to an independent court of enquiry, consisting of the Judicial Commissioner of Sind and two other gentlemen, one a leading Hindu and the other a leading Muslim, was announced by the Premier who outlined the measures his Government proposed to take with a view to restoring harmonious relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims, which Mir Bandehali Khan said was the greatest need of the hour at this critical juncture in the histroy of India.

Deploring the tragic happenings in connection with the Manzilgah dispute, the Premier stated that he was grieved that over a comparatively minor issue there had been so much wrangling, which had given an opportunity to criminals to commit various heinous crimes. He added that the Government realised the necessity of bringing to book all real culprits and affording reasonable compensation to the sufferers in the Sukkur riots. The Premier stated that the Allah Bux Government's Bill for introducing joint electorates in

boroughs and municipalities was likely to promote harmony between the two communities. Before the next session of the Assembly, which the present Government intended to call in August, it was proposed to consider the desirability of introducing adult franchise and to bring forward other necessary measures. The Premier further announced the Government's intention to prepare a definite programme for giving effect to the policy of gradual Prohibition consistent with the financial resources, to examine all repressive laws and to bring in due course whatever modifications were found necessary, to promote cottage industries, to pursue the policy of introducing an equitable system of assessment and the classification of lands on an equitable basis.

Adverting to the Punjab Government's threatened withdrawal of large quantities of water from the five rivers supplying water for irrigation purposes to Sind, the Premier said that the Punjab Government proposed to withdraw the supply not only in the cold weather but also in the innundating season. This, he opined, would spell ruin for Sind. The Government would strive to reach a reasonable solution of the problem, in respect of which the Allah Bux Government had already made representations. Concluding, Mir Bandehali Khan put forth a strong plea for an equitable revision of the existing arrangement between the Government of India and the Sind Government over the Barrage Debts, without which no nation-building activity was possible and Sind's finances could not be put on a sound basis. The Premier finally appealed to the Press to function as a strong and healthy instrument of service to the province, and as a gesture of goodwill towards them, he announced the removal of the ban in respect of Government patronage placed on certain newspapers.

JT. ELECTORATE SEAT RESERVATION BILL

27th. MARCH :—The first reading of a Bill of far-reaching importance introducing the system of joint electorates with the reservation of seats on a population basis in local bodies, and borough municipalities in Sukkur district, was passed to-day. The Bill, which was sponsored by the Allah Bux Ministry, produced a lively debate and there was spontaneous support from all sections of the House. More than half a dozen speakers participated and Khan Bahadur Allah Bux made important observations.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING BILL (CONTD.)

The House earlier passed into law the Agricultural Marketing Bill which was held up in the middle of February last, following the passing of a Congress amendment which lead to the resignation of the Allah Bux Ministry.

JT. ELECTORATE RESERV. BILL (CONTD.)

1st. APRIL :—The Assembly adjourned sine die to-day after passing a Bill introducing joint electorate in borough municipalities of the Sukkur District. With a view to making the reform more effective an innovation was introduced in the Bill whereby a candidate was compelled to get a certain percentage of the votes of both the communities, if he was to be returned. In the first place, it was provided that candidates who secured at least 33⅓ per cent of the votes polled by the voters of their own community and at least 10 per cent of the votes polled by voters of the other community (divided in each case by the aggregate number of seats) be declared successful. It was provided as a last alternative that the candidate who secured the largest number of votes be declared elected. It was also provided that each voter should have as many votes as there were aggregate number of seats in wards and secondly that wards be so constituted that there would be a fair mixture of voters of both communities. Commending the Bill to the House, the Premier informed it that the Government would bring in a comprehensive measure in August for adult franchise and joint electorate in all local bodies all over Sind. Leaders of various groups having arrived at a formula, the Bill had an easy passage. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

The Assam Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

Speaker :—THE HON. BASANTA KUMAR DAS, B.L.

Deputy Speaker :—MAULVI MUHAMMAD AMIR-UD-DIN

Elected Members

SJ. JOGENDRA NARAYAN MANDAL, B.L
„ SANTOSH KUMAR BARUA, B.A.
KUMAR AJIT NARAYAN DEV
SJ. PARAMANANDA DAS
„ JOGENDRA CHANDRA NATH, B.A.
„ GHANASHYAM DAS, B.A.
„ KAMESWAR DAS, M.SC., B.L.
„ GAURI KANTA TALUKDAR, B.L.
„ SIDDHI NATH SARMA, B.L.
„ BISNURAM MEDHI, M.SC., B.L.
„ BELI RAM DAS, B.L.
HON'BLE SJ. ROHINI KUMAR CHAUDHURY, B.L.
SJ. GOPI NATH BARDOLOI, M.A., B.L.
„ PURANDAR SARMA, M.A., B.L.
„ BIPIN CHANDRA MEDHI, B.L.
„ OMEO KUMAR DAS, B.A.
„ MAHADEV SARMA
„ HALADHOR BHUYAN
„ MAHI CHANDRA BORA, B.L.
„ PURNA CHANDRA SARMA, B.L.
HON'BLE DR. MAHENDRA NATH SAIKIA, L.M.P.
SJ. RAJENDRANATH BARUA, B.L.
„ SANKAR CHANDRA BARUA
„ KRISHNA NATH SARMAH, B.SC., B.L.
„ RAMNATH DAS, B.L.
„ DEBESWAR SARMA, B.L.
„ BHUBAN CHANDRA GOGOI
„ JADAV PRASAD CHALIHA, B.SC.
„ LAKSHESVAR BOROOAH, B.L.
„ JOGES CHANDRA GOHAIN, B.L.
„ RAJANI KANTHA BAROOAH.
SJ. SARVESWAR BARUA, B.L.
BABU AKSHAY KUMAR DAS
„ BIPIN BEHARI DAS
„ KARUNA SINDHU ROY
„ SHIBENDRA CHANDRA BISWAS
„ NIRENDRA NATH DEB. R.L.
„ DAKSHINA RANJAN GUPTA CHAUDHURI. M.A., B.L.
BABU LALIT MOHAN KAR
THE HON'BLE MR. BASANTA KUMAR DAS, B.L.
BABU HARENDRA NARAYAN CHAUDHURY, B.A.
BABU RABINDRANATH ADITYA, M.A., B.L.
„ BALARAM SIRCAR.
„ KAMINI KUMAR SEN, B.L.
HON. SJ. HIRENDRA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY, B.A.
MR. ARUN KUMAR CHANDA, BAR-AT-LAW
BABU KALA CHAND ROY
MAULVI GHYASUDDIN AHMED, B.L.
MAULANA ABDUL HAMID KHAN
MAULVI JAHANUDDIN AHMED, B.L.
„ MATIOR RAHMAN MIA
„ MUHAMMAD AMJAD ALI, B.A., LL B.
„ SYED ABDUR ROUF, B.L.
HON. SIR SAIYID MUHAMMAD SAADULLA, M.A., B.L.
MR. FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED, BAR-AT-LAW
MAULVI SHEIKH OSMAN ALI SADAGAR
„ MUHAMMAD AMIRUDDIN
„ BADARUDDIN AHMED, B.L.
„ KERAMAT ALI, KHAN BAHADUR
HON. KHAN BAHADUR MAULAVI SAYIDUR RAHMAN, M.A., B.L.
MAULVI DEWAN MUHAMMAD AHBAB CHOWDHURY VIDYABINODE, B.A.
MAULVI ABDUL BARI CHAUDHURY, M.A., B.L.
MAULVI DEWAN ALI RAJA
HON. KHAN SAHIB MUDABBIR HUSSAIN CHAUDHRI, B.L.
MAULVI ASRAFUDDIN, MD. CHAUDHURY, B.A., LL.B.
MAULVI ABDUR RAHMAN
„ NAZIRUDDIN AHMED
„ ABDUL AZIZ, B.L.
„ MD. ALI HAIDAR KHAN
SHAMSUL-ULAMA MAULANA ABU NASR MD. WAHEED, M.A.
MAULVI MD. ABDUS SALAM, B.A.
KHAN BAHADUR DEWAN EKLIMUR ROZA CHAUDHURY
HON. MAULVI ABDUL MATIN CHAUDHURY, B.L.
KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI MUFIZUR RAHMAN, B.A.
MAULVI MUBARAK ALI, B.L.
KHAN BAHADUR HAZI ABDUL MAJID CHAUDHURY
KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI MAHMUD ALI
MAULVI MAZARROF ALI LASKAR
„ NAMWAR ALI BARBHUIYA, B L.
HON'BLE MISS MAVIS DUNN, B.L., B.T.
MR. A. WHITTAKER
„ COMFORT GOLDSMITH, B.A., B.T.
HON. SRIJUT RUPNATH BRAHMA, B.L.
SRIJUT RABI CH. KACHARI
SJ. KARKA DALAY MIRI
„ DHIRSING DEURI
MR. BENJAMIN CHANDRA MOMIN
„ JOHANG D. MARAK
REV. J. J. M. NICHOLS-ROY, B.A.
„ L. GATPHOH, B.A.
SRIJUT KHORSING TERANG, MAUZADAR
MR. A. H. BALL
„ A. F. BENDALL
„ F. W. BLENNERHASSETT
„ N. DAWSON
„ D. B. H. MOORE

Mr. C. W. MORLEY
„ R. A. PALMER
„ NABA KUMAR DUTT
„ BAIDYANATH MUKHERJEE, B.A.
„ WILLIAM RICHARD FAULL
Mr. KEDARMAL BRAHMIN, B.L.
SRIJUT BIDESHI PAN TANTI
„ BHAIRAB CHANDRA DAS
BABU BINODE KUMAR J. SARWAN
MR. P. PARIDA

Budget Session—Shillong—22nd. February to 21st. March 1940

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1940—41

The Budget estimates of the Government of Assam for the year 1940-41 were presented by Sir *M. Saadulla*, Premier and Finance Minister, in both the Houses of the Assam Legislature which met at Shillong on the **22nd. February 1940** for the Budget session. The year 1940-41 is expected to begin with an opening balance of Rs. 20,59,000. Receipts are placed at Rs. 8,20,17,000, and expenditure at Rs. 8,20,55,000, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 20,21,000.

The revenue estimates disclose a surplus of Rs. 4,98,000, but this is illusory as the Budget contains a sum of Rs. 10,00,000 being the estimates of receipts from Agricultural Income-tax for 1939-40, which, owing to the late issue of the rules under the Act, will, it is expected, not be paid till the year 1940-41. The position, therefore, is that the revenue budget really shows a deficit which is estimated at Rs. 5,02,000.

The Budget provides for several beneficent measures which the Ministry propose to launch. In the sphere of mass uplift the Ministry have in view the introduction of a mass literacy campaign, with an initial expenditure of Rs. 12,000 pending the settlement of details of the campaign and determination of the cost involved. The formation of an Employment and Drainage Divisior, is also proposed, with a view to meeting the problems of annual floods. There is to be an increase in the number of agricultural demonstrators, in order to popularize improved and scientific methods of agriculture among the masses. Prevention of rinderpest is sought to be effected by the appointment of additional veterinary field assistants. The organisation of co-operative societies in Assam is proposed to be put on a more efficient basis by the appointment of a separate audit staff. In the sphere of industrial activities there is a scheme of culture as a cottage industry. A scheme for the manufacture of ghee is also included in the Budget, providing for a ghee-making centre in the Goalpara district.

For the betterment of the lot of backward and tribal people, who constitute a big percentage of Assam's population, the Ministry proposes several measures. Primary, Middle Vernacular and Middle English scholarships for boys of the tribal, scheduled and ex-tea garden labour classes have been provided. Two industrial stipends will be awarded to Naga boys of the Fuller Technical School, Kohima. A Government Middle English School and technical school will be established at Mokokchong Nags Hills.

The Mikirs have hitherto received little attention from the Government with regard to improvement in agriculture. It is proposed to appoint two Mikirs as demonstrators for the purpose of introducing improved methods of cultivation in the Wa tracts in the Mikir Hills. Six primary schools in the Mikir Hills area will be taken over by the Government.

In the Medical Department, 16 additional beds for in-door patients in the Civil Hospital at Sylhet have been provided. In the Education Department there are grants to new schools to be brought on the aided list and increased grants to some existing schools have been provided. A reform of jail administration is also envisaged in the Budget.

For the year 1940-41, a revenue of Rs. 35 lakhs is expected from the Agricultural Income-tax Act, 1939. The estimates include Rs. 10 lakhs as income from the Act for the year 1939-40 after allowing for a rebate of 50 per cent., promised by the previous Ministry.

The estimates include a revenue of nearly Rs. 14 lakhs as the share of the Assam Government on account of export duty on jute according to the latest information received from the Government of India worked on the basis of 5·24 per cent. assigned to this province from the total net proceeds of 261 lakhs.

A permanent loan of Rs. 50 lakhs is proposed to be floated by the Government. Till the loan is raised it is proposed that the issue of treasury bills totalling Rs. 65 lakhs in the early months of the year and of Rs. 20 lakhs for Ways and Means advances from the Reserve Bank will be necessary in the year 1940-41.

These are required for providing the Government with temporary funds during

the year when the resources of the Province are expected to fall below the normal treasury balance and the minimum bank balance fixed at Rs. 18 lakhs, both taken together. A larger contribution to the Government of India for the maintenance of the Assam Rifles is to be made from April 1, 1940. According to this decision the receipts from rations and expenditure on pensions of the Assam Rifles will be distributed between the Central and the Provincial Governments, and the increase places an extra burden on provincial revenues to the extent of Rs. 27,000. Next day, the **23rd. February** the Premier introduced the Finance Bill, 1940. The Local Authorities Compensatory Grants Bill, was also taken into consideration.

General Discussion of Budget

26th. & 27th. FEBRUARY :—"Sense of duty and sincere devotion to the cause of Assam have prompted me to undertake the formation of a Cabinet after the resignation of the Congress Ministry," said *Sir M. Saadullah*, replying to the general discussion of the Budget which concluded on the 27th. Referring to the criticisms levelled at the Ministry by the Opposition on account of the ordinance operating in the province, the Premier said that the Congress Coalition Ministry could not be said to have resigned due to the encroachments by the Central Government in the provincial sphere, for they resigned long after the war broke out and the ordinances were promulgated and only when the Congress High Command ordered them to resign. When the Premier was speaking of the reported suggestion to send a deputation to Wardha to move the Congress authorities to give special consideration to the question of the functioning of a Congress Coalition Ministry in Assam, Mr. *Gopinath Bordolai* interrupted, characterising the statement as untrue. The *Speaker* intervened saying that if there was any untruth, that should be proved by facts and figures. Earlier, Mr. *Bardoloi*, summing up the debate on behalf of the Opposition, said that though in the budget discussion absolute detachment was to be maintained, party outlook on policies and measures could not be totally dispensed with. Mr. Bardoloi stated that the provincial sphere was one of the main reasons that led to the resignation. Mr. Bardoloi defended the Land Revenue reduction, Prohibition and mass literacy schemes initiated by the Congress Coalition Ministry. Mr. *Whitaker*, on behalf of the European Group, said that the present Budget could fairly be described as the work of one of the greatest of the well-wishers of Assam and that members of his group supported the main proposals.

Land Revenue Registration Amend. Bill

29th. FEBRUARY :—Mr. *Kameswar Das* (Congress) moved to-day that the Assam Land Revenue Registration (Amendment) Bill, 1938, be taken into consideration. The Bill sought to reduce land revenue in Assam Valley. Khan Bahadur *Saiyidur Rahaman*, Minister for Revenue, opposing the motion said that the purpose of the Bill could be served by a resolution amending rule 19 of the Land Revenue Regulations and that the present Bill sought to enhance land revenue in the Surma Valley. When the motion was put to vote a division was claimed but it was lost by 52 votes to 42.

The Temple-Entry Bill

The Assembly, before adjourning for the day, carried by 53 to 39 votes the Government amendment for circulation for eliciting opinion till August 1, 1940, the Assam Temple-entry Bill of 1939, sponsored by the Congress party. The Bill allowed entry of all Hindus to temples for which their *Shebaits*, *Bakhtas*, and *Mohunts* were holding any land or enjoying any special privileges from the Government in any form. The Opposition acccepted the Government amendment for circulation till August 31 of 1940 of the Assam Maternity Benefit Bill of 1940, moved by Mr. *Arun Kumar Chanda* and then adjourned.

Voting on Budget Demands

4th. MARCH :—The intention of the Government of Assam to hold a conference of members of the legislature in the near future, with a view to enunciating the policy and principle of appointment to the Public Services was announced by the Premier, *Sir M. Saadulla*, to-day during the discussion on "cut" motions. Thirty-nine "cut" motions tabled for the day were either lost without division, withdrawn, or not moved at all. The House voted a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,07,000 under the head "General Administration." On the **14th. March**, in the course of a discussion on a cut to criticise the Government for taking no action in respect of the conduct of the police and the military on the occasion of the shooting

incident at Digboi, *Sir M. Saadulla*, the Premier, said that he would certainly have taken with determination action in respect of the conduct of any officer, however exalted he might be, if the charges brought against him were amply proved. The cut was lost by 54 votes to 40. Reading the relevant portions from Sir Manmatha Nath Mookerjee's report, Sir M. Saadulla pointed out that reliance could not be put on certain evidence, and that Sir Manmatha also expressed doubts on certain charges made against the conduct of officers. On the firing incident, which was not within the scope of Sir Manmatha's enquiry, the Premier said that there were no judicial findings before them and the Government were helpless. Referring to the police, the Premier said that they had very difficult times during that tragic period and if, during the prosecution of their duties, they had exceeded their rights they should be excused. During the discussion, Mr. *Gopinath Bardoloi*, ex-Premier, said that due to the absence of judicial findings, they could take no action against the alleged offending officers, and they resigned office before Sir Manmatha's report had been submitted.

FINANCE BILL PASSED

16th. MARCH. The Assembly to-day passed the Finance Bill and the Local Authorities Compensatory Grants Charged Bill, 1940. A Congress amendment to the Finance Bill was lost by 54 votes to 46. Mr. *Baidya Nath Mookerjee* and Mr. *Navakumar Dutt* (Indian Planting), objected to the final passage of the Bill as substantial relief had not been given to small tea companies.

MINISTERS' SALARIES BILL

Consideration of the Ministers' Salaries Bill was then taken up. An amendment moved by Mr. *Rabindranath Aditya* urging circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion till June 30 was rejected. The House adjourned till Monday, the **18th. March**, when the Bill was passed. It provides a salary of Rs. 1,750/- and a house and car allowances of Rs 250/- for the Premier and a salary of Rs. 750/- with allowance of Rs. 250 for other ministers. The amendments were either rejected or not moved. In the course of the discussion of the amendments *Sir Muhammad Sadulla* stated that, in order to give it a legal shape and in order that the bill might not be constitutionally wrong, retrospective effect would be given, but they would not draw their salaries with retrospective effect.

NO-CONFIDENCE MOTIONS

19th. MARCH :—Four motions expressing 'no-confidence' in the Ministry were tabled to-day. The *Speaker* held that the motions were in order and the House giving leave separately, he fixed 3 p. m. on March 21 for discussion and voting. The motions stood separately in the names of Mr. Nabakumar Dutta (Indian planting), Mr. Lalit Kar (Surma Valley, Hindu), Mr. Balaram Saikar (scheduled) and Mr. Bepin Behari Das (scheduled). All of them are non-Congressmen, but were members of the Congress Coalition Party.

21st. MARCH :—Two of the four no-confidence motions against the Ministry were withdrawn and the other two were not moved to-day. The *Speaker* announced that Mr. Nabakumar Dutta and Mr. Balaram Sarker had already intimated to him their desire to withdraw the motions standing in their names. The other two which were due to have been moved by Mr. Lalit Mohan Kar and Mr. Bipen Behary Das were not moved at all. The announcement was received with loud cheers from the Ministerial benches.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

The Assembly next passed the following Government bills :—The Temporary Postponement of Execution of Decrees Bill, the Amusements and Betting Tax Amendment Bill and the Commissioners Powers Distribution Amendment Bill. An Opposition amendment to the first named Bill was rejected by 56 votes to 39. The House was then *prorogued*.

The Madras Budget for 1940—41

A small surplus of Rs. 82,000, land revenue concessions amounting to Rs. 70 lakhs, continuation of prohibition in the four districts in which it is now in force, reduction in the rate of the general sales tax from ½ to ¼ per cent and the slab rate from Rs. 5 to Rs. 4 in cases where the turnover is between Rs. 20,000 and Rs.

10,000, provision for new schemes including increase in the rate of grant for elementary school teachers and opening of a Natural Science College in the Andhra University and a loan of one crore to be raised during the ensuing year—these are some of the salient features of the Budget of the Madras Government for 1940-41 issued on the 4th. March 1940.

The estimates provide for receipts on revenue account of Rs. 16,76,12,000 and expenditure of Rs. 16,75,30,000, leaving a surplus of Rs. 82,000. The following are the comparative figures for 1938-39, 1939-40 and 1940-41 (figures in the thousands of rupees) :—

	Accounts 1938 39.	Revised estimates 1939-40.	Budget estimates 1940-41.
Revenue	16,13,45	16,41,50	16,76,12
Expenditure	16,09,72	16,41.41	16,75,30
Surplus	3,73	9	82

A notable feature of the estimates is the provision for Ministry with the Legislature functioning.

The estimates provide also for grants for the teaching of Hindi and for the handspinning movement, for repairs of flood and cyclone damages, for a special Public Works division for the investigation and preparation of preliminary estimates for the Tungabhadra Project and for expenditure on rural broadcasting.

The policy of prohibition is to be continued in the four districts in which it is now in force but not extended further. The annual recurring loss of revenue from prohibition is estimated at Rs. 65,00,000. The Budget contemplates reduction of the rate of the general sales tax from one half percent to one quarter per cent in the case of the tax on turnover and the slab rate from Rs. 5 to Rs. 4 in cases where the turnover exceeds Rs. 10,000 and is less than Rs. 20,000. It is estimated that this will reduce the revenue from the general sales tax by 31½ lakhs and bring the total net revenue from the new taxes down to Rs. 69 lakhs. Amendments are also made to the Madras Tobacco (Taxation of Sales and Licensing) Act for the purpose, it is stated, of removing inequalities and grievances and stopping certain abuses.

The provision made for schemes of new expenditure involve a net ultimate liability of Rs 32,30,000 non-recurring and Rs. 8,57,000 recurring and an expenditure in 1940 1941 of Rs. 17,00.000 non-recurring and Rs. 6 94,000 recurring. The more important of these schemes are ; increase in the rate of grant for elementary school teachers ; grant for the Andhra University for the opening of a Natural Science College ; equipment of the new headquarters hospital at Madura and new wards in the King George Hospital at Vizagapatam ; opening of 30 rural dispensaries and provision of midwives in eleven of the existing dispensaries and the normal expansion of the Labour department for ameliorating the conditions of the scheduled classes.

Capital expenditure in 1940-1941 is estimated at Rs. 93,42.000. The most important of the works in progress are :—the Papanasam Hydro-Thermal Project : further improvements to the Medical College and King George Hospital at Vizagapatam and additional buildings for the Stanley Medical College. Provision is also made for the construction of an up-to-date hospital at Trichinopoly on a new site. A sum of Rs. 1,00,12 000 has been provided for loans to local bodies, agriculturists and co-operative societies and for short-term advances to the Central Land Mortgage Bank, Madras.

Against the anticipated remunerative capital expenditure and long-term loans amounting to Rs. 1.45,67,000, about Rs. 15½ lakhs of which will be met from the unutilized portion of the current year's open market loan, the Budget provides for borrowing 1 crore next year. The balance of the amount required is expected to be found from the other resources of the Government.

The Orissa Budget for 1940---41

The Budget of Orissa Province for 1940-41 published on the 20th. March 1940, shows a deficit of Rs. 4,67,000. The total revenue is estimated at Rs. 1 95,21,000 and expenditure charged to revenue at Rs. 1,99 88,000.

The revised estimates of revenue for 1939-40 are Rs. 1,94,09,000 as against the original estimate of Rs. 1,84,32,000 or Rs. 9,77,000 more than anticipated. This is

based on an anticipated improvement in the Province's share of the incometax, and the revenue from excise and stamps and interest. The revised estimates of expenditure (1939-40) are Rs. 1,93,96,000, which is Rs. 6,71,000 less than originally anticipated. This reduces the deficit of Rs. 18,35,000 to Rs. 1,87,000. The opening balance for 1940-41 is expected to be Rs. 26,81,000 and close with Rs. 22,14,000.

The Governor's Note on the Budget, explaining the reduced expenditure in 1939-40, says that it was due to the decision taken after the Ministry had resigned that it was unnecessary to constitute a fund for rural development, at any rate, until the Government of India's grant for the same was nearing exhaustion and some definite scheme for spending "in an orderly fashion has been devised. As a consequence a sum of five lakhs has been taken back."

The Note adds : Although the financial position of the Province strongly indicates caution in admitting new expenditure, it does not entirely preclude it and it is on that basis that the Budget has been prepared.

The Governor's Note says further that extra provision for police over established expenditure will be Rs. 2½ lakhs. The force was immediately expended on the outbreak of war under the advice of the late Ministry, and though the Government of India and the railway administration will probably bear nearly all the cost, some of it will fall on the Province. It has been further found necessary to meet the dangers arising from the political situation to recruit an emergency force of one hundred strong to serve as a central reserve. This will cost Rs, 50,000.

The Basic Education scheme and the literacy campaign, as planned by the late Ministry, will be continued and the subsidies to the All-India Spinners' Association and All-India Village Industries' Association will be continued on the basis fixed by the Congress Ministry. It has been decided, however, not to continue on any large scale the indirect subsidy to the Spinners' Association branch involved in buying its products as uniform for government servants. Experience has shown that the cloth supplied was much less serviceable, besides being much more expensive than mill-made cloth. "Apart from the undesirability of dressing servants of the Crown in a manner which still indicates adherence to a particular party, economy precludes continuance of the policy of the late Ministry."

The Industries Department gets over one lakh of rupees for new schemes. It has been decided to convert the Berhampore Jail into a Central Jail.

The U. P. Budget for 1940—41

A small revenue surplus of Rs. 22,135, an increase in the duty on opium, charas and ganja and on beer and spirits and the continuance of prohibition in those districts where it is already in force, are the main features of the budget estimates for 1940-41 of the United Provinces which was published on the 29th. March.

As the next year's budget has been framed while the proclamation under sec. 93 of the Government of India Act. 1935 is in operation and the constitution remains suspended, and as it has been framed on the assumption that that situation will continue, it was necessary to balance the revenue side of the budget. This was the main object which his Excellency the Governor set himself to achieve. After including Rs. 9,05,000 for new items to be met from revenue and the necessary amounts for the flotation and service of a new loan of Rs. 1,25,00,000 and the issue of Rs. 1,00,00,000 worth of Encumbered Estates Act bonds, the estimates show a revenue of surplus of Rs. 22,135.

The following are the figures of the estimates for 1940-41 at a glance :—

Receipts Under Revenue Heads	...	Rs. 13 58,35,738
Charges Under Revenue Heads	...	Rs. 13,58,13,603
Revenue Surplus	...	Rs. 22,135

The statement of net estimates under the debt and deposit heads shows that the net results of all transactions of the year under both the revenue and debt and deposit heads show a surplus of Rs. 9,80,000.

The revenue receipts at Rs. 13,58,35,738, compared with Rs. 13,31,70,658, the revised estimate for 1939-40, show an improvement of Rs. 26,65,080. This improvement is mainly accounted for by land revenue (+Rs. 023,45,000) : excise (+Rs. 25,32, 000) and other taxes and duties (Rs. 10,80,000).

With a view primarily to help to balance the budget, it has been decided to increase the duty on opium, charas, and ganja and on beer and spirits and to abolish the state-management of shops and revert to the former auction system. It has been decided to increase the issue price per seer of opium,

charas and ganja from Rs. 110 Rs. 100, and Rs. 60 to Rs. 140, Rs. 140, and Rs. 100, respectively. It has also been decided to increase the duty on beer and spirits, by one anna and three pies per quart on beer and four annas and six pies per quart on spirits.

Prohibition will be maintained in those districts in which it has already been imposed by the late Ministry but will not be extended in the budget year to any further district.

The total revenue charges show a decrease of Rs. 23,33,000 as compared with those in the recast budget. A reduction of over Rs. 200,000 is anticipated in the provision for legislative bodies as the budget has been framed on the basis of the continuation of a section 93 situation and, therefore, those bodies will not be meeting. As there have been no serious communal disturbances in recent months and as the Shia-Sunni disputes and the Khaksar movement have also subsided, the extra provision made in the recast budget to provide for increased jail population has been omitted.

The budget provides for a sum of Rs. 25,53,000 for capital expenditure.

The revised estimates for 1939-40 show that the revenue receipts amounted to Rs. 13,31,71,000 and the revenue charges to Rs. 13,62,27,000 leaving a deficit of Rs. 30,56.000 compared with the deficit in the recast budget of Rs. 65,60,000.

A comparison of the budget estimates for 1940-41 with the revised figures for the current year shows an improvement as mentioned earlier, of Rs. 26,65,000. According to the latest figures reported by the Government of India the province's share of income-tax next year will be Rs. 41,70,000 as compared with Rs. 39,90,000 in the revised for the current year. Under land revenue only the normal provision of Rs. 15,00,000 will be made for calamity remissions instead of the abnormal provision made in the recast budget.

The total estimated fall of Rs. 17,58,000 under irrigation receipts next year is because the gross receipts are estimated to be less and there is an increase in working expenses. The main cause of the big fall of Rs. 13,94.000 in the estimated receipts under agriculture is that during the current year the Government have received all their outstanding balance in the sugar excise fund.

An increase of Rs. 2,00,000 in extraordinary receipts is the figure which has been put on both the receipt and expenditure sides of the budget to cover expenditure in connexion with the war which will be reimbursed by the Government of India.

The total revenue charges, as observed above, show a decrease of Rs. 23,33,000 as compared with those in the recast budget. The main variations are increases under Land Revenue, Rs. 4,10,000 ; Police (ordinary), Rs. 6,05,000 ; and Education, Rs. 4,55,000 and reductions in provincial excise, Rs. 2,60,000 ; General Administration, Rs. 7,47,000. Police (Special expenditure) Rs. 6,37,000 ; Agriculture, Rs. 6,47,000 ; Indusiries, Rs, 5,64,000 and Central Road Development Account, Rs. 9,21,000.

With a view to balance the revenue side of the budget it has been decided to abolish the system of state-management of excise shops, resulting in the reduction in expenditure of Rs. 2,00,000 under Excise.

During the current year additional police forces had to be imposed in nine different areas as a result of communal riots and the Shia-Sunni dispute at Lucknow. It is now hoped that occasions to impose similar forces will not arise in the next financial year, resulting in the decrease in the estimates of Rs. 2,00,000.

Under Agriculture there is a reduction of Rs. 1,75,000 under rural development in connexion with the pay and allowances of the establishment and Rs. 4,53,000 in the provision for rural development grants.

One of the measures adopted by his Excellency the Governor to balance the budget is to take Rs. 6.00,000 from the U. P. Road Fund for road maintenance and reduce by tion from ordinary revenue, as a purely wartime emergency action. Many police stations in the province are extremely bad and provision has, therefore, been made to start rebuilding ten of the worst ones in the next financial year.

Proceedings of

The Indian National Congress

THE

All India Congress Committee

AND THE

Working Committee

Hindu Sabha & Muslim League Conferences

AND

Provincial Political Conferences

JANUARY—JUNE 1940

The Indian National Congress

	Place	Year		President
1	Bombay	(1885)	...	W. C. Bonerji
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	Nagpnr	(1891)	...	P. Ananda Charlu
8	Allahabad	(1892)	...	W. C. Bonerji
9	Lahore	(1893)	...	Dadabhai Naoroji
10	Madras	(1894)	...	A. Webb
11	Poona	(1895)	...	S. N. Banerjee
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. Chandravakar
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. Mazumdar
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)	...	Pandit M. M. Malaviya
34	Amritsar	(1919)	...	Pandit 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)	...	Maulana 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 Kanchhodlal
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
53	Ramgarh (Behar)	(1940)	...	Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

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 1940

Working Committee Members

President—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
General Secy.—Acharya J. B. Kripalani
Treasurer—Shri Jamnalal Bajaj

Other Members

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Babu Rajendra Prasad
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
Shri Bhulabhai Desai
„ Shankerrao Deo
„ C. Rajagopalachariar
Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
Dr. Syed Mahamud
Mr. Asaf Ali, M.L.A.

A. I. C. C. Members

President—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Ex-Presidents

Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya
Mahatma Gandhi
Shri C. Vijiaraghavachariar
Smt. Sarojini Naidu
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Shri S. Srinivasa Iyengar
Babu Rajendra Prasad
Shri Subhas Chandra Bose

Ajmer—5

Shri Trilokichand Mathur
„ Kanhaiyalalji Khadiwala
„ Purushottam Prasad Nayar
„ Shobhalal Gupta
„ Balkrishna Kaul

Andhra—27

Srimathi Gandham Ammannaraja garu
Shri Bezwada Gopalareddi garu, M.L.A.
Sri Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramiyya garu
Shri Mosalikanti Thirumalarao garu, M.L.A,
„ Vannelaganti Raghavayya garu
„ Pendyala Venkatakrishna Rangarao, garu
„ Gogineni Ranganayakulu
„ Mulpuri Rangayya garu
„ Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu garu
Tenneti Viswanatham garu, M.L.A.
Kala Venkatarao garu, M.L.A.
Shri Pidathala Rangareddi
„ Kommareddi Satyanarayanamurti garu
„ Chavali Suryanarayana
„ Gouthu Lachanna Garu
„ P. Buchappa Naidu garu, M.L.A.
Kakumanu Lakshmayya garu
Shri Kalachavedu Venkataramanacharyulu
R B. Ramkrishnamraju garu, M.L.A.
Shri Garimella Venkataramanamurti garu
„ Mallipudi Pallamraju garu, M.L.A.
„ Kalluri Chandramouli garu, M.L.A.
„ Gullapalli Narayanamurthi garu
„ Vangallu Kodandaramareddi garu
„ Nivasti Venkata Subbayya Garu
„ Vinnakota Jagannatha Gupta, M.L.A.

Assam—8

Shri Gopinath Bardoloi, M.A., B.L.
„ Bishnuram Medhi, M.Sc.. B,L.
Maulvi Mahmmed Tayyebulla, B.L.
Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Bar-at-law
Shri Sonaram Dutta, B.A.
„ Dev Kanta Barooah, L.L.B.
„ Deveswar Sarma, B.L.
„ Kuladhar Chaliha, B.L.

Bihar—41

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Babu Srikrishna Singh
Babu Ramcharitra Singh
Shri Karyanand Sharma
Babu Jaiprakash Narayan
M. Shah Umair
Babu Shatrughan Pd. Singh
Babu Badri Narayan Singh
Babu Satyanarain Singh
Babu Anirudhra Singh
M. Syeedul Haq
Babu Radhakanta Choudhry
Babu Desharan Singh
Babu Gangasharan Singh
Babu Jagat Narayan Lal
Babu Baidyanath Pd. Choudhry
Babu Lakshmi Narayan Singh
Babu Phani Gopal Sen
Babu Krishnaballabh Sahay
Babu Ramnarayan Singh
Babu Mahesh Pd. Singh
Babu Bindhyeshwari Pd. Verma
Shri Jogendra Shukul
M. Manzoorahsan Ajazi
Babu Mathuraprasad Singh
Pt. Hargovind Misra
Babu Jagjiwan Ram
Babu Suryanath Choubey
Babu Prabhunath Singh
Babu Mahamaya Pd. Singh
Dr. Syed Mahmud
Pt. Binodanand Jha
Babu Atulchandra Ghose
Babu Bibhutibhusan Das Gupta

Babu Deokinandan Persad
Babu Sheodhari Pandey
Babu Harbansh Sahay
Pt. Prajapati Misra
Prof. Abdul Bari
Babu Rameshwar Narayan Agrawal
Babu Kirti Narayan Singh

Bengal—51

Sjt. Kiran Sankar Ray
„ Hari Kumar Chakravarty
Sj. Arifur Rahaman Sudharamy
Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
Sj. Surendra Mohan Ghosh
„ Manoranjan Gupta
„ Benoyendra Nath Palit
„ Santosh Chandra Chakravarty
„ Raj Kumar Chakravarty
„ Bhupendra Kumar Datta
„ Arun Chandra Guha
„ Jeewan Lal Pandit
„ Amar Krishna Ghosh
„ Suresh Chandra Das
„ Sushil Kumar Banerjee
„ Kalipada Mookherjee
„ Kamal Krishna Roy
„ Benode Chandra Chakravarty
„ Pratap Chandra Guha Roy
„ Sati Bhusan Sen
„ Jiban Ratan Dhar
„ Upendra Nath Roy
„ Jiban Lal Chatterjee
„ Saradindu Mazumdar
„ Prafulla Nath Banerjee
„ Rajani Mukherjee
„ Srish Chandra Chatterjee
„ Abinash Chandra Bose
„ Labanya Lata Chanda
„ Kedar Nath Bhattacharjee
„ Hemanta Kumar Sarkar
„ Ram Sunder Singh
„ Ashutosh Das
„ Arunangshu De
Maulvi Abdus Sattar
Sj. Kumar Chandra Jana
„ Kamini Kumar Datta
„ Charu Chandra Bhandari
„ Debendra Nath Sukul
„ Prafulla Chandra Sen
„ Barada Prosad Nandy
„ Basanta Lal Murarka
„ Mihir Lal Chatterjee
„ Sarat Chandra Chakravarty
„ Sitaram Sakseria
„ Suresh Chandra Gupta
„ Sushil Chandra Palit
„ Haran Chandra Ghose Chowdhury
„ Haripada Sirkar
Maulvi Habibur Rahaman Chowdhury
Hannuman Prasad Poddar

Bombay—5

Shri Bhulabhai J. Desai
„ Yusuf Meherally
„ S. K. Patil
Shri Bhawanji A. Kimji
„ Sawlaram Gopal Patkar

Delhi—4

Maulana Nooruddin Bihari
Mr. Asaf Ali, M,L.A
Shri Bahal Singh
Lala Shanker Lal

Gujerat—16

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Sjt. Kanialal Nanabhai Desai
„ Arjunlal Lala
„ Khandubhai Kasanji Desai
„ Gulamrasul Kureshi
Dr. Chandulal M Desai
Shrimati Jyotsnaben Shukla
Sjt. Bhaktilakshmi Desai
„ Tribhuvandas Kishibhai Patel
„ Natverlal Dave
„ Parshattamdas Tribhuvandas Bhrambhatt
„ Hariprasad Pitamberdas Mehta
„ Morarji R. Desai
„ Maneklal Maganlal Gandhi
„ Vasantray Dahyabhai Desai
„ Balvantray Gopalji Mehta

Karnatak—16

Shri Chanabasappa Jagadeeshappa Ambli
„ Anant Annacharya Mandgi
Dr. R. Nagan Gowda, M. SC. PH.D.
Shri Marularadhya Shastri
„ U. Srinivas Malliah
„ A. B. Latthe, M.L A.
„ Gangadharrao Deshpande
„ Ganesh Atmaram Bhatkalkar
„ N. G. Joshi, M.L.A.
„ Paramanna Hosmani
Lakshman Srinivas Nayak
Shri V. V. Patil
„ S. B. Hiremath
„ Andaneppa Virupakshappa Kowdi
„ M. P. Patil M.L A.
„ C. M. Poonacha

Kerala—12

Shri R. Raghava Menon
„ C. Doraswamy
Janab P. K. Moideen Kutty
Shri K. Kelappan
Janab Mohammad Abdur Rahman Saheb
Shri K. P. Gopalan
„ P. Narayanan Nair
„ Chandroth Kunhiraman Nair
„ E. Kannan
„ K. Damodaram
„ H. Manjunath Rao
„ Moyarath Sankaran

Mahakoshal—17

Shri Ravishankar Shukla, M.L.A.
„ Chedilal M.L.A.
„ D. P. Mishra, M.L.A.
„ Sawaimal Jain
„ D. K. Mehta, M.L.A.

Shri Ramgopal Tiwari, M.L.A.
Seth Shivadas Daga. M.L.A.
Mahant Luxminarayandas, M.L.A.
Shri B. A. Mandaloi, M.L.A,
" Nirajansingh B.A.
" P. R. Dongaonkar
" Yati Yatanlal
" Maheshdutta Mishra
" Ragunathsingh Kiledar M.A.
" K. P. Pande
" Captain Avadesh Pertap Singh
Pt. Shambhoonath Shukla

Maharashtra—22

Sjt. B. G. Kher
" Devakinandan Narayan
" V. V. Kirtane
" Shankarrao Deo
" R. N. Abhyankar
" Achutrao Patwardhan
" V. P. Limaye
" N. V. Gadgil
" B. M. Gupte
" V. D. Chitale
" R. N. Nalavade
" V. V. Dandekar
" G. H. Deshpande
" Vasant Narayan Naik
" Vasant Bhagavat
" Balubhai Mehata
" S. G. Sardesai
" Chandrojirao Patil
" V. M. Tarkunde
" Atmaram Nana Patil
" Ramkrishna Jaju
" L. M. Patil

Nagpur—5

Shri Poonam Chand Ranka
" Jamnalal Bajaj
" Narayan Rao
" Chaturbhuj Bhai Jasani M.L.A.
" M. R. Avari

N. W. F.—7

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
Pir Shahanshah
Khan Kamdar Khan, M.L.A.
" Ghulam Mohammad Khan
" Mohammed Jan Khan, Bar-at-Law
" Khan Ali Gul Khan
" Abdul Qayum Khan Swati

Punjab—28

Diwan Chaman Lal, M.L.A. Bar-at-Law
Mian Iftakhar-ud-Din, M.L.A.
S. Autar Singh, Bar-at-Law
S. Gurdial Singh, Salaria, Bar-at-Law
Comrade, Ram Krishan
S. Gopal Singh Qaumi
S. Sohan Singh Josh, M.L.A.
Pt. Shri Ram Sharma, M.L.A.
Master Tara Singh
L. Chandi Ram Verma
Com. Mange Ram Vats
Com. Mubarak Sagar
S. Partap Singh, M.L.A.
Gian Girja Singh
S. Basant Singh Gil
S. Sampuran Singh, M.L.A.
S. Balwant Singh Anand
Giani Kartar Singh, M.L.A.
Master Kabul Singh, M.L.A.
L. Duni Chand, M.L.A.
Sh. Siraj-ud-Din Pracha
M. Abdul Ghani
L. Kidar Nath Sehgal
Dr. S. D. Kitchlew, Bar-at-Law
Master Nand Lal
Nawabzada Mahmud Ali
Com. Tika Ram Sukhan
S. Amar Singh

Sind—5

Prof. Ghanshayam Jethanand M.L.A.
Sjt. Siroomal Vishindas
Swami Krishnananda
Sjt. Hassaram S. Pamnani M.L.A.

Tamil Nadu—29

Shri N. Annamalai Pillai, M.L.A.
" T. S. Avinasilingam Chettiar, M.L.A.
Sri K. Kamaraj M.L.A.
" S. Satyamurthi, M.L.A.
" R. V. Swaminathan
" C. P. Subbiah, M.L.A.
" V. Nadimuthu Pillai, M.L.A.
" K. S. Periaswamy, M.L.A.
" C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, M.L.A.
" T. S. S. Rajan, M.L.C.
" O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar, M.L.C.
" P. Ramamoorthy
" M. C. Veerabhaghu
Janab K. M. Sheriff
Sri W. S. Srinivasa Rao
Janab N. S. Abdul Sather
Sri C. Rajagopalachariar
" P. S. Kumarasamy Raja, M.L.A.
" K. Santhanam, M.L.A.
" P. B. K. Rajachidambaram
Dr. P. Subbaroyan
Sri M. Bakthavatsalam, M.L.A.
" C. Perumalsamy Reddiar
" V. I. Muniswamy Pillai
Srimati Radhabai Subbaroyan, M.L.A.
Sri T. S. Ramabhdra Odayar
" K. Venkatasamy Naidu, M.L.C.
Janab S. A Shaffe Mohammed
Srimati Rukmani Lakshmipathi, M.L.A.

U. P.—62

Shri Jogendra Singh M.L.A.
" Sampurnanand M.L.A.
Pro. Ram Saran, M.L.A.
Baba Raghav Das
Radha Krishna Agarwal, Vakil
Shri R. D. Bhardwaj
" Radha Mohan Singh, M.L.A.
" Ramdhari Pandey, M.L.A.
" Raghunath Rai

,, Narmada Prasad Singh
,, Malkhan Singh, M.L.A.
Pt. Shri Krishna Dutt Paliwal
Acharya J. B. Kripalani
Shri Motilal Agarwal, M.L.A.
,, Ganpat Sahai
,, Gopinath Srivastava, M.L.A.
,, Govind Ballabh Pant, M.L.A.
,, Bishambhar Dayal Tripathi, M.L.A.
,, Govind Sahai
,, Bansidhar Misra, M.L.A.
,, Balkrishna Sharma
,, Abdulsalam Shah
,, Acharya Narendra Dev, M.L.A.
,, Purushottam Das Tandon
,, Algu Rai Shastri, M.L.A.
,, Pyarelal Sharma, M.L.A.
,, Atmaram Govind Kher, M.L.A.
,, Vishnu Saran Dublis
,, Kailash Nath Katju, M.L.A.
,, R. S. Pandit, M.L.A.
,, Dashrath Prasad Dwivedi
,, Bhupendra Nath Sanyal
,, M. N. Roy
,, Mohanlal Gautam, M.L.A.
,, Acharya Jugalkishore
,, Maulana Hafizurahman
,, Yusuf Imam
,, Shibban Lal Saxena, M.L.A.
,, Kamlapati Tripathi, M.L.A.
Dr. K. M. Ashraf
Shri Damodar Swarup Seth
,, Sajjad Zaheer
,, Ishwar Saran, M.L.A.
,, Chandra Bhan Gupta, M.L.A.
,, Prakash Chandra Agarwal
,, Abdul Vajeed
,, Udai Sanker Dube
,, Kedarnath Arya
,, Kanhaiyalal Mahendra
Shri Keshav Gupta, M.L.A
,, Deep Narain Verma
,, Prem Krishna Khanna
,, Bansh Gopal, Vakil
,, Baburam Verma, M.L.A.
,, Raghavendra Pratab Singh
,, Madan Mohan Upadhyay
,, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, M.L.A.
,, Harihar Nath Shastri, M.L.A.
,, Hukum Singh, M.L.A.
,, Harpal Singh
Sri Hargovind Singh
Shri Abdul Hakim

Utkal—18

Pandit Pranakrushna Parihari
Shri Nityanand Kanungo
,, Malati Choudhuri
,, Surendranath Pattanaik
,, Dibakar Patnaik
,, Harekrushna Mahatab
,, Surendranath Das
,, Kailas Chandra Mahanty
Pandit Godavaris Misra
,, Lingraj Misra
Shri Chintamani Misra
,, Surendranath Dwibedi
,, Jaganath Misra
,, Radhakrushna Biswasroy
,, Sadasib Tripathi
,, Jaganath Das
,, Prahlad Roy Lath, M.L.A.
,, Biswanath Das

Vidarbha—5

Hon'ble Shri Brijlal Biyani
Shri Laxminiwasji Ganeriwal Jahangirdar
,, Narayan Balaji Patil, M.L.A.
,, Bhaskarrao Jagjiwanrao Deshmukh
Dr. M. N. Parasnis

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE

Wardha—19th. January to 21st. January 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from January 19 to 21, 1940. Shri *Rajendra Prasad* presided. The Members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Bhulabhai Desai, Bidhan Chandra Roy, Shankerrao Deo, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Harekrushna Mahatab and J. B. Kripalani.

Turkish Relief Fund

Resolved that the action of the President granting Rs. 1,000 towards the Turkish Earthquake Fund be confirmed and the money be sanctioned and the the Treasurer be instructed to pay the amount.

Authority to the Treasurer to Appoint Attorneys

"Resolved that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, the Treasurer of the Congress is hereby expressly empowered:

(1) From time to time to appoint, remove and re-appoint an attorney or attorneys to act either jointly or severally and to confer on such attorney or attorneys all or some of the powers and authorities of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj as such Treasurer, provided however that such delegation will not absolve the Treasurer from any personal responsibility to the Working Committee.

(2) Resolved further that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj as such Treasurer is hereby expressly authorised to confer on such attorney or attorneys expressly all or any of the following powers :

(*a*) To open, continue and operate upon any banking account with any Bank, person, firm or company and to close such account whether such account be already opened or may be hereafter opened and to draw and sign cheques upon and otherwise operate upon such account.

(*b*) To endorse, transfer, negotiate any cheques, bills of Exchange, Hundies, and other negotiable instruments and securities.

(*c*) To receive sums of money and securities on behalf of the A. I. C. C. (the Working Committee and the Congress) and to give effectual receipt and discharges for the same."

Following resolutions were passed :—

Assembly Bye-Election, Punjab

The Committee considered the resolution of the Working Committee of the Punjab P. C. C. regarding the nomination of the candidate for the Punjab Provincial Assembly in the West Multan Rural constituency. In the opinion of the Committee, it is within the competence of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to make the final nomination for election to the legislatures. The Working Committee of a province is not justified in threatening resignation because its recommendation is not accepted by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee.

Utkal

Considered the representation of Shri Nabakrishna Choudhry and the explanation of Shri Nilkanth Das and Godavaris Misra regarding the proceedings of the meeting of the Utkal P. C. C. held on December 22, 1939.

In the opinion of the Committee the rulings of the Chairman were not correct and the resolution expressing want of confidence in the executive should have been permitted to be moved for the consideration of the meeting ; but in view of the fact that the new elections are taking place, it is unnecessary to take further steps in this regard. The Working Committee approved of the action of the President in entrusting the conduct of the elections in the province to Shris Gopabandhu Choudhry and Harihar Achary with full powers.

Bengal

The Working Committee have considered the resolution of the B. P. C. C. recommending the postponement of Congress elections in Bengal. The decision to hold the Congress elections in the country was arrived at after much consideration at a previous meeting of the Committee. The Working Committee find no change in the political situation of the country since the previous meeting of the Committee to justify postponement of Congress elections. The decision of the B. P. C. C. has been taken at a time when all preparations were completed in all the other Provinces to hold the Congress elections. The Working Committee, therefore, do not consider it desirable to postpone the Congress elections in Bengal alone and direct the ad hoc committee to push through the elections as quickly as possible.

The Working Committee considered the request of the B. P. C. C. for permission to launch Civil Disobedience in the Province as normal working of Congress organisations is said to have become impossible. The Committee resolved that the Congress Committees in the Province should carry out all their normal activities at any cost. If they are prevented from carrying them out in Bengal by the Government under the Ordinance or the Defence of India Act the B. P. C. C. is free to take any steps it considers necessary to meet the situation there. It should be clearly understood, however, that any steps taken by the B. P. C. C. is in vindication of the ordinary civil right of the organisation to function, and for that limited purpose only, and should not be regarded as a part of the general movement of Civil Disobedience for the attainment of the Congress goal.

The Working Committee have published their resolutions on the general question of civil disobedience in the country from time to time and there is nothing particular at this time to add to those resolutions.

The other resolutions regarding amendment of the Independence Pledge and action to be taken on the 26th January, 1940 did not call for a separate treatment. The first point was covered by the President's statement to the press, which he made under authority of the Working Committee and the second point did not

arise as the Government of Bengal had withdrawn bans on the proceedings of 26th January.

The resolution asking for a revision of the Working Committee's resolution appointing the ad hoc committee is dealt with separately.

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had requested the Working Committee to reconsider their resolution by which they had appointed the Bengal ad hoc Committee to conduct the Congress elections in Bengal. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had deputed Shri Sarat Chandra Bose to argue its case before the Working Committee. Shri Sarat Chandra Bose pleaded the case of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee before the Working Committee at great length. The Working Committee gave the following decision :

The Working Committee heard Sj. Saratchandra Bose at great length on the 20th and 21st January, 1940 at Wardha regarding the resolutions of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, dated the 6th January 1940, asking the Working Committee to reconsider their resolution, dated the 18th to 22nd December, 1939, appointing an ad hoc committee for conducting congress elections in Bengal and subsequently on the 22nd January 1940, Sj. Saratchandra Bose gave a note, summarising his arguments. After giving full consideration to Sj. Saratchandra Bose's arguments, the Working Committee regret their inability to alter their decision. The resolution of the Working Committee was arrived at after long and anxious consideration and was necessitated by a series of acts and omissions on the part of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and its Executive Council in defiance of the resolutions and policy of the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee. It may be noted that there has been no change in that attitude of the B. P. C. C. and its Executive Council. When the Working Committee appointed the ad hoc committee, the Executive Council of the B. P. C. C. met on the 30th December, 1939 and passed a resolution, the operative portion of which was a definite refusal to accept the Working Committee's decision and ran as follows: "The Council therefore regrets its inability to accept this decision of the Congress Working Committee, regarding ad hoc committee and it resolves to continue functioning in accordance with the Constitution of the Indian National Congress and the B. P. C. C." This was followed up by a circular issued by the B. P. C. C. to all Congress Committees in the Province of Bengal and Surma Valley which after reciting the resolution of the Executive Council said: "All Congress Committees are therefore requested to send all suggestions regarding delimitation etc., to B. P. C. C. Office which is legally the competent body to deal in the matter. They are also directed not to co-operate with the ad hoc committee in all these matters". The B. P. C. C. met on 6th January, 1940, and passed a resolution criticising at length the resolution of the Working Committee recording its protest against it and asking it to reconsider the resolution. The B. P. C. C. took no notice of the resolution of the Executive Council refusing to accept the decision of the Working Committee and the circular issued by the Secretary asking all committees within the Province to disobey it and not to co-operate with the ad hoc committee. On the other hand the same resolution which asked for a review of the Working Committee's decision also contained a paragraph which "reiterates its full confidence in the present Executive Council and the President, Secretary and Office-bearers of the Committee and requests them to deal with the situation as it arises." The action of the Executive Council in passing the resolution above mentioned and the circular issued by the B. P. C. C. to all Congress Committees of the Province are a clear defiance of the resolution of the Working Committe and the B. P. C. C. has by its own resolution endorsed the action of the Executive Council and its office bearers, who were responsible for the resolution and the circular.

The Working Committee consider the most recent actions of the B. P. C. C. and its Executive as being quite in keeping with the attitude they have adopted during the last several months and which had forced the hands of the Working Committee to appoint the ad hoc Committee.

The Working Committee in their resolution had expressly stated that they did not like to take drastic step in spite of sufficient provocation in view of impending elections, but had contented themselves with appointing the ad hoc committee to ensure fair and impartial elections. The need for such elections remains and the Working Committee are unable to alter their decision.

Regarding the points raised by Sj. Saratchandra Bose, it may be stated that the Working Committee did not like to repeat in their resolutions of 18th to 22nd December, 1939 all that had happened before and simply referred to the

previous resolutions which had dealt with the situation as it had developed in Bengal during previous months and only mentioned some glaring facts. Regarding the point of disobedience of specific instructions, it may be mentioned that Election Tribunal passed certain interim orders to the effect that Sj. Saradindu Chakravarti should function as the Secretary of the Rajshahi D. C. C. pending final disposal of the dispute before it on the 29th September. On the 30th September the Secretary of the B. P. C. C. issued a notice through the press countermanding the order of the Tribunal and saying that Sj. Pravaschandra Lahiri should function as Secretary and this appeared in the papers of October 1, 1939. The matter came up before the President, who after receiving an explanation from the Secretary held on the 12th October that the ad interim order of the Tribunal should be given effect to and that Sj. Saradindu Chakravarty should function as Secretary. This was communicated to the B. P. C. C. and Sj. Saradindu Chakravarti and Pravaschandra Lahiri. The B. P. C. C. and Sj. Pravas Chandra Lahiri took no notice of this order for more than 1½ months and when the Bengal affairs came up for review before the Working Committee on 18th to 23rd November, the Committee gave specific instructions that the order of the Secretary should be withdrawn and the withdrawal published in the press. It appears from what Sj. Saratchandra Bose stated before the Committee that after the resolution of the Working Committee the Secretary of the B. P. C. C. asked Sj. Pravaschandra Lahiri to hand over charge to Sj. Saradindu Chakravarti, that Sj. Pravaschandra Lahiri wrote to the B. P. C. C. that he had asked Sj. Radharamon Bhattacharya to hand over charge and some further correspondence passed to a similar effect. Sj. Radharamon wrote to the A. I. C. C. Office at Allahabad on 14th December informing the Secretary that he had been ordered to hand over charge but this letter was not received till the Secretary had left for the meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha and was not before him or the Working Committee when the resolution of the Working Committee was passed. It is admitted, however, that the other specific instruction of the Committee that the withdrawal should be published in the press was not carried out nor was the Tribunal at any stage informed of the fact that the countermanding order had been withdrawn by the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. It is sought to explain that this was an omission or an oversight. The Secretary had thought it necessary to issue a press statement countermanding the Tribunal's order immediately after it had been passed but neither he nor the President of the B. P. C. C. nor the Executive Council considered it necessary to give effect to the order of the President of the A. I. C. C. from 12th Octoder to 1st December, 1939 and when the Working Committee gave specific direction to withdraw and to publish the withdrawal, the Secretary failed to carry out the second instruction. Coming as it did on the top of all that had happened during the previous months, the Working Committee passed their resolution on the 18th to 22nd December and the fact that in respect of one point their information was not complete does not furnish sufficient ground for altering their decision. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose has referred to certain other matters which are not germane to the question at issue and it is unnecessary to deal with them here. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose has argued that while the Working Committee are competent to supersede a Provincial Committee, it is not open to them to pass an order taking away and entrusting to an ad hoc committee one or some of their functions. If it is open to them to take away all the powers of a provincial committee, it is open to them to take away one of them.

In these circumstances, the Working Committee are unable to alter their previous decision. The ad hoc committee will conduct the elections. It is hoped that all congress committees including the P. C. C. and its Executive Council will co-operate with the ad hoc committee and thus ensure impartial and fair elections which is the intention behind the resolution of the Working Committee.

General Secretary's Circulars

The Following circulars were issued by Sj. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress to all Provincial Congress Committees from time to time:—

Independence Day

The President has issued an appeal in connection with the celebrations of

the Independence Day. You must have seen it in the papers. I am sending you herewith a copy.

He has also issued yesterday some instructions about the observance of the Day. These instructions must be adhered to both by Congress Committees and Congressmen. In such a matter as pledge taking, no pressure should be brought on individuals. Everybody should be free. No effort should be made to organise strikes. This is in accordance with the traditions of the Independence day. It has never been a day of hartals and strikes. The programme should therefore be so arranged as world make hartals and strikes unnecessary. Nothing should be done to mar the solemnity of the occasion. Any compulsion will be out of place. It is also necessary that on such a sacred occasion there should be utmost good-will and concord between the different section of the Indian population. I would request you to get the President's appeal and his instructions immediately translated in the provincial language and distribute the two documents broadcast so that every congressman may know their contents.

The President's Appeal

The Independence Day is drawing near. It is on this Day every year since 1930 that we have renewed our pledge before our nation and the world that we shall not rest till we have achieved Complete Independence and cast off the chains of foreign domination that bind us body and soul. To-day we are passing through critical times. Nations are at war with each other. Every nation that is weak and divided has to share the responsibility of death and ruin that threaten the world. The slave must share with the slave-owner the responsibility and odium of slavery. It is the weak that create imperialism. Let this day, therefore, be a day of stock taking. Let us search our hearts if we have not by our individual and national conduct prolonged our agony. Let us ask ourselves if we have been true to our high ideals, noble purpose and the pure means which we have kept before ourselves to achieve our aim. Let each one ask himself, have I taken away every tinge of communalism from my life ? Have I considered persons of other faiths and other views as my blood brothers ? Have I as a Hindu done my little bit to wipe off the blot of untouchability ? Have I allowed my individual ambition to stand in the way of the advancement of members of weaker communities ? Have I been true to the masses ? Have I lightened their burdens ? Have I in my daily requirements and purchases remembered the starving millions distributed through the seven lacs of villages ? Have I by my personal example given them an idea of what they could do to help themselves ?

If in this heart search we find that we have neglected these duties or performed them perfunctorily let us, with humanity as our witness, this day—the day of our Independence—resolve that never more shall these duties be neglected or perfunctorily performed.

The world is in the throes of a destructive war that threatens the very foundation of civilization. If the war is carried on by all parties with tainted motives we may despair of any humane and equitable world order. What we do in the crisis is therefore not only of importance to ourselves but to the world. If by our non-violent means we can put an end to our internal strife and attain freedom, we will have proved to a doubting world that it can yet be saved without the aid of death-dealing instruments of war. We can do this only if we are true to our ideals and true to the leader who has placed this great weapon of non-violence in our hands. It is the weapon which even in weakness and defeat saves an individual and a nation their self-respect. Let us stick fast therefore to the anchor of non-violence. Let our non-violence be not of the weak but of the strong, fortified with the moral justice of our cause. In that spirit of faith and humility let us take the Independence Pledge this year.

The President's Instructions

The Working Committee at its last meeting passed a resolution calling upon the country to observe the Independence Day with enthusiasm and due solemnity. It prescribed a pledge to be taken on the Independence Day. Since then objections have been raised regarding portions of the pledge relating to spinning and constructive programme. To meet these objections to the pledge of Independence I desire to make it clear that no one is under any obligation to take the pledge as a whole or any part of it, and only those who are prepared to accept it should take it. The following procedure may, therefore,

be adopted at meetings convened on the 26th January. The Chairman of the meeting should explain the pledge fully so that the entire audience may understand it. It may then be read out by the Chairman paragraph by paragraph and the audience should repeat it. Any one not accepting any part of the pledge need not repeat the portion not acceptable to him.

While it is hoped that largest numbers in the country will participate in the meetings of the 26th Jaanuary, it should be clearly understood that no pressure should be put on any one to join in the functions against his free will and there should be no strikes anywhere in this connection.

Independence Day Celebrations

January 26th was observed as every year as the Independence Day. This year's celebrations had a special significance. To the usual independence pledge was added constructive programme which the nation has to carry out preparatory to the struggle ahead. Some of the Socialists had objected to the programme being made a part of the pledge. They thought by pledging themselves to ply the *charkha* regularly they were accepting the whole of Gandhiji's philosophy behind the *charkha* and cottage industry. They however waved their objection. But some members of the new Forward Bloc persisted in their opposition. In Calcutta, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee organised one meeting in which the part dealing with the *charkha* was eliminated. In Lucknow, the leader of the Forward Bloc himself organised a separate meeting. Throughout the country however the official pledge was taken. The Working Committee had allowed all those who had any conscientious objection to pledge themselves to ply the *charkha* regularly, to refrain from repeating that part of the pledge.

The day, this year, was celebrated with special enthusiasm. It began with *Probbat Pheries* followed by flag hoisting and flag salutation. In the evening there were huge processions terminating in public meetings where the full implications of the day and the pledge were explained to the audience. After that the pledge was administered by the Chairman of the meeting. There was no interference on the part of the Government and the day passed off peacefully. As usual members of all communities and classes participated in the celebrations. Our Muslim countrymen were as conspicuous by their presence as in other years in spite of the League President to boycott the day.

In London meetings wers held to celebrate the day. At the meetings convened by the Indian National Committee, Indian Swaraj League and Indian League, speeches were made explaining the implications of the Day. The A. I. C. C. Office received cablegram from New York which says: "Resolved at a public meeting that we join the Independence Day celebration for the immediate freedom for India." Similar cablegrams have come from other parts of the world where Indians reside.

Presidential Election

As announced in the Press two names of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Shri M. N. Roy have been proposed for the Presidentship of the ensuing session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ramgrah (Behar). The constitution allows ten days for a candidate to withdraw his name if he so chooses and inform the General Secretary. In case there is a withdrawal it will be duly notified in the Press. If there is no such notification in the Press it must be presumed that both candidates propose to contest the Presidential election. The election according to the time-table already published takes place on February 15th. On that day "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" Art. (XV). It must be clearly understood that the delegates have to meet in one place.

This is the more necessary as on that very day, namely February 15th, the delegates in each province have to elect one-eighth of the number unless otherwise provided for in the constitution, as members of the All-India Congress Committee by the system of proportional representation by single transferable vote. After dividing the total number of delegates in each province by eight if there is a remainder of more than 4 an additional member to the All-India Congress Committee may be elected. If the remainder is less than 4, it must not be counted.

Each province irrespective of the number of its delegates is entitled to elect at least 5 members to the All-India Congress Committee except Delhi which is entitled to 4 members only (Art. XII a).

As soon as the Presidential election is over the result with the number of votes secured by each candidate must be wired to the All-India Congress Committee Office.

As soon as the election of the All India Congress Committee members is over the names of the members elected with their permanent address must be sent to this office.

The Provincial Congress Committee offices have also to supply us with the list of names with the addresses of the delegates elected in each province. A copy of the list must be supplied to the Secretary, the Reception Committee, 53rd session of the Congress at Ramgarh (Behar).

Results of the Election

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Shri M. N. Roy's names were proposed for the presidentship of 53rd session of the Congress to be held at Ramgarh (Bihar) in March 1940. The voting by the delegates took place in all provinces on February 15, 1940. The All-India Congress Committee Office received wires from all provinces communicating the results of the voting. There could be no elections in Bengal and Delhi as the delegates' elections were not over there. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was declared elected aa President by 1861 votes against Shri M. N. Roy who polled 183 votes. The votes polled by the candidates in each province are given below :—

Names of province		Votes secured M. Azad	M. N. Roy
(1)—Ajmere	...	3	...
(2)—Andhra	...	173	15
(3)—Assam	...	45	3
(4)—Bengal	...	...	...
(5)—Bihar	...	239	19
(6)—Bombay	...	19	1
(7)—Delhi	...	...	...
(8)—Gujrat	...	111	1
(9)—Karnatak	...	92	19
(10)—Kerala	...	86	1
(11)—Mahakoshal	...	97	1
(12)—Maharashtra	...	127	17
(13)—Nagpur	...	21	4
(14)—N. W. F. P.	...	48	2
(15)—Punjab	...	188	23
(16)—Sind	...	20	2
(17)—Tamilnadu	...	178	9
(18)—U. P.	...	272	49
(19)—Utkal	...	119	4
(20)—Vidarbha	...	26	5
	Total	1864	183

Gandhi-Viceroy Interview

In response to an invitation from the Viceroy Mahatma Gandhi had an interview with him on February 5, 1940 on the present political situation in the country. The interview lasted for two hours and a half. The following communique which was agreed to between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi was issued:

"In response to an invitation from His Excellency Mr. Gandhi to-day came to see the Viceroy. A prolonged and very friendly discussion took place in which the whole position was exhaustively examined. Mr. Gandhi made it clear at the outset of the conversation that he had no mandate from the Congress Working Committee, that he was not empowered to commit in any way, and that he could speak on behalf of himself only.

His Excellency set out in some detail the intentions and the proposals of His Majesty's Government. He emphasised in the first place their earnest desire that India should attain Dominon Status at the earliest possible moment, and to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power. He drew attention to the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in that connection, in particular, the issue of defence in a Dominion position. He made it clear tha His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests

in India when the time came. He made clear also the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to shorten the transitional period and to bridge it as effectively as possible.

His Excellency drew attention to the fact that, as he recently repeated at Baroda, the Federal scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping stone to Dominion Status, and that its adoption, with the consent of all concerned, would facilitate the solution of many of the problems that had to be faced in that connection.

He added that the offer put forward by him in November last of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the lines and on the basis then indicated remained open and that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give immediate effect to that offer.

Subject to the consent of the parties affected, His Majesty's Government would be prepared also to reopen the Federal scheme so as to expedite the achievement of Dominion Status and to facilitate the settlement after the War of the issue to which it gave rise.

Mr. Gandhi expressed appreciation of the spirit in which these proposals were put forward, but made it clear that they did not, in his view, at this stage, meet the full demand of the Congress Party. He suggested, and the Viceroy agreed, that in the circumstances it would be preferable to defer for the present further discussions with the object of a solution of the difficulties which had arisen.

Mahatma Gandhi made the following statement to the press regarding his conversations with the Viceroy on the 6th. February 1940 :—

The vital difference between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's offer consists in the fact that the Viceroy's offer contemplates final determination of India's destiny by British Government whereas the Congress contemplates just the contrary. The Congress position is that the test of real freedom consists in the people of India determining their own destiny without outside interference.

I see no prospect whatsoever of a peaceful and honourable settlement between England and India unless the vital difference is obliterated and England decides upon the right course, namely, accepting the position that the time has come when India must be allowed to determine her own constitution and her status. When this is done the question of defence, the question of minorities, the question of Princes and the question of European interests will be automatically dissolved.

Let me make this a little clearer. Safeguards for the rights of minorities is not only a common cause but a representative assembly of Indians cannot evolve a stable constitution without the fullest satisfaction being given to the legitimate minorities, I use the word legitimate advisedly because I see that minorities crop up like mushrooms till there will be no majority left. By the fullest satisfaction I mean satisfaction which will not militate against progress of the nation as a whole.

I would therefore in the event of differences refer them to the highest and most impartial tribunal that can be conceived by human ingenuity. Its voice shall be final as to what will amount to the fullest satisfaction of minority interests.

So far as defence is concerned surely it will be the primary concern of free India to make her own arrangement. It may well be that India would want elaborate preparations and would want Britain's help if it is given to enable her to do so. Thanks to Imperial policy, unarmed India is left wholly unprotected except by British bayonets and Indian soldiers which British power has brought into being. It is a position humiliating alike to Britain and India. I am personally not concerned because if I carry India with me I would want nothing beyond a police force for protection against dacoits and the like. But so far as defence is concerned unarmed and peaceful India would rely on the goodwill of the whole world. But I admit that it is only a day-dream at the present moment.

So far as European interests are concerned the emphasis on the word European must be wholly removed. But that does not mean that a free India should be free to confiscate European interests or any other interests. There would be as there should be provision for reasonable compensation for any existing interests which are legitimate and not harmful to the nation. It follows that there can be no question of favouritism which is being enjoyed to-day by European interests. I would regard them as big zamindars or capitalists and they would be placed on the same footing as these.

So far as the Princes are concerned they are free to join the National Assembly which will determine India's fate not as individuals but as duly elected representatives of their own people. As Princes they are big vassals of the Crown. I fancy they have no status apart from the Crown, certainly not superior to the Crown itself.

If the Crown parts with the power it to-day enjoys over the whole of India, naturally the Princes have to, and it should be their pride to look up to the successor of the Crown, namely, the people of India for the preservation of their status. I hope this will not be considered to be a tall claim made by me on behalf not of the Congress, not of any single party, but of the unrepresented dumb millions. No claim made on their behalf can be considered too tall. I am myself an insignificant being. But I am supposed to have some hold over these dumb millions. I know that in every fibre of my being I am also one of them. Without them I am nothing. I do not even want to exist. I want on their behalf an honourable settlement with Britain without even a nonviolent fight. My dictionary has no such expression as violent fight. Yesterday I put this view before His Excellency in as courteous and friendly language as I was capable of using. We approached the discussion as personal friends each believing in the other's sincerity. We understood each other and both recognised that there still existed a wide gulf between the position taken by the British Government as explained by him and the position taken by the Congress which I put forward though not as an accredited representative of the Congress but certainly as a self-appointed representative of the dumb millions. We parted as friends. I have no disappointment in me that the negotiations have failed. That failure I am going to use, as I am sure he is going to use as a stepping stone to success. But if that success does not come in the near future I can only say Heaven help India, Britain and the world. The present war must not be decided by a clash of arms but must be decided by the moral strength that each party can show. If Britain cannot recognise India's legitimate claims, what will it be but Britain's moral bankruptcy ?

President's correspondence with Shri Sarat Chandra Bose

The following correspondence passed between the Congress President and Shri Sarat Chandra Bose regarding Bengal :—

Copy of the telegram received from Sj. Sarat Bose on January 30, 1940 :—

Working Committee decision confirming Ad Hoc Committee published to-day most unfair unjust. Have proved to demonstration that Working Committee had not shred of a case or constitutional authority to such appointment. Talk of partial and unfair elections comes with ill-grace after appointment Ad Hoc Committee that consisting solely representatives minority parties and after findings of your own violence enquiry committee which you never placed before Mahatmaji or Working Committee. Request you to submit decision soon referendum Bengal Congressmen and tour Bengal with your Bengal colleagues. Address public meetings justify decision I bearing all expenses. Kindly wire acceptance request.

Copy of the telegram sent by Rajendra Babu in reply to above on Jan. 30 :—

Your telegram. We must agree to differ. Constitution does not provide for appeal against Working Committee to referendum or public meetings suggested by you but you may appeal A. I. C. C. if you like.

Copy of the telegram received from Sj. Sarat Bose on January 31, 1940 :—

Your yesterday's telegram. Constitution does not provide for appointment Ad Hoc Committee but you and Working Committee did not hesitate ride rough-shod over constitution. Ultimate authority all constitution written or unwritten is general electorate but you are taking lawyers defence of appeal to A. I. C. C. which has packed majority committee to support your decision irrespective merit. As public man please appeal general electorate if you think your decision right. In nominating new members election tribunal understand you consulted minority group B. P. C. C. and appointed two nominees of their. But did not ask suggestion majority group. Kindly wire if prepared to change at least one name.

Copy of Telegram sent by Rajendra Babu in reply to above on 31st. Jan ;—

Working Committee holds itself competent appoint Ad Hoc Committee within constitution. Your reflection on A. I. C. C. as a packed body wholly unjustified and unworthy and extremely insulting to the Congress organisation in other provinces. Working Committee derives its authority from Congress as whole and not from any particular province hence constitution understandably permits no appeal against it to members of particular province. Chairman of tribunal your nominee Birendra Kumar Dey my own nomince known to me for thirty-five years Bhupendra Bose suggested by other two members of tribunal. Your assumption unfounded hence no change necessary.

Copy of the telegram received from Shri Sarat Chandra Bose on the 1st. Feb :—

Your telegram. Working Committee may claim competence appoint Ad Hoc

Committee but constitution no-where gives them right. Morning telegram states as is fact that A. I. C. C. has packed majority to register Congress executives decision. Did not use words packed body cannot understand where insult unworthiness unjustifiability come in. Will you agree referendum Indian Congressmen. Suggested tribunal chairmans name during discussion but not my nominee two other members wellknown close frinds associates Binoyendra Palit representative minority group Secretary Ad Hoc Committee therefore suggested one representative majority group.

The following is the text of Rajendra Babu's letter in reply, dated 1st. Feb :—

I received your telegram of yesterday's date. I am surprised that you are unable to see the insult to the members of the A. I. C. C. in calling them a packed body of majority. Does it not strike you that a packed majority means that those who do not happen to agree with you have not been fairly and honestly elected and do not honestly vote and the minority who happen to agree with you alone possess the distinction of having been returned fairly and of voting honestly ? By saying that you have only stated a fact by saying that in the A. I. C. C. there is a packed majority, you have made the insult only more pointed. The assertion is wholly unjustified and unworthy. I cannot imagine a greater insult to the members concerned and to the electorate, which returned them. Public work becomes impossible if we begin to dub everyone, who has the misfortune to differ from us as dishonest, as you seem to dub the majority of members of the A. I. C. C. However, I do not wish to pursue this matter any further. As I wired to you the Working Committee differ with you on the question of constitutional rights of the Working Committee to appoint an Ad Hoc Committee.

I am unable to understand what you mean by 'Referendum of Indian Congressmen'. Delegates of the Congress are elected by all the Congressmen of the country and it is these delegates who elect the members of the A. I. C. C. I have never heard of a dispute involving the question of constitutional powers of a superior body vis-a-vis an inferior body and action taken by the former against the latter being settled by a referendum. will you please make the position clear ?

As regards your allegations against the two members of the Tribunal, I am referring the matter to the Chairman of the Tribunal.

From a telegraphic summary of the resolutions adopted by the Executive Council of the Bengal P. C. C. on the 30th ultimo, it appears that they have decided once again to defy the authority of the Working Committee. I am awaiting full text of the resolutions. If the full text bears out the correctness of the summary, then probably no further question will arise. So far as I can judge, the Working Committee will not be prepared to enter into any further discussions in the matter in face of these repeated defiances of its authority.

(1) Gandhiji on the Present Situation

The following articles by Mahatma Gandhi under the Caption of "The Charkha" appeared in a issue of the "Harijan" on the 9th. January 1940 :—

I congratulate the Socialists, the Royists and others who have spoken out their minds on spinning. The situation that faces the country is most serious. If civil resistance is declared in right earnest, there should be no suspension unless there is a proper settlement. It, therefore, follows that if the fight is to be non-violent the non-violence must be unadulterated. I must not weaken in my statement of the requirements. If I hesitate, I would betray the national cause. I dare not lead an army that does not answer the qualification which I regard as essential for success.

No half-hearted allegiance will do. Divided allegiance will lead to disaster. The critics should realise that I have not imposed myself on the Congress. I am no dictator, though I have been given that nickname by unkind friends. I have no sanction for imposing my will on any person. Therefore, I call myself truly a servant of the people. The public should know that I have not even been formally appointed "generalissimo." Not that the Working Committee would not give me the formal appointment. But I suggested and the members agreed that there was no necessity for it. Thus, if ever there can be a bond of unmixed love and confidence between a general and his men, this is such a one. There is nothing to prevent the Congress from ignoring me and passing any resolution it likes. There is nothing, so far as I am concerned, to prevent any person or any province or district from declaring Civil Disobedience at his or its own risk. They will be guilty of indiscipline towards the Congress. But I can do nothing in regard to such insubordination.

Hence it should be unnecessary for me to argue out the case for spinning. It should be enough that it is the requirement that every Satyagrahi has to fulfil.

But I must continue to argue till I convert opponents or I own defeat. For my mission is to convert every Indian whether he is a Hindu, Muslim or any other, even Englishmen and finally the world, to non-violence for regulating mutual relations whether political, economic, social or religious. If I am accused of being too ambitious, I should plead guilty. If I am told that my dream can never materialise, I would answer 'that is possible,' and go my way. I am a seasoned soldier of non-violence, and I have evidence enough to sustain my faith. Whether, therefore, I have one comrade or more or none, I must continue my experiment.

The first thing I would like co-workers to realise is that I have no hate in me for a single Englisnman. I am not interested in driving him out of India. I am interested in converting him into a servant of India, instead of his being and believing himself to be a ruler or a member of the ruling race. I feel towards him precisely as I feel towards an Indian, no matter what his faith may be. Therefore those who do not share this elementary quality with me, cannot become co-Satyagrahis.

My love of Englishmen is not of the drawing-room type. No one has painted their imperialism in more lurid colours than perhaps I have. But then I have done likewise in my domestic as also political circle. The love of my conception, if it is as soft as a rose petal, can also be harder than flint. My wife has had to experience the hard variety. My eldest son is experiencing it even now.

I had thought I had gained Subhas Babu for all time as a son. I had the pain of wholly associating myself with the ban pronounced on him. Time was when Dr. Khare and Vir Nariman used to say that my word was law for them. Alas, I can no longer claim that authority. Anyway, I was party to the disciplinary measures taken against them. I maintain that I have acted towards them as I have acted towards those who are considered nearest and dearest to me. In all my dealings love has dictated my actions.

Even so have I acted towards Englishmen. Of course, they have called me all kinds of names when I have fought them. Their bitter criticism of me had as much effect on me as their praise. I say all this not to claim or expect any certificate of merit. I want to show that because I have said hard things about British rule and methods, ill-will against Englishmen must not be imputed to me. Those, therefore, who are filled with ill-will against them will find me a misfit in the end.

I am enunciating no new idea here. They are to be found in "Indian Home Rule" (Hind Swaraj), which was written in 1908 when the technique of Satyagraha was still in process of formation. The 'Charkha' had become part of this programme of love. As I was picturing life based on non-violence, I saw that it must be reduced to the simplest terms consistent with high thinking. Food and raiment will always remain the prime necessities of life. Life itself becomes impossible if these two are not assured. For non-violent defence, therefore, society has to be so constructed that its members may be able as far as possible to look after themselves in the face of an invasion from without or disturbances within. Just as a domestic kitchen is the easiest thing in such circumstances, the 'takli' or at most the spinning wheel and the loom are the simplest possessions for the manufacture of cloth. Society based on non-violence can only consist of groups settled in villages in which voluntary co-operation is the condition of dignified and peaceful existence. A society which anticipates and provides for meeting violence with violence will either lead a precarious life or create big cities and magazine for defence purposes. It is not unreasonable to presume from the state of Europe that its cities, its monster factories and huge armaments are so intimately inter-related that the one cannot exist without the other. The nearest approach to civilisation based upon non-violence is the erstwhile village republic of India. I admit that it was very crude. I know that there was in it no non-violence of my definition and conception. But the germ was there. All I have said may be pure folly. It behoves me as a faithful servant of the nation not to hide my folly. There is no doubt that we are on the eve of a big change. I hope it will be for the better, but, it may be also for the worse. I must have the courage to share with my co-workers my innermost thoughts even though I may risk the loss of their co-operation.

To resume the argument. It is from that germ that I have developed the technique of non-violence. If the 'charka' can bear the ample interpretation I have put upon it, it becomes the most effective weapon in the armoury of Satyagraha. The weak thread from the wheel binds the millions in an unbreakable cord. One

yard of the thread may be useless, but millions of unending threads spun by willing and knowing hands will make a cord strong enough to bear any strain that may be put upon it. But between 1908 and 1914 the idea remained dormant. The whole scheme was conceived for India. Nevertheless the spirit of it was worked out even in South Africa. The life of the Satyagrahis there was reduced to simplest terms. Whether barristers or others, they learnt the dignity of labour. They accepted voluntary poverty as their lot in life and identified themselves with the poor. On my arrival in India I began single-handed to work for revival of the 'charkha'. In 1921, khadi became one of the chief items of the constructive programme of the Congress. The 'charkha' occupied the centre of the Congress Flag with its vital connection with non-violence. I am, therefore, to-day saying nothing new. But as has often happened people have passed by what I have said until they have been compelled to take action.

I have great regard for all the comrades who have been writing against the 'charkha' and its implications. They are rendering a service by guiding the country according to their lights. I do not want their mechanical assent to my requirements. I should take it if it served the national purpose, but I know that it cannot.

I must here consider Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's letter to the "Times of India." We have had political differences practically since my return to India in 1915. He is an eminent lawyer. But that no more entitles him to give an authoritative opinion on the economy of the 'charkha' than on the use of infantry in modern warfare. I invite him to study the literature that has grown round it. I promise that he will revise his opinion on its potency. May I also remind him that I claim many mill-owners among my friends ? They know my views about mills. They know, too, that I have had a share in promoting the prosperity of our mills. Sir Chimanlal should also know that I am guiding the policy of the largest and most powerful labour union in all-India. My opposition to the mills is unbending and uncompromising. But it is wholly non-violent, and I make bold to say that the mill-owners will be the first to give me that certificate. My connection with the mills is a happy and complete illustration of non-violent resistance. I need not be reminded that they pamper me because they know that my activity cannot touch them. I flatter myself with the belief that they know better. They know that, if with my fixed views about mills I had violent intentions about them, my activity could cause so much trouble that they would be obliged to treat me as an enemy and to summon the assistance of the law against me.

But I like Sir Chimanlal's challenge to the ex-Ministers. Let them speak.

(2) The Dissentients

The following article under the above caption by M. Gandhi appeared on the 16th. January 1940 :—

Shri Jaiprakash Narain and Shri Sampurnanand have spoken in no uncertain terms against the addendum to the pledge to be taken on the 26th instant. I have great regard for them. They are able and brave and have suffered for the country. I should count it a privilege to have them as companions in arms. I should love to win them over to my viewpoint. If the battle is to come and I am to lead it, I should not be able to do so with half-convinced or doubting lieutenants.

I am not spoiling for a fight. I am trying to avoid it. Whatever may be true of the members of the Working Committee, I wholly endorse Subhas Babu's charge that I am eager to have a compromise with Britain if it can be had with honour. Indeed, Satyagraha demands it. Therefore, I am in no hurry. And yet if the time came and if I had no follower, I should be able to put up a single-handed fight.

But I have not lost faith in Britain. I like that latest pronouncement of Lord Linlithgow. I believe in his sincerity. There are undoubtedly snags in that speech. Many i's have to be dotted, many t's have to be crossed. But it seems to contain germs of a settlement honourable to both nations. Those. therefore, who work with me have to appreciate this side of me. Perhaps, from the standpoint of the dissentients, this compromising nature of mine is a disqualification. If it is, the country should know it.

Shri Jaiprakash Narain has done well to clear his and the Socialist Party's position. He says of the constructive programme. "We have never accepted it as the only or even as an adequately effective weapon in our struggle. Our views regarding these matters have remained unchanged. Rather, they have been strengthened by the helplessness of the national leadership in the present crisis...

Let students come out of their schools and colleges on that day and let workers lay down their tools."

If the majority of Congressmen entertain the views that Shri Jaiprakash propounds on behalf of the Socialist Party, I can never hope to lead such an army to success. He has no faith either in the programme or in the present leadership. I suggest to him that he has quite unconsciously discredited the programme he would carry out merely "because the nation's High Command desire it." Imagine an army marching to the battle without faith in the weapons to be used and in the leaders who have prescribed them. Such an army can only bring disaster to itself, its leaders and the cause. If I were in Shri Jaiprakash's place and if I felt able to tender discipline, I would advise my party to remain indoors and silent. If I could not, I would preach open revolt and frustrate the designs of an ineffective leadership.

Again, he would have the students come out of their colleges and schools and workmen lay down their tools. Now this is a lesson in indiscipline. If I had my way I would invite every student to remain in his school or college unless he got leave or the Principal decided to close the college or school in order to take part in the celebration. I should give similar advice to the workmen.

Shri Jaiprakash complains that the Working Committee has given no details about the work to be done on the Independence Day. I thought that with the programme of fraternising and khadi there was no need for detailed instruction. I should expect Congress Committees everywhere to arrange spinning demonstration, khadi hawking, and the like. I observe that some Committees are doing so. I had expected Congress Committees to make preparations from the day the Working Committee resolution was published. I shall measure the strength of the nation's response not merely by the quantity of yarn spun but mainly by the khadi sales throughout the country.

Finally, Shri Jaiprakash says: "We advanced for our part a new progrmme, that of labour and peasant organisation, as the foundation of a revolutionary mass movement." I dread the language used. I have organised both, but not perhaps in the way Shri Jaiprakash has in mind. The sentence demands further elucidation. If they are not organised on a strictly peaceful footing, they may damage non-violent action as they did during the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha and later during the hartal in Bomay over the Prince of Wale's visit.

Shri Sampurnanand has raised a spiritual issue. He thinks that the original pledge should not have been tampered with though, as he says, and rightly, it was discoursive. I was its author. I wanted the people not merely to repeat the 'mantra' of Independence but to educate the people as to its why and wherefor. It was later amended when certain portions of the original had become meaningless. I admit the sacredness of the 'mantra' of Independence. That was given to us when the Lokamanya first uttered : "Swaraj is my birth-right." It was caught by thousands and is gaining strength from day to day. It is now enshrined in the hearts of millions.

I hold that the addendum this year was necessary. It adds to the sacredness of the original and tells the people how everyone can contribute to the realisation of national freedom. I feel, therefore, that Shri Sampurnanand's objection really arises from his disbelief in the constructive programme. He says: "If making it an integral part of the pledge means that we are definitely committing ourselves to a policy of village industries as opposed to mass production, then I as a Socialist, cannot accept it." Of course, I cannot give the legal interpretation of the pledge. It can only be given by the Working Committee. But as the General responsible for declaring and conducting a non-violent war, I am bound to say that this mentality must interfere with mass propaganda. A leader like Sampurnanandji can either throw himself whole-heartedly in the struggle or not at all. He will create confusion in the mass mind by being half-hearted in his exposition of the addendum. If khadi has not an abiding place in the national programme, it should have no place in the addendum. If there is anything more effective, it should be put before the nation.

There need be no hush-hush policy because a big fight is said to be impending. It is not necessary for all to be of one mind. But it is absolutely necessary that those who have to be in charge have a living faith in the programme they have to work out. No make-believe will answer the present requirements.

It has been suggested to me by a Congressman wielding great influence that as soon as I declare civil resistance I would find a staggering response this time. The whole labour world and the *kisans* in many parts of India will, he assures

me, declare a simultaneous strike. I told him that if that happened, I should be most embarrassed and all my plan would be upset.

I must confess that I have no positive plan in front of me. Let me say that God will send me the plan when he gives the word as he has done before now. He has been my unfailing guide and has sustained me throughout my stormy life. This, however, I know that no plan that I may put before the country will admit of unregulated and sporadic strikes, because that must lead to violence and, therefore, automatic suspension of the non-violent struggle. It would amount to my dismissal. I am sure the Socialist leaders and other dissentients do not expect me to embark on a struggle which I know beforehand is likely to end in disaster. I ask for lieutenants and men who will act as one mind.

Even if somehow or other we achieve nominal independence, we cannot conduct national affairs with any degree of success unless we have won the struggle in the manner prescribed by me. Without real non-violence there would be perfect anarchy. I hope I am not expected knowingly to undertake a fight that must end in anarchy and red ruin.

The Independence Day

The following under the above caption by Gandhiji appeared on the 21st. January 1940 :—

Though questions regarding the forthcoming Independence day Pledge should be properly addressed to the Congress Secretary and the President alone can give authoritative answers, they are continually being addressed to me and as I have undertaken the duty of declaring civil resistance and leading the army should a struggle become necessary it becomes incumbent on me to answer certain questions before the 26th January.

(1) Let it be remembered that if civil resistance is to be declared it will have to be more non-violent than ever before if only to show the warring nations of the earth that a big people like that of India can fight non-violently for regaining their freedom. Therefore, I shall resolutely refuse to fight unless I have sufficient confidence that Congressmen will render implicit obedience.

(2) There is as much valour in self-denial as there is in rushing into the furnace provided that the motive is the same in either case.

(3) The Independence Day is an annual feature in the Congress programme and is unconnected with civil resistance. Hence the forthcoming celebrations must not be mistaken for a declaration of civil resistance. Nevertheless it would serve as an index of the discipline among Congressmen and those millions, who have hitherto answered the Congress call. There should, on one hand, be the largest demonstration of all the previous ones we have had and on the other it should be of a character as peaceful as to disarm all criticism and induce and enable women with babes, little children and aged people to join the demonstration. Such was the demonstration on the 6th April, 1919, in Bombay,

(4) Students have asked me what they should do. I would expect them individually to take the Pledge for it means their determination to win independence for India through truthful and non-violent means, symbolised in the constructive programme, in which *charka* is the central activity. Other items are harmony among different communities and eradication of untouchability. These do not constitute a struggle but their fulfilment is indispensable for it. If the struggle comes students will not strike. They will leave their schools or colleges for good. But students will not strike on the 29th. It will be good if the authorities themselves, as they well might close their institutions and lead their staff and students in processions and other items of the programme.

The same things apply to labour. Those, who without leave, absent themselves from work will in my opinion be guilty of indiscipline and render themselves unfit for enlisting as soldiers in the Satyagraha army.

Non-violence is all discipline wholly voluntary. It is clear from the foregoing paras that those who do not believe in and use khaddar, cannot take the Pledge.

(5) The Pledge is not designed, as some fear, to eliminate strikes and no-tax campaign. But I must at once confess that I have in my mind neither strikes nor no-tax campaigns as parts of the forthcoming struggle if it comes at all. In my opinion the present atmosphere is not conducive to non-violent strikes and non-violent no-tax campaigns on an extensive scale.

(6) I expect the whole weight of the Congress organisations to be devoted to popularising Khadi and clearing the existing stocks.

(7) For the Satyagraha is a method of self-purification. The word was first

used in an A. I. C. C. resolution of 1921. A constructive programme has been designed for that purposes. Though the word has fallen into disrepute I, as the author of the programme, must have the courage to repeat it. We began Satyagraha with a 24 hours' fast in 1919. I propose to observe one myself on the 26th beginning in the evening of the 25th. And those, who believe in its efficacy, will do likewise.

(8) Though I am preparing myself in the best manner I know and inviting the country to join me for a struggle for the overthrow of imperialistic spirit and all it means. I am making a desperate effort to avoid a struggle. I believe that the best mind of England, nay of the world, is sick of exploitation by the strong or the less strong. I believe in the sincerity of Lord Linlithgow. In the immediate carrying out of policies it is the individuals who count. I have worked with faith and hope. And I have not lost the hope that we shall have honourable settlement without a struggle, which, no matter how non-violent, must involve considerable suffering. I, therefore, invite all communities and all parties, including Englishmen to join in the effort.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

53rd. Session—Ramgarh—19th. & 20th. March 1940

A Brief Summary of Proceedings

The Ramgarh sesion of the Congress met under the Presidentship of *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* on March 19 in a large, open and tastefully decorated amphitheatre formed by the natural undulations of the ground. Just as the session was about to commence—5-30 p. m.—there was a heavy down-pour of rain upsetting all arrangements. Soon there was a deluge. The delegates and visitors however stuck to their places. When they could sit no longer they stood up in knee deep water. At the appointed hour, in continuing rain, the proceedings commenced. Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, extended a welcome to the delegates and thanked them and the visitors for keeping to their places, defying the weather. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad then addressed the audience. He said the task before the country must be finished through rain, flood and storm. The fight for freedom must continue under all circumstances. He congratulated them on the courage and discipline shown by them in keeping to their places, determined to see through the work of the day. He then called upon Shri Jawharlal Nehru to formally move the main resolution. Jawaharlalj moved the resolution with a brief introductory speech. Shri J. B. Kripalani duly seconded the resolution. The work chalked out for the day being thus formally gone through the President declared the session adjourned till the next day.

It rained throughout the night. In the morning there were fitful showers. The President was however determined to go through the work of the session. It was announced that the proceedings would be continued at 9-30 a.m. rain or no rain. Exactly at 9-30 the President accompanied by Gandhiji and members of the Working Committee arrived at the Jhanda Chouk, a flat, level spot in front of the exhibition and commenced work.

Shri Jawaharlal explained the official resolution to the audience at length. The resolution was then seconded by Shri J. B. Kripalani and supported by Shri Vallabhbhai Patel. Notice had been given of 6 amendments to be moved before the open house, The amendments were duly moved but they were rejected by overwhelming majorities. The main resolution was then put to the vote and passed, 16 delegates voting against it.

Text of the Resolution

India and the War-Crisis

This Congress, having considered the grave and critical situation from the war in Europe and British policy in regard to it, approves of and endorses the resolutions passed and the action taken on the war situation by the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee. The Congress considers the declaration by the British Government of India as a belligerent country, without any reference to the people of India, and the exploitation

of India's resources in this War, as an affront to them, which no self-respecting and freedom-loving people can accept or tolerate. The recent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India demonstrate that Great Britain is carrying on the War fundamentally for imperialist ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire, which is based on the exploitation of the people of India, as well as of other Asiatic and African countries. Under these circumstances, it is clear that the Congress cannot in any way, directly or indirectly, be party to the War, which means continuance and perpetuation of this exploitation. The Congress therefore strongly disapproves of Indian troops being made to fight for Great Britain and of the drain from India of men and material for the purpose of the War. Neither the recruiting nor the money raised in India can be considered to be voluntary contributions from India. Congressmen, and those under the Congress influence, cannot help in the prosecution of the War with men, money or material.

The Congress hereby declares again that nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India. Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of imperialism, and dominion or any other status within the imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India, is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation, and would bind India in many ways to British policies and economic structure. The people of India alone can properly shape their own constitution and determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage.

The Congress is further of opinion that while it will always be ready, as it ever has been, to make every effort to secure communal harmony, no permament solution is possible except through a Constituent Assembly, where the rights of all recognised minorities will be fully protected by agreement, as far as possible, between the elected representatives of various majority and minority groups, or by arbitration if agreement is not reached on any point. Any alternative will lack finality. India's constitution must be based on independence, democracy and national unity, and the Congress repudiates attempts to divide India or to split up her nationhood. The Congress has always aimed at a constitution where the fullest freedom and opportunities of development are guaranteed to the group and the individual, and social injustice yields place to a juster social order.

The Congress cannot admit the right of the Rulers of Indian States, or of foreign vested interests to come in the way of Indian freedom. Sovereignty in India must rest with the people, whether in the States or the Provinces, and all other interests must be subordinated to their vital interests. The Congress holds that the difficulty raised in regard to the States is of British creation and it will not be satisfactorily solved unless the declaration of the freedom of India from foreign rule is unequivocally made. Foreign interests, if they are not in conflict with the interests of the Indian people, will be protected.

The Congress withdrew the Ministries from the Provinces where the Congress had a majority in order to dissociate India from the War and to enforce the Congress determination to free India from foreign domination. This preliminary step must naturally be followed by Civil Disobedience, to which the Congress will unhesitatingly resort as soon as the Congress Organisation is considered fit enough for the purpose, or in case circumstances so shape themselves as to precipitate a crisis. The Congress desires to draw the attention of Congressmen to Gandhiji's declaration that he can only undertake the responsibility of declaring Civil Disobedience when he is satisfied that they are strictly observing discipline and are carrying out the constructive programme prescribed in the Independence Pledge.

The Congress seeks to represent and serve all classes and communities without distinction of race or religion, and the struggle for Indian independence is for the freedom of the whole nation. Hence the Congress cherishes the hope that all classes and communities will take part in it. The purpose of Civil Disobedience is to evoke the spirit of sacrifice in the whole nation.

The Congress hereby authorises the All India Congress Committee and in the event of this being necessary, the Working Committee, to take all steps to implement the foregoing resolution, as the Committee concerned may deem necessary.

Gandhiji's Speech

The President then requested Gandhiji to address the delegates assembled. Following is a summary of his speech delivered in Hindustani :

I am pleased to have been here to hear all these discussion today. When I see that all those, who have spoken, had the word 'Civil Disobedience' on their tongue, I am reminded of the Biblical saying : "Not every one that sayeth to me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven : bnt he that doth the will of my father who is in Heaven, he shall enter the kingdom of Heaven."

It is not those, who shout the word civil disobedience that can launch civil disobedience. It is only those who work for civil disobedience that are capable of launching the movement. Real civil disobedience makes it binding on those who join it to do what they are enjoined to do and avoid what is prohibited. Civil disobedience properly launched and conducted is bound to lead to freedom.

I feel you are not prepared. It is true that we all know and realise that we are slaves in our own land. We also realise that freedom is essential for us. Further we all realise that we will have to fight for freedom. I may also join you in applauding the speakers who have demanded immediate launching of civil disobedience. A thief has come and turned me out of my house. I will have to fight him and get it back, but before I can do this, I must be prepared. (applause) Your claps only demonstrate that you do not understand what this preparation means. Your General finds that you are not ready, that you are not real soldiers and that if we proceed on the lines suggested by you, we are bound to be defeated.

I must make it clear that I am not prepared to do anything for which I will have to repent. I have never acknowledged defeat throughout all these years in any of my struggles. Though some people may point out to Rajkot, but I maintain that it was not a defeat for me. Future history alone can make this clear.

I can assure you and I promise you and publicly announce it, that when you are ready I shall march forth and then I have no doubt about victory. I said this before the Subjects Committee and I repeat it again here. Purify your mind and heart. Some people here have been asserting that it is not necessary for us to concentrate on the Charkha before launching a fight. I do not doubt their sincerity and bravery, but, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has told you, they betray certain weakness of mind. For twenty years I have been preaching that without the Charkha, Satyagraha cannot be started. Doctors want me to leave the Charkha. But I am devoting greater attention to it, because I have to prepare myself. No one, who does not believe in the Charkha, can be a soldier under me. He will be deceiving himself, me and the world.

With me there is no other alternative than non-violence. If you feel that you are to fight and you must fight now and immediately and feel convinced that there is some other method of winning the fight, I would ask you to go ahead and I shall be the first to applaud your victory. But if you do not want to leave me and yet are not prepared to follow my methods and instructions, then I would like to know what kind of generalship is this that you offer me.

Those who clamour for immediate launching of Civil Disobedience want to have me with them, why, because they are conscious that the masses are with me. I unhesitatingly say that I am people's man. Every moment of my life I feel for the starving millions. I live and am prepared to lay down my life to relieve their sufferings and mitigate their miseries. I claim to have some influence with the millions, because I have been a faithful servant of theirs. Even if you stone me to death I will still work for the masses. This is my way. If you think there is any other way please leave me alone.

Without Charkha I cannot lead you to jail in the course of the fight for freedom. I will not have any one under me who does not believe in the Charkha. I shall go ahead only when I am satisfied that you have faith and belief in the Charkha. Remember if we, who are assembled here, blunder shall cause untold suffering to the dumb millions by our mistake. The delegates to the Congress bear a heavy responsibility and as your General my responsibility is still greater. As a general I have to be a sort of beacon light to you and warn you against possible disaster. Therefore, have I to proceed cautiously.

Many speakers dilated on the evils of British Imperialism. I do not wish to elaborate that point except to state that we must get rid of it. I have told you the cue. Before I agree to launch Satyagraha, I must be convinced that you have understood my remedy.

It is no use going to a doctor and asking for a medicine if you do not propose

to take it according to his instructions. I would much rather ask you to seek another doctor for your ailment. All the sermons you have heard to-day against British Imperialism will not help you to remove it. They will only make you angry. This will not solve our problem. Anger is opposed to Satyagraha. We have no quarrel with the British people. We want to be their friends and retain their good will, not on the basis of their domination, but on the basis of a free and equal India.

As a free country India will bear no malice to anyone, nor attempt to enslave any people. We shall march with the rest of the world, just as we shall desire the rest of the world to march with us.

Satyagraha is the path of truth at all costs. If you are not prepared to follow this path please leave me alone. You can pronounce me worthless and I shall not resent it. If I do not make this clear here and now, I shall be ruined and along with me the country. Truth and Ahimsa are the essence of Satyagraha, and the Charkha is their symbol. Just as the General of any army insists that his soldiers should wear a particular uniform, I as your General must insist on your taking to the Charkha which will be your uniform. Without full faith in truth, non-violence and the Charkha, you cannot be my soldiers. And I repeat again that if you do dot believe in this, you must leave me alone and you can try your own methods.

The All India Congress Committee Proceedings

Summary of Proceedings

A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held in the Subjects Committee Pandal at Ramgarh on *March 17, 18 and 19, 1940* at 3 p. m. Babu *Rajendra Prasad* presided.

Before converting ifself into the Subject Committee of the Ramgarh session of the Congress, the Committee passed unanimously the following resolution, appreciating the services of Shri Rajendra Prasad :

The All-India Congress Committee places on record its grateful appreciation of the services of Babu Rajendra Prasad who shouldered burden and discharged the responsibilities of the office of President under very difficult and trying circumstances.

Babu Rajendra Prasad then requested the President to elect Maulna Abul Kalam Azad to take the chair. After the Maulana Sahib took the chair he declared the meeting of the A. I. C. C. to be the meeting of the Subject Committee.

Subjects Committee Proceedings

Ramgarh—17th. March to 19th. March 1940

Condolence

The Committee adopted the following resolution :

The Congress express its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Lala Shyamlal, Sri Shambhunath of Sitapur. Sj. Srinivas Roo Konjalji (Bijapur), Hoskoppa Krishna Rao, Chickamagalur (Mysore State), Jitendra Lal Banerjee, and Torunram Phookan (Assam).

India and War-crisis

Babu Rajendra Prasad placed before the house the main resolution on 'India and War-crisis' recommended by the Working Committee at its meeting at Patna. The resolution was seconded by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. 27 amendments were moved. 14 of these were withdrawn. 13 were voted upon. They were all rejected by the house by an overwhelming majority of votes, none receiving more than 20 votes. The following table gives the number of votes recorded for each of the amendments :

	Name		*For*
1.	M. N. Roy	...	10
2.	Bhardwaj	...	20
3.	Bhupendra Kumar Dutt of Bengal	...	14
4.	Ram Kishan	...	7
5.	Krishnandan	...	1
6.	Gopal Sinha Qaumi	...	8

7.	Ghulam A. Khan	...	6
8.	M. Hafizur Rahman	...	9
9.	Bhupendar Sanyal	...	4
10.	Dr. Ashraf	...	13
11.	Shrimal V. Shinde I	...	2
12.	Shrimal V. Shinde III	...	1
13.	V. D. Chitale	...	7
14.	N. G. Ranga	...	9

The main resolution was then put to the vote and passed, only 10 members voting against it. The total attendance of the A. I. C. C. members was 305.

For the text of the resolution see page 228.

Mahatma Gandhi's Address

Gandhiji was present at the meeting at the concluding stage of the discussion as also for a brief while, at the commencement of the Subjects Committee. After the voting was over and the resolution passed by the house, the President requested Mahatma Gandhi to address the members of the A. I. C. C. He made the following speech in Hindustani :

Since I went out of the Congress at Bombay, there has been an understanding between me and the Working Committee that I should not be asked to speak at the A. I. C. C. or the Subjects Committee meetings and I should be allowed to serve the country in my own way with whatever strength is left in me. I have usually been attending the meetings of the Working Committee. On this occasion, I myself suggested that I should address the Subjects Committee and also the delegates. The Working Committee agreed to this and although I wanted to address you before the resolution was adopted, the Committee suggested that I do so after the resolution was disposed of.

I have come to you to meet you and renew my acquaintance with you, and also give you an opportunity to meet me and find out whether there has been any change in me. I have been in public life for full fifty years ; I have been in charge of various organisations and come in contact with millions of people. Besides, I have been in contact with the Working Committee and many of you have been in correspondence with me. It should, therefore, not be difficult for me to remember you.

All the same I wanted to establish direct contact and know where we stand in relation to each other. I notice that you have made considerable progress in the art of debate. I congratulate you on that, for, a democratic organisation does need people who can express themselves clearly and maintain a high level of discussion. I also find that the number of amendments you move has increased. That too is good because we want new ideas. It is good that various points of view should be presented before the public so that if any point that is not accepted to-day may be accepted tomorrow.

You have adopted this resolution almost unanimously. Only seven or eight among you dissented. They had every right to do so. The passing of this resolution adds to my responsibility, because I was present at the time of discussion. If I wanted I had an opportunity to place my view before you but the Working Committee felt that I should not do so before the resolution had been disposed of and consented.

I do not want to reply to what has been said by some of you in the course of the debate. I want to tell you, however, that there have been occasion in the past when I agreed to launch a movement although some of the conditions laid down by me had not been fulfilled, but on this occasion I am going to be very strict, not because I want to be hard but because I want you to realise that the general who has to lead the fight must let his army know his conditions for leading them.

This time I find that the difficulties you would have to face are much greater than those we were faced with on former occasions. These are of two kinds, external and internal. We have declared very clearly what we want. We have made it so clear that further clarification is not possible. Similarly the British Government have also made clear their point of view. Britain is involved in a World War and naturally if we oppose it at this time it will mean trouble. This is the first difficulty. But our real difficulty is an internal one. I have written on several occasions that in Civil Disobedience one need not be afraid of external difficulties if the fight is carried on proper lines.

Our internal difficulty is that we have a large number of Congress members

on our Register. People have joined us because they find that the Congress has acquired power. Many people who did not join the Congress before have now joined it. They have harmed it because they have joined perhaps with selfish motives. In a democratic organisation we cannot prevent such people from joining unless our organisation is so strong that sheer weight of public opinion would compel them to remain out.

That cannot happen so long as our contact with primary Congress members is only for voting purpose. There is no discipline in the Congress. There are a number of groups and there are quarrels and squabbles. We seem not to believe in non-violence as regards our own internal organisation. Wherever I go I hear the same complaint. My conception of democracy is not the formation of groups quarrelling with one another to such an extent as would destroy the organisation itself. Again we are not only a democratic organisation. We are also a fighting organisation. Our fight is not yet over. When we march as an army, we are no longer a democracy. As soldiers we have got to take orders from the General and obey them implicitly. His word must be law. I am your General. It should not mean that I should keep you in dark regarding my feelings. I do not know of any General in history who was so powerless as I am. I have no sanctions. My only sanction is love. In one way it is a great thing but in another sense it can also be worthless. I can say I cherish love for all in my heart. Perhaps you also do so but your love must be active. You must fulfil the conditions set down in the Independence Pledge. You must allow me to tell you that if you do not fulfil those conditions it will not be possible for me to launch a struggle. You will have to find another General. You cannot compel me to lead you against my will. When you appoint me as your general, you must obey my command. There can be no argument about it. Because my only sanction is love, I argue with you for love must be characterised by patience. I have hard friends criticising the Charkha. I know you are all ready to go to jails but you must earn the right and pay the price for going to jails. You will not be going to jails as criminals.

This condition about Charkha and Khadi has been there since 1920. Our programme and policy have been the same all these days. You might have grown wiser in this matter since then, but I must tell you I have not. The more I think about non-violence, the greater virtues I find in it.

I have been an outlaw since 1918. Before that I was so loyal to the empire that I wrote to Lord Chelmsford that I longed to have the same loyalty towards the Empire as a Britisher has in his heart. I wrote those words because I am a believer in truth. Truth is my God and I could not have written anything else if I wanted to be true to myself.

You may have other ways than truth and non-violence, but mine is the same old path and, being just a human being like you, I also commit mistakes Never have I dreamt that I am a Mahatma. We are all equals in the eyes of God. To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans are all alike. I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Qaid Azam Jinnah. He is my brother. I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket. There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so to-day. I do not read all that appears in the Urdu Press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuses there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj. You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of fight. I do so because it is to be a fight for the Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims, then alone I would give up all hope, but even then I would argue with them because they read the Quran and I have also studied something of that Holy Book. I will tell them that God makes no distinction between Hindus and Muslims. When Lord Zetland was wounded I was deeply pained. I felt as if I was myself wounded. These are my ways. You may call them weakness. If you want me you must understand this. It is my constant endeavour to create good-will in the opponent's mind. I fight British Imperialism but I have no quarrel with those who run the Imperialist machine. I do not want to destroy them but I want to bring about a change in them.

You must know that compromise is in my very being. I will go to the Viceroy fifty times if there is need for it. When I was fighting

General Smuts, at the very last moment I telephoned to him to try and see if the fight could be abandoned. He put down the receiver in anger. I was not sorry because thereby he did not insult me and you know we are now great friends. If you have suspicion that I will compromise, you must believe that the compromise will not be at the cost of the country. I will not sell India. Whatever I do I do to increase the strength of our country. The basis of my fight is love for the opponent. If I had no love in my heart for the Dutch and the English I would not have been able to fight them in South Africa.

Somebody has suggested that the word "mass" does not appear in the resolution in reference to civil disobedience. If it is not to be mass civil disobedience why should I come to you ? If it were to be done by a handful of people you would not find me here arguing with you. You might perhaps not be taking these things seriously, but in my mind there is no other thought. My mind is wholly concentrated on trying this great experiment with your help and support, because it will not only benefit India but the whole world.

Every Congress Committee must therefore become a unit of Satyagraha. To that extent, democracy comes to an end. To that extent democratic organisation like ours will have to follow implicitly my instruction. If that does not happen, millions of people who follow us will be sacrificed. I will not allow that to happen. I may have to lay down my life for preserving the power that has accrued to India. You may not be able to analyse that power but it is there. It is the power of Ahimsa.

I do not want to come in if there is anyone who wants to launch a struggle. But he can do so outside the Congress. If he wants to remain in the Congress he must follow the Congress programme and policy. Of course it is possible for anyone to remain in the Congress and yet disobey it, but that won't be the way of Satyagraha which never harms the man who uses the weapon. The passing of the resolution does not bind you yet. It is still open to you to reverse it. You may have other methods, but so far as I am concerned I have only the same old programme. I know that that method has never harmed anyone who has followed it and even now if I can get your whole-hearted support and co-operation, I can show you what can be achieved within even a month.

Non-Official Resolutions

According to the Constitution a day is assigned for the consideration of the non-official resolutions. The office received notice of 35 non-official resolutions. They came up for consideration on March 19, 1940. Of the resolutions given notice of 16 related to constitutional changes. The president explained to the Committee that considering the special circumstance in which we were meeting it was but proper that our attention be concentrated on the main task. Our experience of the working of the amended constitution has revealed certain gaps which it is necessary to fill. But the present was hardly the atmosphere in which intricate constitutional changes in all their aspects and implications could be discussed. He therefore advised that the best course in the circumstance would be for the A. I. C. C. to appoint a small Sub-Committee to go into the non-official resolutions which related to constitution and make its recommendations to it whenever it met in future. The house agreed to the President's suggestion and deferred the consideration of these resolutions. Of the rest Nos. 5, 7, 11 and 16 were covered by the official resolution on 'India and war-crisis' passed by the Committee. No. 27 was declared out of order. Nos. 20, 27, 29, 30 and 31 were withdrawn. Resolution No. 2 related to the composition of a national anthem in popular Hindustani. Maulana Saheb explained how as a member of the committee appointed in 1937 at the Calcutta A. I. C. C. he wrote to some friends and made a collection of poems. But none out of this collection was such as could attain the dignity of a national anthem. The A. I. C. C. could not consider off-hand the complicated question of composing a national anthem. It needed to be looked at from a variety of viewpoints. On an assurance being given that the National Anthem Committee will once again go into the question, the mover withdrew his resolution.

The resolution No. 10 related to the withdrawal of disciplinary action against Congressmen. On the President exlaining how the Working Committee's hands

were forced in the matter and how fresh acts of indiscipline continued to be committed by the same parties, the resolution was withdrawn.

All India Congress Committee Proceedings

Ramgarh—20th. March 1940

A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was held on March 20, 1940 at 4 p.m. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* presided. It passed the following resolution :

Appointment of Auditors

Resolved that Messrs Dalal and Shah and Messrs Chhotalal H. Shah and Co. of Bombay be appointed as Hon. Auditors of the Congress.

Next Session of the Congress

Invitations were received from the Frontier, Punjab, Berar, Nagpur and Madras for the next session of the Congress. They were placed before the A. I. C. C. The President was anxious that there should be a unanimous decision but it was not possible. Berar and Nagpur however withdrew their invitations. The other three provinces agreed to refer the matter to the Working Commitee and abide by their decision.

The New Working Committee

The President announced the following personnel of the new Working Committee :

1. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
4. Babu Rajendra Prasad
5. C. Rajapopalachariar
6. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj (*Treasurer*)
7. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
8. Shri J. B. Kripalani (*Gen. Secretary*)
9. Shri Bhulabhai Desai
10. Shri Shanker Rao Deo
11. Dr. Prafulla Ch. Ghosh
12. Dr. Syed Mahmud
13. Asaf Ali

The fourteenth name was to be announced later.

Working Committee Proceedings

Patna—28th. February to 1st. March 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Sadaqat Ashram, Patna, from February 28 to March 1, 1940. Shri *Rajendra Prasad* presided.

The members were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Bhulabhai Desai, Shankerrao Deo, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Harekrishna Mahatab and J. B. Kripalani. Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Rajagopalachariar were present by invitation.

Baghelkhand

The President informed the Committee that there was a desire expressed on the part of the Baghelkhand States to separate from Mahakoshal P. C. C. and unite themselves with the U. P. P. C. C. The U. P. P. C. C. executive had expressed its willingness to corporate the States in their province. The President of the Mahakoshal P. C. C. had said that there was no objection to the transfer. It was however decided that the Mahakoshal P. C. C. should consider the question and give consent to the transfer before it is effected.

Bengal

The Bengal P. C. C. had passed a resolution by which among other things, it had disaffiliated the Mymensing, Hugli and Jesore D. C. Cs. from co-operating with the Bengal Congress Election Committee appointed by the Working Committee. This action had created an awkward possition for all such Committees in Bengal as were faithfully carrying out the instructions of the Working Committee. They had to be protected from the wrath of the Bengal P. C. C. in revolt against the Working Committee. This could only be done if the Working Committee took action against the Bengal P. C. C. under Article XIII of the Congress Constitution. The Working Committee was therefore constrained to pass the following resolution :

The Working Committee understands that the Bengal P. C. C. has passed a resolution purporting to disaffiliate the Mymensing, Hugli and the Jessore District Congress Committees on account of their co-operation with the Congress Election

Committee appointed by the Working Committee by its resolution of December last. This resoluion of the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, coming as it does after a series of acts of defiance of the Working Committee, leaves no room for any further condonation of their indiscipline. The Working Committee, therefore, calls upon the Bengal P. C. C. to show cause why it should not be disaffiliated under Article XIII of the Congress Constitution. The President is authorised after receiving such explanation as may be offered to take action thereon and, if satisfied, to pass orders withdrawing all recognition from the present Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and further authorises him to take such further action as may be necessary in consequence thereof for carrying on the Congress work in that province.

The District Congress Committees of Mymensing, Hugli and Jessore and all other district committees in Bengal are hereby informed that all actions taken by the Bengal P. C. C. or its executive council for disaffiliating and otherwise interfering with their authority as a result of their loyalty to the resolution and directions of the Working Committee, are null and void and shall have no effect.

Pending final orders by the President after receipt of any explanation that the Bengal P. C. C. or its executive council offers the Bengal P. C. C. and the executive council are suspended and their powers shall be exercised by the aforementioned election committee.

Ajmer

Complaints were received about the election of three members to the A. I. C. C. from Ajmer and the formation there of the Provincial Congress Committee by cooption. The opinion of the Committee was that on the date fixed for the A. I. C. C. election as there were not more than three delegates it was quite constitutional for these three delegates to elect themselves as members of the A. I. C. C. They were also entitled in terms of the old constitution to co-opt the remaining members of the P. C. C. However the newly formed P. C. C. may be informed that it must make fresh rules for the formation of the P. C. C. on the principle of election. The principle of cooption must be so restricted that the number of persons coopted may in no case exceed the total number of those who are authorised to coopt.

Delhi

The President informed the Committee about the difficulty of the three supervisors who had been appointed by him to supervise elections in the Delhi Province. Neither the P. C. C. nor the Election Tribunal was cooperating with them, specially the latter. Some speedy way of making the election of delegates possible before the Ramgarh session must be therefore devised. The Committee after considering the situation passed the following resolution:

'In view of the difficulties that have arisen in conducting the delegate elections in Delhi Province, and the consequent delay in their elections, it is necessary to take urgent steps to expedite these elections so as to enable Delhi delegates to take part in the Ramgarh Congress. The supervisory Committee should therefore, in consultation with the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, immediately fix the dates for the elections. In the event of any complaints being made about membership certificates not having been issued, the supervisory Committee is authorised to issue such certificates after such inquiry as it may deem fit. The Supervisory Committee may also examine and dispose of any case of fictitious membership where the Election Tribunal has not already considered them and passed orders on them."

India and War Crisis

The Committee discussed the political situation and adopted a resolution to be placed before the Subjects Committee of the 53rd session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ramgarh. (*For text of resolution see page 228*)

Working Committee Proceedings

Ramgarh—15th. March to 18th. March 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Ramgarh (Bihar) from March 15 to 18. Babu Rajendra Prasad presided.

The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shris Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Khan Abdul Gaffar

Khan, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Bhulabhai Desai, Shankerrao Deo, Profulla Chandra Ghose, Harekrishna Mehtab and J. B. Kripalani.

Gandhiji and Shri Rajagopalachariar were pesent by invitation.

Non-Official Resolutions

The Committee took stock of the political situation, considered the non-official resolutions of which due notice had been given and decided the programme to be followed in the Subjects Committee and the open session.

Caxton Hall Tragedy

The following resolution was passed on the Caxton Hall tragedy in London :

"The Working Committee has learnt with deep regret of the assassination of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the wounding of Marquess of Zetland and others by a person said to be an Indian. The Committee does not attach any political significance to this unfortunate act of violence. Nevertheless, it wishes to reiterate its conviction that all such acts are injurious to the national cause."

General Secretary's Circulars

Circular No. I, dated 23rd. March

I am sending you herewith the text of the resolution passed by the Congress in its plenary session at Ramgarh. The resolution was passed as recommended by the Working Committee at Patna. It must be read along with what Gandhiji has since written in the columns of the *Harijan* and his two speeches at Ramgarh reported in the press. The conditions laid down by him must be fulfilled by Congressmen and Congress Committees to facilitate his giving the word of command for the commencement of our struggle for freedom. Renewed efforts must be put forth to carry on constructive programme ;—Congressmen must close their ranks and the Congress organisation must be made powerful and efficient.

We may not forget that the struggle is inherent in the situation. Nay it has already commenced. It started with the sending of Indian soldiers abroad without the consent of the Central Legislature. The offensive was continued by the amendments to the Government of India Act and the refusal of the British Government to state clearly its war and peace aims. By the arrest of Congressmen and Communists the Government has added one more item to its offensive. The Congress stands for civil liberty, for the liberty of the press and the platform and of conscience. It cannot therefore view with indifference the recent arrests specially when these are made under the war ordinances, and when as in the case of the Communists, citizens are interned for indefinite periods without a trial. There has also been a reversal of policy in the Congress controlled provinces. All these acts go to prove that the Government far from satisfying the legitimate demands of the people is out to consolidate its position and perpetuate its hold in India.

The only answer that the nation can give to this offensive is the starting of the civil disobedience. This can be done when the nation has made itself ready for the fight in terms of the requirements laid down by Gandhiji without whose leadership there can be, in the present circumstances, no non-violent fight. I therefore hope that you will see that in your province the constructive programme is carried out in the spirit in which our leader wants it to be done.

I would draw your attention to our circular No. 28 of December 29, 1939. It is quite possible that the Congress election and the session may have broken the continuity of your work. If so you will restart it with renewed vigour fortified by the inspiring words of Gandhiji uttered at Ramgarh. You will please send us fortnightly reports of the work done.

Circular No. 2, dated 23rd. March

Now that the new Provincial Congress Committees are constituted you will take immediate steps to constitute the provincial and other election Tribunals. The Tribunals are to be constituted in terms of Article VIII of the Congress Constitution. Clause (b) of the Article says that "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." This does not mean that the provincial executives have to wait for the fixing of a particular date by the Working Committee. The executives of the Provincial Congress Committees have to appoint the Tribunals as a matter of routine business immediately after the constitution of the P. C. Cs and the election of executives.

The method of election of the Provincial Tribunals is given in the Article. The Tribunal is to be elected either unanimously or by ¾ majority. The object of this, as you well know, is that the Tribunal should enjoy the confidence of all sections of the P. C. C. It is quite possible that the election of the Tribunal may fulfil the moral requirement of the constitution and the Tribunal may yet be such as would lack the confidence of all sections of the house. I would therefore request you to carry out the provision of Art. VIII not only in letter but in spirit also. We need at this hour of our trial all the unity that we can command in our ranks. Rivalries may be inevitable in times of peace but they are dangerous in time of war. The only rivalry that can be legitimately indulged in at present is the rivalry in service and sacrifice. I have no doubt that the new Tribunals will be elected on a broad and united basis commanding the confidence of all Congressmen.

Circular No. 3—25th. March

The national week, as you know, has been observed every year ever since 1919 from April 6 to 13. On April 6 began the non-violent mass struggle for the emancipation of our land from foreign yoke. The day was observed as one of fasting and prayer preparatory to the launching of the civil disobedience movement. April 13 saw the Jallianwala massacre where innocent Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs mixed their martyr blood in a common sacrifice. Since then the week has been observed throughout the country as a national week, when the country renews its determination to achieve its goal and intensify the work preparatory to the struggle. Constructive work has therefore formed the main feature of the celebrations. This year the national week assumes a special significance due to the impending struggle and the insistence of Gandhiji, that he would lead no mass struggle unless the constructive programme of the Congress has been effectively carried out. It will therefore be not out of place if I invite your attention to the appeal issued by Gandhiji through the columns of the *Harijan* for the observance of the week. He says, "On April 6, 1919 the masses of India found their feet. It was the inauguration of civil disobedience. Its non-violent character was signalised by fasting and prayer. Hindus and Muslims fraternised as they had never done before. The vow of Swadeshi was taken by tens of thousands. The April 13, 1919 saw the massacre in which Hindu, Muslim and Sikh blood flowed promiscuously. The National Week is observed as a week of self-purification, in which sales of khadi and other products of village industries are organised on a large scale. I have said and I repeat that there is no Swaraj for the masses except through khadi and other village crafts. For there is no non-violent disobedience without sustained constructive effort. A living, continuous mass contact is impossible without some constructive programme requiring almost daily contact of the workers with the masses. I hope, therefore, that the forth-coming week will be celebrated by all earnest workers with due solemnity and with intensive sales of khadi and other products of village handicrafts."

I hope you will keep in mind these solemn words of Gandhiji while organising the national week this time. You will please send this office reports about the celebrations in different places under your jurisdiction,

Circular No. 4—29th. March

In connection with my circular letter No. 1, P-1/8 dated 23rd March, 1940, I send you herewith copy of an article contributed by Gandhiji in the columns of the *Harijan* dated the 25th March, 1940 containing detailed instructions for all those who would participate and help to the forthcoming Satyagrah struggle. Gandhiji divides the army into active and passive Satyagrahis. For the former he has prescribed 5 conditions ; (1) they must believe in the cultivation of the spirit of good will towards all communities and sections of people without distinction of caste, creed and colour and sex ; (2) they must have no untouchability in them in any shape or form ; (3) they must spin regularly ; (4) they must habitually use Khaddar to the exclusion of all other cloth and (5) they must not expect in case of imprisonment any financial assistance either for themselves or their dependents.

The passive Satyagrahis are those men and women who 'though they will not spin or court or suffer imprisonment, believe in the two cardinal principles of Satyagrah (Truth and non-violence) and wish well to the struggle'. They will help the movement best 'if they will not interfere with the course of the struggle by themselves courting imprisonment and aiding or precipitating strikes of labourers

or students'. They will, however, it is hoped, actively help in the prosecution of the constructive programme so far as it is not against their principles.

If Gandhij's instructions are faithfully followed, every unit of Congress organisation must convert itself into a Satyagraha Committee. It is, however, possible that the majority of the members and office bearers of a Committee are not active Satyagrahis. In that case, a separate Satyagraha committee may be created consisting of active Satyagrahis. The Congress Committee must help and co-operate with such Satyagraha Committees. The latter may carry on the work for the preparation of the struggle, while the former may go on with routine Congress business. I have already asked the provincial Congress Committee to have 4 departments of work namely; (1) the Charkha; (2) Minority; (3) Harijan; (4) Publicity Departments. If there be need for more departments they may be added. Funds must be provided for each department. Permission under necessary safeguards may be given to the departments to raise money for their respective activities. All the departments created must co-operate with each other.

At Ramgrah, Gandhiji was assured that the country was ready for a fight. The only thing needed was the word of command. I have no doubt that this is the prevalent feeling in the country. In that case, given the will for Satyagraha, there should be no difficulty in fulfilling the conditions laid down by our Leader. Let every man and woman feel that he or she is already in jail. Let them combine under a Congress organisation or Satyagraha association, or Sabha and establish ashrams, shibirs and camps where the members carry out in daily routine the programme that is prescribed. Let us even from now suspend our private normal activities and devote ourselves to the work of preparation. In such shibirs, ashrams and camps additional items of work may be undertaken, such as volunteering and first aid to the injured. Let such camps continue till the inmates find themselves in jail. Let the camps be conducted with as much voluntary 'sanyam' (restraint) and simplicity of life as are compulsorily the lot of the Satyagrahi after he is convicted and finds himself in jail. If this is done the order to march may be given even inside one month as Gandhiji hopes.

It is necessary for the active Satyagrahi to pledge himself about the main principles of Satyagraha and the chief items of the programme. Each provincial Congress Committee will therefore draw up a pledge on the lines of the one attached herewith. It is based upon the pledge drawn up and adopted at the open session of the Congress in 1921 at Ahmedabad.

It will not be out of place here to remind you what Gandhiji said at Ramgarh. He told his audience that this time when the struggle is likely to be final and therefore severe and prolonged, he will not be satisfied with doubtful material. He has also warned us that if he smells violence he will unhesitatingly call halt. It is a hazardous and delicate experiment that he is out to perform. If it succeeds, it means peace and goodwill for a tried, nerve-wrecked and war-weary world. Those whose faith in non-violence is not as bright as Gandhiji would wish it, will, I hope, have the patience to allow Satyagrah a chance, specially when with almost one voice the nation has reposed its faith and confidence in Gandhiji's leadership. After all those who work for peace and justice in this country or for the world, may not be impatient. They are bound to try every method that saves humanity from war, violence and bloodshed. When Satyagraha fails, after it has been given a fair trial in terms of the conditions laid down by its author and initiator, it will be time to use the orthodox way of violence, if the nation so wishes. We must remember that the way of violence is ever with us. In the meantime, to interfere with the work of the Congress under Gandhiji's lead would not be to advance the best interests of the revolution we wish to achieve but to work for reaction and counter-revolution. Let therefore all earnest minds either close up the ranks by being active Satyagrahis or help the movement by remaining passive. "They also serve who stand and wait."

May I request you to carefully study the present statement of Gandhiji and any other instructions in this behalf that may be issued by him from time to time? You will ask your subordinate organisations to do likewise. The Office must get fortnightly reports containing facts and figures about the progress of the work undertaken.

Pledge

To

The Satyagraha Congress Committee.

.....

I desire to enroll myself as an active Satyagrahi.

I solemnly declare that,

(1)—So long as I remain an active Satyagrahi I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since I believe that as India is circumstanced today, non-violence alone can help and result in the attainment of Purna Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.

(2)—I believe and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.

(3)—I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with, and endeavour to render service to, the submerged classes.

(4)—I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth. I shall so far as possible use the produce of hand and village industries.

(5)—I shall spin regularly.

(6)—I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all rules and regulations not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by any superior Congress organisation or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

(7)—I am prepared to suffer imprisonment or even death for the sake of the cause and my country without resentment.

(8)—In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my self, my family and dependents.

Signed

Full name.....
Address.....
Date.....

NOTE : Nobody who is not above the age of 18 may take this pledge.

Every Congress Committee a Satyagrahi Committee

The following under the above caption by Mahatma Gandhi was issued from Sevagram, Wardha on the 25th. March 1940 :—

When I said at the Subjects Committee meeting at Ramgarh that every Congress Committee should become a Satyagrahi Committee I meant every word of what I said as I meant every word of everything else I said. I would like every Congressman who desires to serve in the Satyagrah Sena to read my two speeches made at Ramgarh as well as whatever else I may write in *Harijan* on the struggle and carry out the instructions meant for him or her.

In the coming struggle, if it must come, no half-hearted loyalty will answer the purpose. Imagine a general marching to battle with doubting, ill-prepared soldiers. He will surely march to defeat. I will not consciously make any such fatal experiment. This is not meant to frighten Congressmen. If they have the will, they will not find my instructions difficult to follow. Correspondents tell me that though they have no faith in me or the Charkha they ply the latter for the sake of discipline. I do not understand this language. Can a general fight on the strength of soldiers who, he knows, have no faith in him ? The plain meaning of this language is that the correspondents believe in mass action but do not believe in the connection I see between it and the Charkha etc., if the action is to be non-violent. They believe in my hold on the masses but they do not believe in the things which I believe have given me that hold. They merely want to exploit me and will grudgingly pay the price which my ignorance or obstinacy (according to them) demands. I do not call this discipline. True discipline gives enthusiastic obedience to instructions even though they do not satisfy reason. A volunteer exercises his reason when he chooses his general but after having made the choice, he does not waste his time and energy in scanning every instruction and testing it on the anvil of his reason before following it. "Theirs is not to reason why."

Now for my instructions :—

Every Congress Committee should become a Satyagrah Committee and register such Congressmen who believe in the cultivation of the spirit of goodwill towards

all, who have no untouchability in them in any shape or form, who would spin regularly and who habitually use Khaddar to the exclusion of all other cloth. I would expect those who thus register their names with their Committees to devote the whole of their spare time to the constructive programme. If the response is sincere, these Satyagrah Committees would become busy spinning deports. They will work in conjunction with and under the guidance of A. I. S. A. branches in a business-like manner so that there will remain in the jurisdiction of the Committees no Congressmen who have not adopted Khaddar for exclusive use. I shall expect business-like reports to be sent from provincial headquarters to the A. I. C. C. as to the progress of the work of the Satyagraha Committee. Seeing that this registration is to be purely voluntary, the reports would mention the numbers both of those who give their names for registration and those who do not.

The registered Satyagrahis will keep a diary of the work that they do from day to day. Their work, besides their own spinning, will consist in visiting the primary members and inducing them to use Khadi, spin and register themselves. Whether they do so or not, contact should be maintained with them.

There should be visits paid to Harijan homes and their difficulties removed so far as possible.

Needless to say that names should be registered only of those who are willing and able to suffer imprisonment.

No financial assistance is to be expected by Satyagrahi prisoners whether for themselves or their dependents.

So much for active Satyagrahis. But there is a much larger class of men and women who, though they will not spin or court or suffer imprisonment, believe in the two cardinal principles of Satyagrah and welcome and wish well to the struggle. These I will call passive Satyagrahis. They will help equally with the active ones, if they will not interfere with the course of the struggle by themselves courting imprisonment or aiding or precipitating strikes of labourers or students. Those who out of overzeal or for any other cause will act contrary to these instructions will harm the struggle and may even compel me to suspend it. When the force of violence are let loose all over the world and when nations reputed to be most civilized cannot think of any force other than that of arms for the settlement of their disputes, I hope that it will be possible to say of India that she fought and won the battle of freedom by purely peaceful means.

I am quite clear in my mind that, given the cooperation of politically minded India, the attainment of India's freedom is perfectly possible through unmixed non-violence. The world does not believe our pretension of non-violence. Let alone the world, I the self-styled general have repeatedly admitted that we have violence in our hearts, that we are often violent to one another in our mutual dealings. I must confess that I will not be able to fight so long as we have violence in our midst. But I will fight if the proposed register is honest and if those who courageously keep out will not disturb the even course of struggle.

Non-violence action means mobilisation of world opinion in our favour. I know that a growing number of thinking men and women of the world are sick of the war spirit ; they are longing for a way of peace and they are looking to India to point that way. We cannot have that opinion on our side if we are not honestly non-violent. Let me repeat what I have said in these columns that I shall be able to fight with a very small army of honest Satyagrahis but shall feel powerless and embarrassed, if I have a huge army in which I can have no trust or as to whose behaviour I am not always sure.

I expect the A. I. C. C. to organise Satyagrah Committees and report to me from time to time of the progress made. If there is an enthusiastic response, inside of one month it should be possible to forecast the exact period required to put the Satyagrah Committees in working order.

Circular No. 5—5th. April

In continuation of my circular No. 4 dated March 29, 1940, I have to request that in recording the names of active satyagrahis, there need be no anxiety to add to numbers. Every care should be taken to see that the full implications and the requirements insisted upon by Gandhiji and given in the pledge are clearly understood and appreciated. No-body who consents to the terms of the pledge from considerations of expediency for participating in the struggle, should be encouraged to join the ranks. Even in a violent fight, it is not merely numbers but the moral quality of the units comprising

an army, that is of importance. This is much more true of a fight based upon principles of truth and non-violence. Here the moral quality of individuals is of utmost importance. Therefore it is not so much in numbers as in the quality of those who join the ranks of active satyagrahis, that our strength shall lie. If we are in any way slack in this matter and if the future conduct of satyagrahis belies the conditions laid down, advantage will be taken of our slackness by the Government and the communal and other forces arrayed against us at present. It may even mean the suspension of our movement. If however, we stand firm on our principles and if no lure of temporary political advantage or speedy success deflects us from the course we have chalked out for ourselves in consonance with our high aims and noble and pure means, nothing in the world can resist us.

In making the list of active and passive satyagrahis Congress committees must confine themselves to recording the names of Congressmen. No general census of those in sympathy with us is to be compiled. It is quite possible that non-Congressmen may want to enlist themselves as active satyagrahis. In that case they must be asked to join the Congress and become primary members.

I have already written to you about camps, shibirs and ashrams that may be advantageously established for active satyagrahis. But this may not be possible everywhere. In that case in every locality, urban or rural, active satyagrahis must meet in batches regularly and carry out, in common, items of the programme. They will find this the easiest method of doing the allotted work. For instance, in every ward of a city or every village or group of villages, where there are enough active satyagrahis enrolled, they may meet together and appoint one from among themselves as Captain or Leader and under his guidance meet periodically if not daily, for plying the Takli or the Charkha. They will thus find that they may not need a separate teacher for spinning. They can also fix particular days in the week on which they may learn simple drill and first-aid to the injured. They may, in batches of 2 or 3, visit the Harijans and members of the minority communities in their homes and establish personal contacts with them. If they work together and in groups they will find that they can carry out the programme with ease and convenience. Each group must keep a diary of the work done and send it periodically to the Committee superior to it. The consolidated report of the activities in the province should be prepared in the Provincial Congress Committee Office every fortnight and forwarded to the All India Congress Committee Office.

The National Week

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President issued the following statement in connection with the National Week :—

The General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee has drawn the attention of the Congress organisations towards the approach of the National Week, and reminded them of their tasks. I am confident that on this occasion all Congress Committees will fully demonstrate their capacity for action. In this connection I expect of every Congressman and woman, every supporter of the Congress cause to contribute in a practical manner towards the success of the week.

For the last 20 years this week has come to stay as the season of our constructive efforts. Like the natural seasons of our land this one also recurs every year, and after influencing us for a while, passes on. Our natural seasons affect us physically, while this one reacts on our intellect and emotions. It provides us with a rare opportunity for self-introspection and self-purification in order that we examine afresh our hearts and our minds. It comes to gauge how far our professions of service, sacrifice and non-violence which we repeat so often, have penetrated into the depths of our hearts. For us this year the approach of the National Week has a special significance.

Only a few days back we have announced to the world from the Congress platform at Ramgarh, our new passion for freedom and our determination to achieve it. The National Week is thus the first stage of testing the value of these announcements. If, at this stage, we live up to the true ideal of our constructive programme it would provide us with those inner resources without which it would be difficult for us to acquit ourselves with honour in the coming struggle.

How then do we expect to fulfil the requirements of the constructive programme ? The constructive programme implies Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and extensive popularisation of Khadi. Do we imagine that by holding a few meetings and delivering speeches, we would fulfil the task assigned for the National Week ? Does it suffice for us that we go about hawking khadi for a week in the streets and bye-lanes of the towns, and then come back to our normal occupations with the feeling that we have done our duty to the constructive programme ?

Of course, all these are necessary items of the programme, and we must carry them out. But this alone would not do. These activities undoubtedly give shape and form to our efforts, but we require something more to put life into it. We Congressmen profess to shoulder the great burden of our national movement in India today and ours undoubtedly is the responsibility in every phase of thought and action. If we imbibe the true spirit of the constructive programme, I have no hesitation in affirming that every atom of this land will respond to the call of national life.

But do we expect to carry warmth to others if our own hearths grow cold ? No, we must kindle our own fires first. The National Week provides us with that opportunity.

The Working Committee Proceedings

Wardha—15th. April to 19th. April 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from 15th to 19th April, 1940. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided.

The members present were : Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari, Bhulabhai Desai, Shankerrao Deo, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Doctor Syed Mahmud, Mr. Asafali and Sri J. B. Kripalani.

Shris Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Harekrushna Mehatab, Achyut Patwardhan, Vijayaluxmi Pandit and T. Prakasam were present by special invitation.

The following resolutions were passed :

Condolence

This Committee place on record their sense of deep sorrow at the passing away of the Rev. C. F. Andrews, a true humanitarian, whose life had been dedicated to the service of the people of India and particularly of Indians Overseas.

This Committee express their sense of deep sorrow at the deaths of Seth Yakub Hasan of Madras and Sriyut Mahimchandra Das of Chittagong, who had rendered valuable services to the cause of the country.

Last Date for the Election of Provincial Tribunals

May 5, 1940 was fixed as the last date for the appointment of the Provincial Tribunals in terms of Art. VIII (b) of the Constitution. It was also decided that till the new Tribunals are constituted, the old Tribunals should continue.

Women's Department

It was decided that a separate department for women be instituted in the A. I. C. C. Office. The function of the new department will be to study the question of women in India. It shall also advise the provinces on the best way of ensuring the full cooperation and participation of the women of India in the work of national reconstruction.

Indian States

A Sub-committee consisting of Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai and J. B. Kripalani, the General Secretary was appointed to consider the question of the representation of the States people in the Congress organisation inside the terms of the present constitution and make necessary recommendations to the Working Committee.

Volunteer Organisation

In order to encourage volunteering along right lines through the Congress organisations and bring about uniformity in the working, it is desirable to

enquire into the present conditions of such organisations in the various provinces and to collect information thereon. With this object in view, Shri R. S. Pandit is requested to carry on the necessary inquiries by personal visit to the provinces where necessary and otherwise to report thereon to the Working Committee. The different Provincial Congress Committees are requested to assist him in this work.

Satyagraha

The Working Committee have given full consideration to the situation in the country as it has developed since the Ramgarh Congress and to the necessity for preparing the Congress organisation for Satyagraha which the Ramgarh Congress declared was inevitable in the future. The Committee welcomes the steps taken by the Provincial Congress Committees, in pursuance of the directions issued by Gandhiji to function as Satyagraha Committee and to enrol active and passive satyagrahis. The Committee trust that all Congress Committees throughout the country will pursue this programme with all earnestness and thoroughness, and will put their affairs in order for such action as may be required of them. The Committee recommend that those members of Congress executives who are unable to take the prescribed pledge and shoulder the burden of a struggle under the disciplined guidance of the Congress, will withdraw from their executive positions. The Committee lay stress again on the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by Gandhiji, compliance with which is essential for Civil Disobedience.

General Secretary's Circulars

Circular No. 1—10th. April

One of our chief tasks is to inform our countrymen of the stand taken by the Congress during the present war and the consequences that flow out of it. This task should be so done that not a single Indian may be unacquainted with the Congress viewpoint and what is expected of him. It is true that Congressmen in the various districts are doing this work. But there ought to be better planning, more system and thoroughness. I suggest that this can be done if we decided to work out a programme of at least one meeting for every village.

There are on an average 2,500 villages to every district in our country. We must decide to hold public meetings in the district, one in each village. The District Congress Committee should for this purpose select a band of about 40 speakers. Each speaker, if necessary, can address two meetings in two different villages in the course of a day. Group of villages when near enough can be combined. In this manner, our programme can be worked out inside of a month.

Care should be taken in the selection of speakers. They must be active Satyagrahis, should have understood the Congress stand in its various aspects and must be able to put it across in simple and dignified language. The bases for these speeches should be: (1) Ramgarh Congress Resolution, (2) Mahatma Gandhi's instructions given in his article in the 'Harijan' of 30th March entitled 'Every Congress Committee a Satyagraha Committee,' (3) the A. I. C C. Circular No. 4, dated the 27th March, explaining these instructions, and (4) the implications of the pledge. The speakers should aim at making clear and comprehensive speeches. It would be best if, at these meetings, the authorised speaker alone made a detailed and comprehensive speech.

I suggest that District Congress Committees be asked to take up this work at once, select a band of speakers and map out a plan of meetings.

In order to save time, copies of this Circular are being sent direct to such District Congress Committees whose address is with the A. I. C. C. Office. You will please see to it that this work is properly organised and speedily carried out.

Circular No. 2—10th. April

About the formation of the Provincial Election Tribunal in terms of the Congress Constitution, the Working Committee at its present meeting here have decided that "For the purposes of Art VIII (*b*) May 5, 1940 is fixed as the last date for the appointment of the Tribunal."

It is hoped that if you have not already appointed the Tribunal for the year you will do so now. If however by the 5th of May, 1940 no new Tribunal is appointed the Working Committee will be constrained to appoint one in terms of Art VIII, Clause (*b*).

I may also inform you, that till the new Tribunal is appointed last year's Tribunal is to function.

Circular No. 3—23rd. April

I am sending you herewith copies of the two resolutions passed by the last meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha. The resolution on Satyagraha is self-explanatory. You are directed to carry on the activities you have already undertaken in pursuance of Gandhiji's directions with all possible thoroughness. You will please bear in mind the necessity of sending to this office a fortnightly report of the work done.

Shri R. S. Pandit will soon undertake inquiries into the condition of the volunteer movement in the various provinces. He will communicate with you direct and may also visit your province. You are requested to render him full assistance and cooperation.

Circular No. 4—3rd. May

Before the Ramgarh Congress you were requested to supply to this office the figures and all other informations regarding suppression of civil liberties in your province, since the commencement of the war. I am sorry to say that most of the Provinces have not supplied us with the information asked for. When some provinces have given us information, they have contented themselves with sending it once only. We have, therefore, no up-to-date information in this behalf. May I request that up-to-date information about prosecutions, arrests, prohibitory orders etc., in your province since the commencement of the war be supplied to us immediately. The information asked for is to be placed before the next meeting of the Working Committee which is likely to be held by the end of this month. If the information is supplied by the third week of May, at the latest, it will enable the office to arrange and tabulate it for presentation before the Working Committee.

Circular No. 5—3rd. May

The President wants information from you on the following points. This information is to be supplied immediately. This letter must therefore be considered as urgent.

(1) Is proper discipline maintained in the Congress organisations in your province ?

(2) If there is any indiscipline, what are the causes therefor ?

(3) What groups, if any, are there in the Congress organisation in your Province ?

(4) What are their activities ?

(5) How far do their activities hamper Congress work in the province ?

I would also remind you once again that you have to send to this office fortnightly reports about the progress of work in your province in connection with Satyagraha.

Circular No. 6—3rd. May

In my circular letter No. 4 dated March 29, 1940 I had said that where the majority of the members of the executive of a Congress Committee are not active Satyagrahis, a separate Satyagragh Committee be formed for carrying on activities in connection with Satyagraha preparation and the Congress Committees in such cases should attend to the other routine business of the organisation. The Working Committee at their meeting held at Wardha last month, decided that no separate Satyagraha Committee be formed and that every Committee of the Congress must necessarily transform itself into a Satyagraha Committee and carry on in addition to its ordinary routine work, the work of Satyagraha preparation. The Working Committee also decided that such members of the Committees as could not for any reasons sign the Satyagraha pledge should resign their seats on the Committee and allow their seats to be filled up by active Satyagrahis. Yon will therefore please see to it that these latest instructions of the Working Committee are carried out in your Province.

This change was necessary because it was thought that it would be undesirable if people who were not in tune with the present policy of the Congress should yet continue holding offices in the organisation. It was also felt that the question of relation between the Congress Committees and separate Satyagraha Committees may cause friction and indiscipline in the Congress organisation at a time when unity of purpose and effort is absolutely necessary.

I am sure those who refuse to sign the Satyagraha pledge will see the wisdom and the necessity of voluntarily resigning their seats, thus allowing Congress organisation to carry out the official policy smoothly and without friction.

Circular No. 7—4th. May

I am sending you herewith the questionnaire in terms of which information has got to be collected in your province and submitted to this Office. You will please expedite the collection of information. Whenever you send this information you will keep in view the questionnaire.

Enclo. 1

1. Number of Satyagrahis enrolled. Are they fulfilling the conditions prescribed in the Pledge ? Do they meet periodically ?
2. What steps have been taken to popularise Khadi ?
3. What steps have been taken to establish contacts with the (1) Harijans, (2) Minorities.
4. The Office of the P. C. C. (1) Hours of work, number of employees, salary, (2) Departments, quantity and quality of work, (3) circulars issued, (4) Accounts, (5) Propaganda.
5. The meetings of the P. C. C. and the Executive. How often do they meet ? Matters dealt with by them after the Ramgarh Congress, instructions issued to the D. C. Cs.
6. How many members of these bodies have signed the Satyagraha pledge ?
7. District and City Congress Committees. The number of these committees and their total members. Have they turned into Satyagraha councils ? How are the District Offices functioning ? Do they keep contact with the subordinate committees ?
8. What steps have the D. C. Cs taken to organise the preparatory work for Satyagraha The number of satyagrahis enrolled.
9. Are Mandal committees functioning ? Details as to the number of members of these committees, satyagrahis enrolled, and their activities ?
10. Have group rivalries within the Congress declined or disappeared ? What is the strength of the dissentient groups and what are their activities ?
11. How is the public reacting to our preparations for Satyagraha ?
12. Training camps held in the Province. Details as to the number of persons who participated in them, their daily routine, the kind of training received, results obtained etc.
13. Number of public meetings held since Ramgarh to popularise the Ramgarh resolution, Gandhiji's instructions and the A. I. C. C. circulars.
14. What measures have the P. C. Cs taken or propose to take for seeing that the conditions of the pledge and the programme they lay down from time to time are carried out by the Satyagrahis ?
15. Are the members of the Congress Executive Committees and Congress members of Local Boards fulfilling the condition about Khadi as prescribed in Art. VII (b) of the Congress Constitution ? What is done in the case of defaulters ?

National Week

The National week was observed throughout the country with more than usual enthusiasm this year. It followed the Ramgarh Session of the Congress by only about two weeks. The only resolution passed at the Ramgarh Session was a call to the Nation to prepare itself for a final and decisive struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The historic associations of the National Week gave an inspiring background to these preparations.

The President and the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee issued instructions to the Committees intensively to carry out the constructive programme of the Congress during the National Week. The Congress Committees took prompt steps to implement these instructions. Spinning demonstrations and competitions and intensive sales of khadi were organised in almost all important cities in the country.

All those who had signed the satyagraha pledge as prescribed by the General Secretary, A. I. C. C. participated in these activities. Prabhat Pheries, flag hoistings, processions and public meetings formed other features of the celebrations. At the public meetings was emphasised the central place of the constructive programme in the country's preparation for the struggle. The public were exhorted to use khadi and other village products to the exclusion of every-thing else.

Satyagraha Preparations in Provinces

Andhra

At its meeting held on April 6, 1940 the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee set up the following sub-committees : (1) Charkha, (2) Harijan, (3) Minorities, (4) Publicity, and (5) Women.

The Sub-committees have been advised to draw up a programme of work and submit it to the P. C, C.

The Executive Committee has since been converted into Satyagraha Committee for the province. All the members signed the pledge. The District Congress Committees and Subordinate committees have been circularised to convert themselves into Satyagraha committees. The Satyagraha pledge has been sent to all the Congress members of the Provincial and Central Legislature, Presidents of District Boards. Chairmen of Municipal Councils and Provincial Congress Committee members. The P. C. C. Office has received so far 296 pledges. P. C. C. is organising a volunteer captains' training camp at Madras from May 1, 1940. It is proposed to train about 50 volunteer captains. Every district is sending at least three representatives to this camp. Those trained will run volunteer camps in the districts. Camps have been already started in some districts.

Assam

The Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee has converted itself into the Satyagraha committee. Most of the members have signed the Pledge. The District Congress Committees have been asked to do likewise. The D. C. Cs have also been asked to hold meetings in villages to explain the the Congress programme. A seven days programme of work has been decided upon for the members of the Working Committee, to begin from May 5.

Bengal

The Provincial Congress Committee of Bengal has been turned into Satyagraha Committee.

Bihar (up to 1st May, 1940)

The total number of Satayagrahis enrolled is 2000. A Provincial Satyagraha Training Camp was started at Sonepur from April 20 which lasted for a week. The total strength of the campers was 291 of whom 147 were members of the P. C. C. The camp life was simple, interesting and active. There was no servants, sweepers, cooks etc. All work in connection with the camp showed remarkable discipline. The daily routine was strictly adhered to. Drill and prayer were optional. The main features of the camp were spinning and political discourses. The total amount of yarn spun during the week was 432 miles and 172 yards. The camp attracted a continuous stream of visitors. B. Rajendra Prasad delivered several discourses on charkha, technique of Satyagraha and like subject.

Similar camps in the districts are being started. Champaran has already begun.

Karnatak (up to 18th. April, 1940)

The Council of the Karnatak P. C. C. met on the 14th April and converted itself into the Satyagraha Committee and directed the committees to do likewise.

Two district Congress committees, Dharwar and Mangalore have turned into Satyagraha committees.

The committees have been instructed to open Satyagraha camps for the training of Satyagrahis.

In the National Week, Khaddi hawking, spinning competitions and visits to Harijan colonies formed the principal features of the programme in the province.

Circulars from the A. I. C. C Office and Gandhiji's instructions have been printed in Kannada and distributed to the Committees.

Kerala (up to 23rd. April, 1940)

A resolution has been passed by the Working Committee of the Kerala P. C. C. for bringing into being a Supreme Council representative of various groups in the Congress. Shri K. Kelappan and Janab M. K. Mohiuddin Kutti Saheb of the Kerala Congress Gandhi Sangham have been asked to serve on the Kerala Satyagraha Committee.

Mahakoshal (up to 1st. May, 1940)

The Provincial Executive has converted itself into Satyagraha Committee consisting of 11 members of the Committee who have signed the pledge.

Out of the 14 District Congress Committees, 11 have converted their Executive Council into Satyagraha Committees. The following table gives the numbers on these bodies who have signed the Satyagraha Pledge :

1.	Jubbulpore	15	7
2.	Saugor	15	9
3.	Kareli (Narsinhpur)	15	12
4.	Betul	15	6
5.	Chindwara	15	2
6.	Seoni	15	1
7.	Mandla	15	7
8.	Balaghat	15	7
9.	Drug	15	3
10.	Raipur	15	10
11.	Bilaspur	15	8

The total number of pledge forms received from districts upto April 30, 1940 is 455. The number of Passive Satyagrahis is 186. Some districts. such as Saugor, Raipur, Hoshangabad have enrolled as many as 113, 83, 49 active satyagrahis, but some districts such as Khandwa, Mandla, Seoni, Balaghat have enrolled only 1, 1, 7, 7, active satyagrahis respectively. Instructions have been issued to the D. C. Cs to send a list of whole time active satyagrahis. Charkha and Takli competitions were held in the National Week. Sales of khaddar were organised. A khadi and village industries exhibition was held at Khandwa. The Provincial Executive has decided to open a provincial satyagraha training camp at Narsinhpur for a week. The P. C. C. members who have signed the pledge and five satyagrahis from each district have been invited. The provincial camp will be followed up by district and tahsil camps.

Maharashtra (up to 18th. April 1940)

Seven Circulars have been issued to the District Congress Committees regarding the preparatory work to be done in connexion with Satyagraha. Leaders are touring in the districts and enrolment of satyagrahis is proceeding satisfactorily. There is enthusiasm in the province. The atmosphere inside the Congress and outside is showing signs of improvement. Party rivalries have declined. Only the Royists are a rift in the lute. There is some marked improvement in the discipline of Congressmen in local bodies. The P. C. C. is in correspondence with the Charkha Sangh for the organisation of spinning. The D. C. Cs are making necessary arrangement for starting shibirs for active satyagrahis.

The Executive Committee has converted itself into Satyagraha Committee of the Province. It appointed Shri Shankerrao Deo to guide the preparations of Satyagraha in the Province.

North West Frontier Province (up to 24th. April 1940)

Members of the P. C. C. including of course the members of the Provincial Executive have signed Satyagraha pledge and these bodies have converted themselves into Satyagraha committees. The D. C. Cs of Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and Kohat have likewise converted themselves into satyagraha Committees, all the members having signed the Satyagraha Pledge. Training camps have been started in the districts of Peshawar and Bannu. A camp will be held on May 4, 1940 attended by all the important workers of the Province. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan has started a tour of the province, from April 8 in connexion with Satyagraha campaign. The tour will last for a month.

Punjab (up to 15th. April 1940)

A supreme Satyagraha Committee has been formed of members of the Working Committee who have signed the Pledge. Subordinate committees have been asked to do likewise. Enrolment of Satyagrahis is going on.

Sind (up to 27th. April 1940)

The Executive Council has converted itself into the Supreme Satyagraha Council for the province. The Executive Committees of all Congress committees have been directed to funcion as Satyagraha committees as from the 1st May, 1940, members not signing the Satyagraha Pledge are to resign. A Sind Satyagraha camp will be started at Karachi from the 5th of May. District Political Conferences will be held during the course of this month. The pledges received in the office so far total 250. 12 are Muslim and 7 ladies. Instructions have been issued to establish closer contact with Muslims. The

Charkha department is functioning actively. Spinning demonstrations have been held at several places in the province. Regular classes for spinning will be opened at Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur and other places. Step to popularise the products of village industries other than khadi are also being taken. On the whole the response in the province is good, specially in towns and bigger villages. There is, however, not much activity in small villages where Muslims predominate.

Tamil Nadu (up to 16th. April 1940)

North Arcot D. C. C. The Committee has sent the office a list of 220 persons who have signed the Satyagraha pledge.

United Provinces (up to 26th. April 1940)

The U. P. Provincial Executive has converted itself into Supreme Satyagraha Council for the province. The D. C. Cs have been instructed to turn into satyagraha committees. Instructions have been issued for each member of the Satyagraha committee to spin and send his fortnightly report to the local satyagraha committee. Members of Satyagraha Committees have been put in charge of areas in districts. They will supervise work in the area, and prepare fortnightly reports.

In 22 districts out of 48 more than 65 per cent of the members of the D. C. Cs. have signed the Satyagraha pledge. 23 persons so far have refused to sign the pledge because they did not believe in one or the other item of the programme. The total number of Satyagrahis enrolled in province upto 20th April, 1940 is 5400. Out of these roughly 1700 are members of the executives of district and city Congress committees. About 500 have promised to be whole time workers of the Congress. In most of the districts, local dissensions have disappeared with the formation of the Satyagraha committees. Sufficient information has not been received yet about the mandal committees. The total number of mandal committees functioning in the province is roughly 2,000. Half of these committees are considered to be active bodies. The 41 organisers on the national Service Board have been deputed one to each district. They co-operate with the District Congress Committees in their work. Satisfactory spinning arrangements have been made in 10 districts. They have employed separate instructors. Yarn collecting has been commenced in 2 districts. Sri Vichatra Narayan Sharma who has been entrusted by the Council to organise spinning in the province has issued circulars to committees giving necessary details about spinning work. Khaddar Bhandars are assisting in the carrying out of the spinning work. There were public spinning demonstrations in 7 places. A spinning demonstration is proposed to be held on a fixed day throughout the province.

Every Satyagrahi has been asked to report about his spinning to an officer appointed for the purpose. Some committees suffer from paucity of funds. They have been asked to launch a campaign for enrolling Congress members. This will give them some money. The programme of one meeting in each village is being organised in the districts.

Utkal (up to 2nd. May 1940)

The Provincial Congress Committee of Utkal has, at its general meeting held on April 15, 1940 transformed itself into Satyagraha Committee of the province and has directed the subordinate committees to do likewise. Total number of active Satyagrahis enrolled so far is 108. Districts such as Cuttack, Koraput account for 43 and 35 satyagrahis respectively. Districts such as Singhbhum and Ganjam have enrolled only 1 and 1 satyagrahis respectively. The P. C. C. has opened four departments: (1) propaganda; (2) Harijan; (3) minorities; and (4) charkha. These departments have started functioning.

Vidarbha (up to 2nd. May 1940)

Out of 29 districts, nagar and taluka Congress committees, 23 committees have converted themselves into Satyagraha committees. The P. C. C. Office has received 250 pledge forms so far. Out of 45 P. C. C. members 30 have signed the pledge. Of the 17 M. L. As, 6 have signed the pledge. The number of women Satyagrahis is 7. Special attention is being paid to propaganda. Conferences are being held in the province. A provincial camp of Congress workers will be held at Akola from 5th to 7th May. A volunteer camp will be held from the 5th to 20th May. Steps have been taken to popularise khadi and spinning. The work about Harijan uplift is also receiving attention. There is enthusiasm in the province. Workers are showing keener appreciation of their responsibilities.

Gujerat

1750 persons have signed the Satyagraha Pledge. Meetings of Satyagrahis are held periodically in every Taluka to take stock of the work done by them. The Satyagrahis spin regularly. Khadi sales have gone up by about 30 per cent. The Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committee have prepared a statement to be used by workers for explaining to the masses the Congress policy and programme.

Arrests, Imprisonments and searches etc

The following are some of the cases of arrests, convictions, internments, externments, searches, gagging orders, and the like compiled from the daily press :—

In Bengal

In the district of Jalpaiguri two persons were warned, 109 arrested, one was otherwise restricted and 102 held in custody. In Dinajpur 13 persons were warned, in Midnapur four were warned and four convicted, in Howrah two warned, three were arrested, one convicted and one otherwise restricted. In Faridpur 10 were arrested, two held in custody, five detained without trial and since released. In Murshidabad seven were warned. In Noakhali nine were arrested, and three were otherwise restricted. In Rajshahi 22 were warned. In 24 Parganas 47 were warned, one was arrested, 13 were otherwise restricted, one was detained without trial but since released. In Bankura 40 were warned. In Dacca 51 were warned, 15 arrested, three convicted. In Calcutta 159 were warned, 194 were arrested, eight convicted, 24 were otherwise restricted, 22 held in custody. In Pabna seven were warned, one was arrested but subsequently released, In Nadia 15 were warned, six were arrested, four convicted. In Rangpur seven were warned and one was otherwise restricted. In Hoogly 24 were warned, four were arrested, 12 were otherwise restricted and two Mr. A. M. A. Zaman and Mr. Annanda Pal were externed and three were detained without trial but since placed on trial. In Birbhum 12 were warned, in Maldah four were arrested and three convicted, in Chittagong 15 were warned, four were otherwise restricted, in Bogra three were warned, in Backergunj three were warned, in Mymensingh 35 were warned, 103 arrested and 43 were convicted. One was detained without trial but since released. In Tippera 15 were warned, 48 were arrested, 21 were convicted. In Burdwan five were warned, 29 were arrested, 13 convicted.

The facts given above are contained in a statement laid on the library table by the Home Minister, Bengal.

Maulvi Ashrafuddin Ahmad Chowdhry, Secretary, B. P. C. C., Trailokyanath Chakraborty, member, A. I. C. C. and ex State prisoner and Sudhangsu Bimal Dutt, Editor, now defunct nationalist weekly 'Samgram" were sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment each under the Defence of India Rules.

A batch of three viz., Mr. Fakir Sen, an ex-convict in the Armoury Raid Case, Mr. Ardhendu Palit a student of the Homeopathic College and Pulin De, Organising Secretary, Kisan Committee, were arrested while addressing a meeting held in the Jatramohan Sen Hall compound.

Sj. Samarendranath Roy, Vice-President, Pabna District Students' Federation, Sj. Manimohan Lahiry of Mohanpur and Sj. Bhupatinath Dey, ex-Detenu were arrested at Pabna on the 4th April under Rule 39 (b) of Defence of India Act and Section 18 of Emergency Press Act of 1931. They were released on bail.

Comrades Sabita Shekhar Roy Chowdhry and Narendra Biswas, Krisak workers, were arrested at Berhampur, it is reported, under the Defence of India Act. Comrade Sabita Shekhar had been in detention for more than five years in various camps.

Taking out of processions in Jharia without permission has been prohibited for a period of three months by an order issued by the local authorities under Section 30 of the Police Act.

Sj. Kishori Mohan Chatterjee was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under the Defence of India Act.

Sj. Subodh Kumar Bhattacharya, a Congress worker of Serampore, was arrested by the police, under the Defence of India Rules, while addressing a public meeting on the 6th April last. He was released on bail.

Sj. Prafulla Chander Tripathi, a prominent Congress worker of the District has been sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1000 in default to undergo imprisoment for a further term of 3 months under the Defence of India Ordinance.

Sabita Shekhar Rai Choudhury, an ex-detenu and Narendra Nath Biswas both prominent Krisak workers of district Berhampore were arrested and remanded to

jail custody. The cause of the arrests is not known.

The premises of three local printing presses were searched by the police in connection, it is understood, with the printing of leaflets for the Faridpur District Congress Workers' Conference held here on March 23 last.

Sj. Anukul Chatterjee has been arrested under Section 56 of the Defence Rules for addressing the Faridpur District Congress Workers' Conference held here on March 25.

Mrs. Banalata Sen, a third-year student of a Calcutta women's college, and Priyalal Chakraborty, a medical student, were arrested in connection with distribution of unauthorised leaflets. The Dacca police searched the house of Mr. Kedarnath Mitra, a Congress worker.

Prafulla Tripathy, a local Congress worker was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment, and a fine of Rs. 100, in default, three months' rigorous imprisonment more under Defence of India Act.

Amal Bose, a prominent Kishan worker, has been arrested under the Defence of India Ordinance and Section 188 I. P. C. He has beed released on bail.

Madhab Dutt, Assistant Secretary. Sadar Sub-Divisional Kisan Samity was also arrested under the Defence of India Ordinance on April 2. He has been remanded to custody.

Orders were promulgated by beat of drums, said to have been issued by the District Magistrate, prohibiting all meetings and processions within the sub-Division of Goalundo, without the previous permission of the District Magistrate, for a period of one month. Assemblage of five persons or more in public places were also banned for the same period.

Samarendra Nath Roy, a prominent student worker and Bhupati De and Jalpesh Chandra Lahiri, two ex-detenues and prominent workers, have been arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Nanigopal Das Gupta, ex-Andaman Prisoner of Dinajpur has been ordered to leave Chittagong District under the Defence of India Act.

Mr. Tarapada Gupta, a former detenu and a commissioner of the Berhampore Municipality, was arrested under Defence of India Rules on his arrival at the station from Calcutta. Mr. Gupta has been kept under police custody.

There were simultaneous searches of a large number of houses including those of Sj. Sanatkumar Raha, Assistant Secretary of the District Congress Committee, Anantakumar Bhattacharjee, organiser of the District Volunteer Corps, Ashutosh Sanyal, a local Congress worker, Nanigopal Bhattacharya and Santosh Cumar Bhattcharyya of the Students' Organisation, Sabitasekhar Rai Choudhury and Tarapada Gupta of the Krishak Samity. Some papers are reported to have been seized from some of the places searched.

Dhirendra Dhar Guha Majumder and Jaladhar Pal of Sherpur town were sentenced to six months' imprisonment under Defence of India Ordinance.

Sj. Santimoy Dutt, an ex-detenu and a member of the local Bar is convicted under Section 26 (d), (e), (f), of the India Defence Act, to 6 months' R. I. and a fine of Rs. 100, in default 3 months' R. I. more by the local S. D. O.

Dhirendradhar Guha Mazumdar alias Tepa and Jaladhar Paul who were prosecuted under 38 (5) and 56 (1) of the Defence of India Rules were sentenced to undergo six months' rigorous imprisonment on each count, sentences to run concurrently.

A Labour leader of Tittaghur, was sentenced to seven months' rigorous imprisonment on a charge of contravening the order of the District Magistrate under the Defence of India Rules, directing him not to remain within the district of 24 Parganas without written permission and to leave the district within 24 hours of the service of the order.

Deben Sen, President of the Calcutta Electric workers Union was sentenced to one years' imprisonment under the Defence of India Act by the S. D. O. Howrah. Two other workers of the same Union were sentenced to 9 months' imprisonment.

Bisweshwar Chakrabarty, a student of Fatehabad village, was arrested at Chowdhuryhat station under the Defence of India Rules.

Notice under the Defence of India Rules was issued on Dayaram Beri, a labour leader, to quit within 24 hours the jurisdiction of Calcutta, 24 Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Asansol Sub-division of the district of Hooghly.

Mr. Dayaram Beri, a labour worker, has been served with an order under the Defence of India Act to leave Calcutta and its suburbs within twenty-eight hours and not to remain within the districts of Howrah, Hooghly, 24 Parganas and the sub-division of Asansol.

Sreejut Santimoy Dutt, an ex-detenu and a member of the local bar was convicted by the S. D. O. of Feni, under Section 26 of the India Defence Act for 6 months' R. I. and a fine of Rs. 200, in default 3 months more.

Mr. Niranjan Sen, ex-political prisoner and sub-Editor of the "Jugantar," a Bengali daily, has been served with order under the Defence of India Act to leave Calcutta within 48 hours.

Mr. Balailal Das Mahapatra of the Bengal Labour Association and Mr. Balai Chandra Bose of the Belaghata Chatkal Mazdoor Union have been served with orders under the Defence of India Rules not to remain, after 48 hours of serving of the notice, in any place within the limits of Calcutta and its suburbs, the districts of 24 Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Asansol Sub-Division.

Mr. S. A. Sobhan, S. D. O., Sadar convicted Babu Anukul Chandra Chatterjee, Mukhtear, Madaripur, under Rule 39 ((6) (possession of prejudicial reports) of Defence of India Rules and sentenced him to suffer rigorous imprisonment for two years.

A search being made in Y. M. A. on January 25 last, a club house of Madaripur, four posters containing, according to the prosecution, 'prejudicial' slogans were seized and Anukul Chandra's denial of any knowledge of those posters as he resided not in that house but in his paternal house with his brother about 2 or 3 minutes walk from the Y. M. A. house was overruled by the S. D. O.

A vigorous search was made, Sjts. Broja Rakhal Bannerjee, Shyamapada Chakravarty and Nityaranjan De have been arrested under the India Defence Act for alleged receiving objectionable posters in their custody.

All copies of the leaflet 'Lal Nishan' (red flag) published by the Bengal Provincial branch of the Communist party in India, have been proscribed by the Government of Bengal under the Defence of India Rules.

Several places, including the office of the Kisan Sabha and the residence of one of its leaders, were raided by the special branch police this morning. The police are reported to have seized several copies of the 'National Front' and the pamphlet entitled 'Unmask Parties and Politics' both printed in Bombay, as also copies of resolutions adopted at the last session of the A. I. Kisan Conference at Palasa. Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukherji, a prominent kisan leader, was taken to the headquarters of the special branch for examination in connection with some papers found in his possession.

Messrs. Jalpesh Lahiri and Bhupati Dey, former detenus and two other Bengali youths, Samarendra Nath Ray and Rabindra Majumdar, are being prosecuted under the D. I. A. and the Press (Emergency Powers) Act. They were arrested in connection with seizure of some proscribed books and manuscripts.

Mr. Jagatchandra Ghosh was served with a notice under the D. I. A. on April 26, directing him to quit the city of Calcutta and its suburbs within 24 hours. He was arrested for not having complied with the terms of the order.

10 workers who were arrested on April 23 under the Defence of India Act (on suspicion that they were going to organise a strike of the workers of the Corporation) have since been externed from the Province under the Defence of India Act.

The Chief Presidency Magistrate has issued summonses today against the editors and printers of the 'Anand Bazar Patrika' and the 'Basumati', two local dailies under the Defence of India Act for publishing two articles 'Odds and ends' and the 'Leftists' respectively.

Mr. Sukhendu Dastidar, a member of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and Assistant Secretary of the District Krishak Samiti and 11 others have been arrested under the D. I. A. it is alleged, for holding May Day celebration in village Jaitapura without the previous sanction of the District Magistrate. The arrested persons have been brought to Chittagong and remanded to custody. The arrested persons are Messrs. Nalindra Mohan Sen Gupta, pleader and Secretary of the District Congress Socialist Party, Jnanendra Chakraborty, Secretary of the District Krishak Smiti, Kalipada Ganguly, Secretary of the Students Federation, Gopal Basak, an ex-convict in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, Susil Sarkar, Satish Chandra Pakrashi, Prasanta Sen, Bangeswar Roy and Benoy Bose, the last four being ex-Andaman prisoners.

Sj. Nirmal Pathak, a prominent Congress worker was arrested under Section 38 of the Defence of India Rules.

On a charge of violating an order under the Defence of India Rules, Dayaram Beri, a labour leader was sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment. The order which was served on the accused on April 26 asked him to quit Calcutta and the industrial areas of 24 Parganas, Hooghly, Burdwan and Asansol,

Satibhusan Sen, M.SC., ex detenu, has been home-interned at his Chittagong residence.

Forty-seven members of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation Workers' Union and 3 prominent members of the Bengal Labour Association were arrested by the Special Branch of the Calcutta Police followed by simultaneous searches made in different parts of the city and its suburbs. The searches and arrests are believed to have been under the D. I. R.

Sjs. Purnachandra Pal, Vice President, Nadia D. C. C. and Secretary, Kushtia Textile Workers Union and Dhirendra Das Gupta, Secretary Kushtia Subdivisional C. C. were externed from the Kushtia Municipality and Kushtia subdivision respectively under the D. I. R. and they were asked to leave those places within 24 hours and not to enter them for one month.

Mr. Benoykumar Saha, ex-detenu and a prominent Congress worker of the Goalundo subdivision was arrested on April 24.

Mr. Apurbakrishna Goswami. Secretary, Subdivisional Forward Bloc, Kishoreganj and Mr. Sukumar Dutta were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Sjs. Sachindralal Singh, Vice-President, Tripura Rajya Gana Parishad, Rabindra Mitra, Madhu Mitra, Bimal Roy Nani Chakravarty, Jyotish Bhattacharjee, Satya Chakravarty, Balai Saha, Jogendra Saha, Hiralal Saha. Manindra Seal, Sudhir Chandra Bhowmick and Mr. Samserali all members of the Gana Parishad were arrested by the police under the D. I. R. at Akhaura and released on a bail of Rs. 500 each.

Mr. Madhusudan Bhattacharya of Raizdia under the jurisdiction of the Sirajikhan Thana in Vikrampur was brought today to Dacca where an order requiring him to appear at the Sirajdikhan Thana daily and restricting his movements within home boundaries was served upon him.

Mr. Umeshlal Sinha, an ex-detenu and President of the Tripura Rajya Gana Parishad was sentenced to 1 month's S. I. for alleged defiance of an order under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting public meetings, processions etc. in September last,

Mr. Rabindra Mohan Goswami, an ex-detenu has been sentenced to 1 year's R. I. under the D. I. A.

Two important Congress workers, Mr. Birendranath Ghose and Mr. Madhusudan Bhattacharyjee of Munshiganj were arrested under D. I. A.

The Officer of the special police C. I. D. raided about 16 places in the city and arrested the following persons under the Defence of India Rules : Sjs. Satyaranjan Buxi, Genl. Secretary, Bengal Branch of Forward Bloc ; Bhupendranath Rakshit, Ex-State prisoner, Hemchandra Ghosh, ex-detenu, Manindra Kumar Roy, Manager, Forward Bloc, Parimal Roy, Monoranjan Sen Gupta, Kshiti Prosanna Sen Gupta, Bhupati Mandal, Bimal Nandy, Niranjit Roy and Dr. Bhupal Bose, ex-Andaman prisoner.

Mr. Bhabeshchandra Nandy, Pleader and Organiser of the District Forward Bloc, Mr. Nikunja Sen General Secretary, Mr. Amalchandra Nandi and Mr. Kshitindra Ray, all ex-detenues and members of the Forward Bloc was arrested on April 12 under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Act.

Mr. Anil Chandra Banerji, Headmaster of Dhenkhali High English School was sentenced to 2 years' R. I. under Section 39(6) of the Defence of India Rules.

Kalipada Banerji of Bajrajogini of Vikrampur was arrested on April 15 at Dacca Central jail.

Md. Musakhan of Bengal Labour Association, Calcutta has been served with a notice by the Subdivisional Magistrate, Barrackpore under the Defence of India Act, directing him to desist from activities calculated to incite labouring classes of the subdivision Barrackpore.

Mr. Birendranath Ghosh of Dacca and Mr. Madhusudan Bhattacharjee were arrested on April 14 under D. I. R.

Ten women have been arrested at Jealgora Colliery on charges of rioting and disobedience of order under Section 144 Cr. P. C.

The Police Commissioner, Calcutta has issued a notification under the Defence of India Rules directing that no person shall within the period from April 21 to

October 20 next convene, organise, hold or take part in any public procession, meeting or assembly without three days' previous notice intimating the names of the speakers, subject for discussion, names of conveners and organisers and the number of volunteers to be employed.

Mr. Surendra Nath Samaddar of Barisal, a teacher of the Aparna Charan Girls High School, has been directed to leave Chittagong forthwith by the District Magistrate. The order was issued under the Defence of India Rules.

Prof. Gopal Haldar a prominent member of the Forward Bloc and a former detenu has been arrested along with two of the organisers of the students convention, Messrs, Anil Sankar Majumdar and Protap Chandra Chakravarty.

Dr. Ranen Sen, a Labour leader was served with a notice under the Defence of the India Act asking him to quit Calcutta and the industrial areas of Hooghly and Asansol within 48 hours.

The District Magistate of Howrah has served orders under the D. I. R. on Sj. Samendra Mukherjee, Chairman and Dr. Keshab Sarkar, General Secretary of the Reception Committee, Sj. Kalipada Mukherji, Secretary, E. B. R. Workers' Union and Sj. Arun Chatterjee, member of Presidium, Howrah District Kisan Conference prohibiting them from convening, holding, organising or taking part in any meeting or procession from 27th April to 2 May.

Mr. Sisir Roy, Secretary of the A. I. C. C. Organising Committee of the Labour Party of India, who was recently externed from Bihar, has been served with an order issued by the Government of Bengal externing him from Calcutta, the district of 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hoogly and the sub-division of Asansol in Burdwan District.

Sj. Promode Sen, a member of the Organising Committee for the Labour Party of India was served with an order under the Defence of India Act to leave Calcutta within 48 hours and not to enter into the suburbs of Howrah. By another special order of the Calcutta Police Commissioner Sj. Promode Sen has been asked not to leave his residence within 48 hours.

Mr. Dayaram Beri has been served with an order under the Defence of India Act to leave Calcutta and its suburbs within 28 hours and not to remain within the districts of Howrah, Hooghly, 24 Parganas and sub-division of Asansol.

In the United Provinces

Syed Sajjad Zaheer was arrested under order of the Government of India under the Defence of India Ordinance.

Mr. Mani Ram Kanchan, Secretary of the Lalitpur Congress Committee was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment.

Pramod Lahiri, Secretary of the Mazdur Sabha, Benares, has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules. The Police have seized about 3,000 notices from the local printing press.

Mr. Harish Chandra Bajpai, Congress M. L. A. was arrested under Section 34 of Defence of India Act, in connection with a speech he recently delivered at a village in the Unao district.

Mr. Ramgati Ganguly, Secretary of the Benares Forwad Bloc, who was arrested for spreading sedition, has been released on bail.

Three youths were arrested under the Emergency Press Act and the Defence of India Rules. A number of places including the offices of Jhansi District Congress, Town Congress and a local weekly paper were searched. Police took away some literature including enrolment forms of Satyagrahis and Provincial Congress Circular explaining conditions essential for a Satyagrahi.

Sj. Bhupendra Nath Sanyal, a member of the A. I. C. C. was arrested under the Defence of India Act for a speech he delivered at Sultanpur.

Arjun Singh has been arrested for defying an order which prohibited him from making speeches.

Shri Bhaian Lal was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 30 under Section 18 of the Press Emergency Power Act.

The police made searches at a number of places in Benares. They carried some papers from the office of the Forward Bloc and also about 3,000 leaflets from the Jageshwar Press office containing notice of the 'Mahangi' Conference. The local C. I. D. also raided the Mazdur Sabha office for similar papers. They arrested Messrs. Ramgati Ganguli and Pramod Lahiri, secretaries of the Forward Bloc and Mazdoor Sabha respectively. The former was arrested under Section 108, Cr. P. C. (disseminating seditious matter) and the latter under the Defence of India Ordinance.

Mr. Narbada Prasad Awasthi of Unao and Mr. Ram Adhar Misra of Kanchanpur have been arrested, under the defence of India Act.

Twenty-one persons, who were arrested in Allahabad since April 7 in connection with the local Forward Bloc 'civil disobedience' for attempting to hoist the Congress flag over the Kotwali or District Jail or High Court buildings, were convicted to-day on a charge of criminal trespass, some also for being members of an unlawful assembly and sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment each.

Mr. A. P. Jain, ex-Parliamentary Secretary, Thakur Phool Singh M. L. A. and Mr. A. K. Mukherji, General Secretary of the Council of Action, were arrested in Saharanpur in connection with the cigarette factory case.

Mr. Ramshahai Sharma, Treasurer of the District Congress Committee, was arrested at Jhansi under the provisions of the Defence of India Ordinance in connection with a speech alleged to be an anti-war speech.

Messrs. Chandra Shekhar and Ganga Prasad of Cawnpore were arrested at Agra on April 2 under Defence of India Act.

Mr. Algurai, M. L. A., President of the D. C. C. Azamgarh was arrested on his return from Lahore. It is understood that the arrest has been made in connexion with the Sahajanada Day celebration.

Two house searches were made in Allahabad by the city police for recovering alleged communist literature. The houses searched were those of Mr. D. P. Pande and Mr. P. K. Malaviya.

On a charge of distributing red leaflets, two persons were arrested in Muthiganj Mohalla, Allahabad.

Sardar Ganga Singh of Ahraura, a member of the D. C. C., was arrested in Ahraura under D. I. A. in connection with a speech he delivered on Jallianwala Bagh Day on April 13.

The police searched the office of the Benares Forward Bloc and the Benares Student's Association and the house of Mr. Bhishma Arya, who was chairman of the Reception Committe of the Dearness Allowance Conference held here recently.

The house of Mr. Sachindra Nath Sanyal, (ex-Kakory case prisoner) was searched and the police took away some books, printed articles and manuscripts. Mr. Sanyal was taken to police station and was released on furnishing two securities of Rs. 500 each and one personal bond of Rs. 500 to present himself when called by the Magistrate and police.

Swami Swarupanand Saraswati, a prominent worker of the Hardoi district was arrested under Section 108 Cr. P. C. on the alleged seditious nature of a number of speeches which he is said to have delivered at various places in the district.

Mr. Sahabali, a prominent congressman of Safipur Tahsil, district Unao was arrested on April 19 under D. I. R.

In connection with the anti-recruitment propaganda 4 persons namely, Mr. Ramaji Tiwari, Mr. Prabhunath Singh, Mr. Jamuna Prasad Pande, and Mr. Sitaram Ahir have been arrested in Ballia. Besides the arrests of Mr. Sahab Ali at Safipur on April 19 and Pt. Balkrishna Sharma, President, District Kisan Sangh and Pt. Raghubar Dayal, President D. C. C. on April 20, Mr. Krishun Sahai Srivastava, Secretary D. C. C. at his residence at Unao and Mr. Damodar Das Agarwal Vakil, Joint Secretary. D. C. C. at his village Bangerman on April 21 were arrested.

Rajendradutta Nigam, a member of the U P. P. C. C. was convicted and sentenced to 18 months' R. I. under Rule 38 (5) by the D. I. A.

Mr. Kedarnath Arya and Bhupendra Nath Sanyal, members of the A. I. C. C., Dr. Jatli, member of the P. C. C., Moulvi Sami and Mahomed Nazim, members of the D. C. C. have been arrested in connection with the Ruparher Kisan Conference.

Mr. Lalbahadur Singh of Forward Bloc was arrested. His house had also been searched.

The Lucknow C. I. D. Police raided the house of Mr. Surendra Balipuri and recovered 1,500 copies of a proscribed book entitled 'Krant Kari' written by Manmatha Nath Gupta.

Pt. Shabhadra Nath who was arrested under the D. I. A. was sentenced to six months' R. I.

A party of police raided the Kashi Vidyapith and searched its library and the rooms occupied by some of the Students.

Mr. Nandkumar Dev Vashisth, officer of the U. P. Congress Suba Adalat was arrested under the D. I. A. while addressing a town area election meeting.

Mr. Ramshai Sharma, treasurer, D. C. C., Jhansi was arrested and sentenced to 6 months' R. I. under the D. I. A. for delivering an anti-war speech by the S. D. M., Lalitpur.

In Madras

Mr. A. S. K. Iyengar, Congress Socialist and labour leader was arrested on 12th March evening under the Defence of India Rules at the Congress Socialist Party Office.

Mr. Ganapati Satyanarayana, former Secretary of the West Godavari D. C. C. and Secretary of the District Socialist Party, was served with orders under the Defence of India Rules to quit Ellore and keep himself within limits of the Perapadu village.

The Special branch of police arrested Kamalara Rao, Ganesan, Mallikarjuna Sarma, Tirumal Rao, Krishnamurti Kanniapan, Sadasivan and Venkatesan for offences under Section 39 of the Defence of India Act and 18 (1) of the Press Act.

Mr. Ganapati Satyanarana, Secretary West Godavari D. C. C. Socialist Party and President of Ellore Jute Workers Union who was served with an order yesterday under the Defence of India Rules directing him to leave Ellore within 24 hours and to stay in his village till the order was cancelled, has, it is learnt left for his village.

Mr. Annapurniah was arrested under Section 26 (2) of the Defence of India Rules.

Two socialists Messrs. Velu Goundan and Ramakrishnan were arrested under the D. I. R.

The Government have ordered the internment of the following Congress socialists of Guntur district at their respective villages: Messrs. A Kameswara Rao, J. Ramalingayya, K. L. Nrasimha Rao, V. Sivalingaprasad and P. V. Sivayya. The last named, it is stated, has been ordered to report himself daily at the nearest police station. Mr. A. Kameswara Rao would be paid Rs. 15 per month, while the rest Rs. 10 each. All of them have obeyed the orders and left for their respective villages.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. L. A. (Cent.), Vice-President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, has been served with an order by the Madras Government to quit Madras within 24 hours and directing him to reside in his village in Nidubrole and abstain from making any public speech until this order was cancelled. Prof. Ranga has been further directed to report about his activities to the District Collector.

Professor Ranga was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for one year and to pay a fine of Rs. 500, in default to suffer rigorous imprisonment for six months.

The Divisional Magistrate of Cocanada convicted M. S. Radhakrishna Ayyar, a Socialist of Trichur (Malabar) under the Defence of India Act in connection with a speech said to have been delivered by him in February last at Rajahmundry, and sentenced him to simple imprisonment for one year. He was further directed not to participate in any public meeting for two years after the expiry of the sentence.

Mr. P. V. Sivayya, Secretary of the Guntur District Congress Socialist Party, who is in charge of the Volunteer Training camp at Allur, has been served with an order under the Defence of India Rules restricting his movements to Vinukonda, Guntur District, and directing him to report to the police daily.

Mr. Rajakannu and Mr. Vedipandithan, Socialist leaders have been arrested under the Defence of India Act and remanded in custody.

Mr. A. Kameswara Rao of 'Vidyavan' has been served with a notice under Rule 26, Defence of India Act directing him to stay at Nadella until further orders.

The special branch police arrested Messrs. Kamalakara Rao, Ganeshan Wallikarjuna Sarma, Tirumal Rao, Krishnamurthi, Kanniappan, Sadasivan and Venkatesan for offences under Sections 38, 39 of the Defence of India Act and 18 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act.

Mr. A. V. Ayyavu, a member of the Madras Town Congress Committee was arrested under the Defence of India Act, in connection with a speech delivered at Madura on April 15.

A notice under the Defence of India Rules was served on Mr. Petai Venkatrathaname, Secretary of the District Congress Committee and the District Ryot's Association of West Godavari and President of the Ellore Jute Labour Union, calling on him to leave Ellore within 24 hours and reside at Motur in the Kistna District.

Mr. K. L. Narashimha Rao, Organising Secretary, M. S. M. Railway Labour Union and Editor, 'Karmika Bulletin', was served with an internment order by the Madras Government directing him not to leave the limits of Karlapalem, Guntur District.

An internment order under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Act issued by the Government of Madras was served on Mr. Durbha Vankata Krishnamurthi, prominent socialist leader of Guntur asking him to reside at Balamarru village till the order is rescinded. He has been granted a monthly allowance of Rs. 10 during internment.

Mr. K. Rajagopalan, Congress sociatist leader was arrested under the Defence of India Act while addressing a meeting at Sayalgudi. He has been remanded to custody.

Mr. T. N. Balasubramania Iyer, Congress socialist leader of Vellore was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 38 (1) and 5 of the Defence of India Rules. He had been charged in connection with a speech delivered by him on March 14 last.

Mr. K. Sriramamurthi, a member of the Forward Bloc was arrested under the Defence Act and has been taken to Ongole.

Mr. K. Chinnayya, Secretary of the Taluk Congress Committee, Kovur, was served with an order under the Defence of India Act not to deliver any objectionable speeches.

Mr. G. C. Kondayya, a Socialist worker was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment under the Defence of India Act in connection with a speech delivered by him on January 21 at Atmakur.

Mr. K. Satyanarayana, M. A., a Congress socialist of Tuni, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules and produced before the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Peddapur. He was released on bail.

In Bihar

An order of the Bihar Government under the Defence of India Act was served on Mr. Mukunda Lal Sarcar, Vice-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress prohibiting him from entering into any place within the Chota Nagpur Division in the Province of Bihar.

Sj. Niharendu Dutt Majumdar, Organising Secretary of the Labour Party of India was served with an order of the Bihar Government under Sub-rule (2) of Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, read with Clause (c) of Sub-rule (1) of that rule purporting to extern him from the Chota Nagpur Division of the Province of Bihar.

Sj. Chandrama Singh, ex-political prisoner and a labour worker at Jharia was served with an externment order on the night of April 5, prohibiting his entry into Chota Nagpur division.

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, General Secretary, All-India Congress Socialist Party, was sentenced to nine months' rigorous imprisonment. He was prosecuted under the Defence of India Rules on a charge of delivering an anti-war speech at Jamshedpur on February 18.

Mr. Suniti Mukerji, a prominent Socialist of Monghyr, has been put under arrest there under the Defence of India Act. Sj. Anil Mitra, a prominent Socialist, who was being tried under the Defence of India Rules has been sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. He was also sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment a few days ago for violating the Police Act by bringing out a procession on January 26 last at Monghyr.

Orders have been served by the Government of Bihar under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting Mr. Satya Chakrabarty, a member of the organising committee of the Labour Party of India, Mr. Abdur Rahman Khan, President of the Bengal Labour Party, Mr. Sisir Roy, Secretary of the Labour Party of India and Mr. Harnam Singh Malhi, President of the Jamshedpur Town Forward Bloc to quit the province forthwith.

Pirzada Syed Shah Sulaiman, Sixth 'dictator' of the All-India Majlis-Ahrar, was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Bihar Shareef, on a charge of having delivered a speech contravening the Defence of India Rules.

Biswanath Prasad Mathur, ex-convict in the Gaya Conspiracy case has been arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Sardar Ram Singh Akali, vice-president of the Bihar Forward Bloc, has been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment by the city magistrate of Patna.

Mr. Ajit Kumar Mitra, a former Andamans prisoner, was served with an externment order under the Defence of India Rules by the Government of Bihar, requiring him to quit the province within four hours and stay outside it until further orders.

Mahatma Dhanraj Puri, president of the Champaran District Kisan Sabha, was arrested on April 29, by the Bettiah Police under the Defence of India Rules.

Basawan Singh, assistant secretary of the Bihar Socialist Party, has been sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment for having delivered, it is alleged, speeches at Japla relating to the war which contravened the Defence of India Rules, states a message from Daltonganj.

Mr. Umashankar Shukla, a member of the Working Committee of the Champaran District Kisan Sabha, has been arrested at Bagaha under the Defence of India Rules.

The Government of Bihar have proscribed under the Defence of India Rules the book in Hindi entitled "Deandatmak Bhautikbad" written by Mr. Hiralal Palit Darshan Shastri.

An externment order under the Defence of India Act was served on Mr. Sarat Chandra Patnaik, a prominent labour leader, asking him to leave Bihar within 24 hours.

Sardar Ram Singh Akali, President of the Forward Bloc, Patna City, was arrested under the Defence of India Act for alleged anti-war speeches.

Pandit Ramanandan Misir was arrested on April 18 under the Defence of India Act at Laheriasarai, where he was lying ill.

Sj. Prafulla Chandra Acharjee who was arrested sometime back in connection with the labour unrest in the collieries has been served with an order directing him not to be in any place within the province of Bihar and leave the province in 24 hours.

The Hindi pamphlet 'Europe ki larai kyon kis lie aur hamara kartavya' written by Kishori Prasanna Sinha, General Secretary, Bihar Socialist Party, has been proscribed by the Bihar Government as it contains matter prejudicial to the Defence of India Rules.

In Punjab

Mr. Tikaram Sukhan, General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Socialist Party and a member of the A. I. C. C., who returned here after attending the Congress Session at Ramgarh, was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

The Secretary of the Congress Committee, Rampur (Gujranwala) has been arrested under the Defence of India Ordinances for an alleged objectionable speech delivered by him on March 23.

R. B. Bhagat Jagannath, Sessions Judge, upheld the conviction of L. Kapoorchand Jain, General Secretary of the Jullundur Congress Committee but reduced the sentence from six months to the period already undergone. The appellant was convicted by the City Magistrate under Defence of India Act for reading out of Congress High Command's resolution on war at a meeting held here early in November last.

Syed Ataulla Shah Bukhari, an Ahrar leader, who was discharged by the Lahore High Court (April 15) is still in police custody as another case under the D. I. A. is pending against him in Rawalpindi.

Pandha Santram, a prominent Congress worker of Lahore, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules on a charge of delivering an objectionable speech in the district of Hoshiarpur.

Swami Jairam, Socialist leader of Allawalpur under the D. I. A. has been sentenced to nine months R. I. for delivering objectionable speeches at Beaspind and Dure in the Jullundur tahsil in January last.

Pt. Aminchand, President of the Forward Bloc, Multan was arrested under the D. I. A. in connection with a speech delivered by him on April 13.

Sardar Hazarasingh of Warymnangal, organising secretary of the District Kisan Committee has been arrested under the D. I. R.

In Sind

Mr. Mohammad Nassim, editor of the *Baluckistan e Jadid*, an Urdu daily of Karachi has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules for having printed and published two pamphlets alleged to contain anti-war literature.

The city police carried out a three-four hours' search of a local press under the Defence of India Act for suspected Communist literature.

In Assam

The Governor of Assam by a notification published in the Assam Gazette has directed that no public procession, meeting or assembly shall be held in the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract unless permission is obtained from the District Magistrate.

The order shall remain in force for a period of six months from the date of the notification.

Birendrachandra Misra, Secretary of the Sylhet D. C. C., Abalakant Gupta, Jyotirmoy Mandi, Kaliprasanna Das, Mahabuburrab, Syamadas Sen, Bhupati Chakravarty, Anil Shome and Keshabdas, members of the Congress were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 20 each or in default 7 days S. I. by the Additional Dist. Magistrate of Sylhet for having led unlicensed processions in Sylhet. The accused preferred going to jail.

In Bombay

Mr. H. V. Kamath, Organiser of Bombay Forward Bloc and six others were arrested.

Mr. S. Dange, the Bombay Labour leader was arrested by the C. I. D. on the 22nd inst. under the Indian Press (Emergency) Act and was realeased on a bail of Rs. 500.

Miss Godavare Gokhale, a member of the Servants of India Society and a member of the Council of Action of the B. P. Trade Union Congress was arrested on Sunday morning under the Defence of India Rule and taken to Poona.

Senapati Bapat, whose entry into Bombay was banned by the Commissioner of Police last night and who was sent out of Bombay city limits by the city police last night, was arrested this evening (6 April) at Choupathi when he attempted to address a meeting.

In Delhi

Maulana Imdade Sabri, General Secretary, D. C. C. was arrested on April 28 under the Defence of India Act. This was followed by a police raid on his house and seizure of certain literature which was held to be objectionable.

Mr. Bhal Singh, General Secretary, Delhi P. C. C. was arrested on April 12 under the D. I. R.

Mr. Ramchandra, a local labour leader was arrested under the same act.

Choudhury Sherjung, who was an accused in what is known as Ahmadgarh Train Dacoity Case, has been served with an order of the Local Government under Defence of India Act directing him to quit Delhi limits within 24 hours and not to return for a period of one year without previous permission of the Local Government.

In Karnatak

Mr. S. V. Parulekar, member, Servants of India Society was sentenced by the Sub-Magistrate to 18 months S. I. under Section 124 (a) I. P. C.

In N. W. F. P.

Maulana Abdur Rahim Popalazai, a socialist leader of the Frontier Province, was arrested in Bannu under the Defence of India Rules.

Maharashtra (*Bombay Presidency*)

Mr. V. M. Bhushkute of the Forward Bloc Maharashtra Branch who was arrested on April 6 under the Defence of India Rules was convicted and sentenced (15th April) by the Divisional Magistrate of Poona to 1 year R. I. and a fine of Rs. 500 or in default to 6 months' further imprisonment.

In Utkal

Mr. Jagannath Misra, President, Ganjam D. C. C. was arrested on April 24 under the D. I. A.

Mr. Lakshinarain Mishra has been arrested under Rule 38 of the D. I. A.

In Ajmere Merwara

The District Magistrate promulgated Sec. 144 banning public meetings which were to be held in celebration of the Jallianwala Bagh Day. The order stated that inasmuch as the celebrations at Jallianwala Bagh which 20 years ago constituted a danger to peace it was considered necessary to ban holding all public meetings which would be held in connection with the celebrations of the said day. Another Beawar message says that nearly a dozen places including the offices of the present town congress and the students federation were searched under the provisions of the Defence of India Ordinances.

From the Adarsh Printing Press and the *Navajyoti*, a nationalist Hindi Weekly, total securities of Rs. 3,000 were demanded on 11th October, 1938 under the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act XXIII of 1931.

Baba Narsingh Das, a prominent Congress worker was arrested in 1938 on the basis of a speech and prosecuted under Sec. 108 Cr. P. C. and released on furnishing security for good behaviour for a year.

Maulvi Abdul Shakoor, President P. C. C. was arrested on 19th Feb. 1939 and prosecuted for a speech under Secs. 108 and 112 Cr. P. C. and released on furnishing security for good behaviour for a year.

Maulvi Shahid was also dealt with similarly.

On April 12, 1939 the local Khadi Bhandar was searched by the police who took away some papers.

Another security for Rs. 1,500 was demanded from the *Navajyoti* on 13th May, 1939 under the I. P. Emergency Powers Act XXIII of 1931.

The Dist. Magistrate ordered all licenses for arms within his jurisdiction to be deposited in his office by 31. 8. 39.

On protesting against unauthorised entry of the Police into a private meeting of the Railway Workers' Union, the General Secretary Mr. Riyaz Alam, was arrested on September 1, 1939 and prosecuted under Section 353 I. P. C.

On October 2, 1939 Shri Ramnarayan Chaudhury, a prominent Congress worker and Editor of the *Navajyoti* was prohibited by the District Magistrate under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. from delivering any speech for 2 months within the district.

On October 24, 1939 the police authorities arbitarily stopped the previously permitted 'Bharat Milap' Procession in the Nayabazar Square. In protest the Hindus observed complete hartal for 24 haurs.

Pt. Ladoo Ram Joshi was sentenced to 1 year's R. I. on a charge of delivering a seditious speech under Sec. 124 A, I. P. C.

Securities of Rs. 500 were demanded from the Vedic Press under the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act XXIII of 1931.

Warnings were given to the Navajyoti, the Vijaya and the Arya Martand papers more than once.

The Fine Art Printing Press and house of Shivhareji were searched and copies of the Life of Swami Bhawani Dayal of South Africa were forfeited.

Permission for holding a public meeting on the 26th January, 1940 in the Town Hall was refused by the Municipal Chairman under the orders of the District Magistrate.

12 Students were made to furnish securities of Rs. 500 each under Section 112, Cr. P. C. for shouting slogans in the Independence Day celebrations.

In Feb. 1940, the Provincial Congress Office and the house of Shri Jwala Prasad, Mr. Mukerji, Baba Narsing Das were searched in connection with a revolver and catridges and Shris Devi Prasad, Rameshwar and Shyam Bihari Singh were arrested. The first two were released on bail and the third is in jail. The case is proceeding.

On 12th March, 1940, security of Rs. 500 was demanded from the Adarsh Printing Pres under the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act.

Security of Rs. 300 was demanded from the Khadi Sandesh, a proposed Charkha Sangha periodical.

In the first week of April 1940 the house of Baba Narsingh Das was searched.

On April 10, 1940, the District Magistrate ordered the National Flag erected by the Khadi Exhibition to be removed within two hours. On the Committee's failure to comply with the ukase, the Police handled down the Flag and the Flag-staff.

On April 28, 1940 the Monthly Flag Salutation Ceremony was to take place in the compound of the Town Hall, where such celebrations and meetings were held several times before without let or hindrance. But two hours before the time fixed for the hoisting, Sj. Durga Prasad Chaudhry, the Congress secretary was served with a notice by the Municipal Chairman prohibiting under orders of the District Magistrate the ceremony and meeting.

On April 12, 1940 the offices of the provincial and City Congresses and houses of Shris Durga Prasad Chaudhry, Secretary, City Congress Committee, Dr. Mukerji, Jwala Prasad, Abdul Shakoor, Krishna Gopal Garg and Bal Krishna Garg, Pandit Lekhraj and others were raided and searched by the police who took away the minute books and papers of the City Congress Committee.

On April 8, 1940 Baba Narsinghdas was arrested under Sec. 39 of the Defence of India Act.

Shris Krishan Gopal and Balkrishan Garg, Secretaries of the Khadi Exhibition are being prosecuted under Sec. 188, Cr. P. C.

On April 16, 1940 the Police searched the place of Syt. Ranchor Das Gattani of the Jodhpur War Council in Ajmer and took away some papers.

The General Secretary's Report

The following is the text of the report of the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress from March 1939 to February 1940 submitted to the All India Congress Committee session at Ramgarh.

The Tripuri Session of the Congress met under special circumstances. The President-elect, Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was ill; there was no Working Committee in existence and Mahatma Gandhi was fasting in Rajkot. The controversies before and after the Presidential election had considerably embittered the atmosphere and confused the public mind. There was division in the ranks of Congressmen. Rival groups threatened to undermine the cohesion and solidarity of the Congress. It was in the midst of these distressing circumstances that the delegates were called upon to arrive at vital decisions of grave import to the country. There being no Working Committee, no official resolution could be placed before the subjects committee for guidance. However, after the routine business was over, the President received a requisition from over 150 members of the Committee requesting permission to move the following resolution clarifying the situation arising out of the Presidential election. This resolution was sought to be moved in the A. I. C. C. but the President overruled it. He however allowed the resolution to be moved in the subjects committee meeting.

"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 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 Committee 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."

The resolution naturally raised controversies. Its interpretations as evidenced by the speeches made ranged from one of affirmation of faith in Gandhiji's leadership and confidence in the old Working Committee to no-confidence in the President. After a full dress debate the resolution was carried by a large majority in the subjects committee and later in the open session. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose, the President-elect, could not preside over some of the sittings of the subjects committee and at the open session owing to his continued illness. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the senior-most ex-President, therefore conducted the proceedings.

The other important resolutions passed at the session were about:

(a) the National Demand, (b) Congress Machinery, and (c) Foreign Policy.

National Demand:

The Congress objective of Independence and India's determination to resist the imposition of Federation were once again reiterated. The resolution declared that an independent and democratic India alone could solve rapidly and effectively the economic and other problems which were pressing so heavily on the masses. The capacity of Provincial Governments to solve these problems was limited and was rapidly nearing exhaustion. The preposed Federation strangled and suffocated India still further. The Congress was therefore firmly of the opinion that the India Act should be replaced by a Constitution framed by the Indian people themselves. To

this end the Congress called upon all Congress organisations to get ready for a nation-wide struggle, promote unity and eliminate disruptive forces.

Congress Machinery :

The rapid increase of members and the growth of the Congress organisation in recent years, had revealed irregularities and abuse in the working of the Congress Machinery. The organisation had outgrown the constitution. Some changes were necessary if it was to work smoothly and efficiently Ordinarily changes in the constitution are effected in the open session. But the subjects committee or the All India Congress Committee could not formulate proposals for constitutional changes in the prevailing excitement at Tripuri. A resolution was, therefore, passed by the open session authorising the All India Congress Committee to incorporate such changes in the constitution as would obviate abuse and make for the efficient working of the organisation. Whatever proposals were adopted by the A. I. C. C. would come into force as if sanctioned by the delegates assembled in open session.

Foreign Policy :

The Congress recorded its entire disapproval of and dissociated itself from British foreign policy which was helping in the destruction of democratic countries and reducing the world to a state of anarchy, where brutal violence flourished unchecked.

Resolutions were also passed about happenings in Palestine, the condition of Indians Overseas, Indian States and India's sympathy with China.

The Wafd Party of Egypt sent a fraternal delegation to attend the Tripuri Congress in response to an invitation of the President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. A cordial welcome was extended to the delegation and the visit was considered as symbolic of the solidarity of the twe countries in their struggle for freedom.

Stalemate In The Congress :

The session was over but the trouble that began with the election of Sri Subhas Bose as president continued. The President was without a Working Committee. The Tripuri Session had affirmed its adherence to the fundamental policies adopted by the Congress under the guidance of Gandhiji and had requested the President to appoint the Working Committee in accordance with his wishes. The President owing to his continued ill health could not personally meet Gandhiji. He therefore started correspondence with him. He set forth in detail his own view of the situation. He thought that Pandit Pant's resolution was unconstitutional, especially the clause which related to the formation of the Working Committee in accordance with Gandhiji's wishes. The resolution lent itself to various interpretations. Some people held that it was one of no-confidence in him. Gandhiji was asked to give his interpretation of the resolution. The President gave Gandhiji the benefit of his views about the formation of the Working Committee. He thought the situation demanded a composite committee. He proposed to nominate 7 members of such a committee and would allow Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to nominate the remaining seven. The General Secretary was however to be a nominee of his. In a long letter, the President mentioned the policies which he wanted the Congress to adopt. These related to the launching of a struggle in the country, after a six months' ultimatum to the British Government and a forward drive on a comprehensive scale in the States. (These policies had not been accepted by the Congress at Tripuri). He was further of the view that violence in the country was on the decrease, and as such the country was better prepared for a final and decisive assault on British Imperialism. He also said that failure to adopt his suggestions would lead to civil war in the Congress. Gandhiji in his replies answered the various points raised by the President. He suggested a meeting of the leaders to settle the differences though he had his doubts whether this would serve the purpose, when there was mutual distrust and the differences were deep and fundamental. In his opinion the best course under the circumstances would be for the President to form a homegeneous cabinet of his own choice and go forward with his programme if these received the approval of the A. I. C. C. He expressed his dissent from the views expressed by the President on the problems engaging the attention of the country. He saw no reason why the so-called two blocks, the Right and the Left in the Congress. should not work, each on its own lines, without creating bitterness leading to civil war about which the President had written.

The prolonged correspondence did not result in the solution of the tangle, viz., the formation of the Working Committee. There was widespread dissatisfaction in the country with this state of affairs which had reduced the whole Congress organisation to a state of inaction. Under these circumstances it was felt that only a meeting of the A. I. C. C could solve the tangle. A meeting was accordingly called. It assembled in Calcutta on May 1 and subsequent dates. There were prolonged conversations between the President and Gandhiji. Gandhiji declined to suggest the names for the Working Committee in terms of Pandit Pant's resolution. He held that, that would be an imposition on the President. He left the President free to choose his own Committee. In the alternative he suggested a conference with the old members of the Working Committee. The President accepted the latter suggestion. Sardar Vallabhbhai did not attend the meeting at Calcutta because of the excitement prevalent and also because, as he expressed afterwards, that whatever decisions might be taken, may be without any pressure being exerted by him. It was supposed that his antipathy towards the President and his influence with Gandhiji were responsible for what had happened. Discussions with the old members of the Working Committee brought the solution of the problem no nearer. Only two courses were therefore open to the President either to form a homogeneous committee of those who agreed with him or to resign. At the A. I. C. C. meeting he explained the situation in the light of the conversations he had with Gandhiji and the ex-members of the Work-Committee. He said that in view of Gandhiji's refusal to nominate a Working Committee and the failure of conversations with his ex-colleagues, no other course was left to him except to form a Working Committtee of his choice. To this course he was averse, the reasons being that such a committee will not command the confidence of the House and of Gandhiji and also because he believed that a composite cabinet was desirable. Under such circumstances the A. I. C. C. could appoint a Working Committee of its own choice but it might be one in which he may be a misfit. He therefore thought that if he resigned his presidentship and another president was elected, it would be easier for the A I. C. C. to settle the matter. 'After mature deliberation and in an entirely helpful spirit', as he said, he placed his resignation in the hands of the Committee. This necessitated the election of a new president. To avoid this unpleasant necessity, Pt. Jawaharlal moved before the House that Sri Subhas Chandra Bose be requested to withdraw his resignation and nominate afresh the old Working Committee, which functioned in 1938. Explaining the proposition, Pandit Nehru made clear how two seats will be available on the Committee for infusion of fresh blood which Sri Subhas Chandra Bose considered so necessary. The proposition was, however, not acceptable to him. It was therefore dropped. Thereupon the A. I. C. C. proceeded with the election of the new President. Babu Rajendra Prasad's name was proposed and accepted by the A. I. C. C. Thus ended the melancholy episode of the Presidential election.

The President, Babu Rajendra Prasad 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, Sri Jairamdas Doulatram, Bhulabhai J. Desai, Shankarrao Deo, Harekishna Mehtab, Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh, J. B. Kripalani (General Secretary).

Among the important resolutions passed at this meeting was one on War Danger and another on the Amendment of the India Act. The Amendment Act was an attempt to concentrate all powers in the hands of the Central Government in the event of war. It struck at the very root of provincial autonomy and reduced the Ministers to impotence in matters relating to war. The A. I. C. C. therefore resolved that the Congress would resist the imposition of such an amendment. Another resolution demanded the release of political prisoners who were still in jail in Bengal and the Punjab and a Political Prisoners' Day was observed all over the country in pursuance of this resolution and instructions issued by the President.

Reform in the Congress Machinery :

The Calcutta meeting of the A. I. C. C. for obvious reasons could not give effect to the resolution of the Congress passed at Tripuri, about reform in the Congress Machinery and amendment in the Congress constitution. All that was possible was to appoint a small committee consisting of the President,

Shris Jawaharlal Nehru, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Narendra Dev, and J. B. Kripalani to go into the question and report to the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. This committee met in Bombay from the 3rd to 7th June, 1939. Mahatma Gandhi participated in its deliberations. Shris Vallabhbhai Patel and Bhulabhai Desai were present by special invitation. The Committee had before it about 200 concrete suggestions forwarded to the A. I. C. C. office by Congressmen and Congress organisations in response to the General Secretary's request for suggestions. These were given careful consideration. Among the important changes recommended were :

(i) permanent membership,

(ii) maintenance of a register of such permanent members,

(iii) no member to be eligible for election as a delegate to the Congress or as a member of a Provincial or a District Committee unless he has been a member of the Congress for three consecutive years,

(iv) the Working Committee to be authorised to declare the members of any organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are in conflict with those of the Congress, ineligible for membership of any elective committee,

(v) appointment of a Provincial Election Tribunal and District Election Tribunals and

(vi) two-thirds of the number of the seats of the A. I. C. C. to be filled territorially by the delegates by single distributive vote and the remaining one-third to be filled by all the delegates assembled by single transferable vote :

The Working Committee which met in Bombay from 21st to 27th June 1939, gave careful consideration to the recommendations of the Constitution Committee. There was controversy about the recommendation (iv) mentioned above. It was believed that a change in the constitution of that nature would give dictatorial powers to the Working Committee and members of any party in the Congress opposed to them might be precluded from holding any office in the Congress organisation. Similar provision in the existing constitution related only to communal organisations. The words "any organisation" extended the scope of the article in question. Gandhiji's advice was that at that juncture no such constitutional amendments should be pressed which were opposed by any section of Congressmen. It was therefore decided that the proposed change which was objected to by the leftist groups in the Congress be dropped. Similary recommendation (vi) which sought to modify the system of proportional representation by single transferable vote was also dropped because it was opposed by the socialists.

Among the important additions made were :

(1) demarcation of fixed constituencies for the election of delegates.

(2) The number of primary members to elect one delegate was fixed at 500.

The Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C. was called especially to discuss the constitutional amendments. Since the two principal contentious recommendations were dropped, the rest of the proposed amendments were carried through more or less unanimously.

It was made clear by the President and others that the amendments adopted were by themselves not enough to rid the Congress of corruption and indiscipline. They would check technical irregularities but could be no substitute for purity and strength to character of individual Congressman and Congress committees which alone were the most effective antidote to the poison which was slowly undermining the foundations of the great organisation.

The Bombay Meeting of the A. I. C. C. though called expressly for considering constitutional amendments, had before it several important matters requiring immediate attention. Among them were the questions of (i) Indians in Ceylon, (ii) Indians in South Africa and (iii) Digboi Strike.

Indians in Ceylon :

The Ceylon Government adopted without any previous notice, measures which resulted in dismissal and repatriation of about 10,000 Indian daily paid workers in all departments of Government, to relieve as it was alleged, the pressure of unemployment in the country. The measures were unjust and provoked resentment in India and among the Indians settled in Ceylon. The problem of unemployment and economic distress was undoubtedly there as it was in all other countries where imperialistic exploitation existed but the way the Ceylon Government wanted to deal with it was unjust and arbitrary. It looked like the beginning of a drive against Indians in all vocations, and occupations, official and otherwise. Cessation

of fresh recruitment of Indians was an understandable policy but the drive against Indians who had settled in Ceylon for a long time past and were domiciled residents of the county looked like a measure of racial discrimination. The A. I. C. C. Office, the Congress President, and Mahatma Gandhi were flooded with representations from Indian residents in Ceylon to intervene and avert the crisis. The Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. that met in Bombay in May, 1939 gave earnest consideration to these representations and passed a resolution viewing with grave concern the discriminatory measures which threatened a grave conflict between the two friendly neighbours. It however desired to explore every means of avoiding conflict and to this end appointed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to go to Ceylon and confer with the authorities and representative associations and individuals on behalf of India and do all that may be possible to effect a just and honourable settlement.

Pandit Jawaharlal reached Colombo by air on June 16. A magnificient reception was accorded to him by Indians and Ceylonese alike. He had a busy and strenuous time conferring with the Ministers, representatives of the Indian organisations and other individuals concerned. In the talks with Ministers, he pleaded for a wider vision and broader approach to the problem that affected the Ceylonese and the Indians in Ceylon, who had settled there and made it their home. The immediate problem, he pointed out. was a small and petty one in the context of larger problems they had jointly to face. It was therefore. proper and necessary that this small problem be approached in a liberal spirit. Jawaharlalji tendered some wholesome advice to the Indians in Ceylon also. While they must not forget the country of their origin, they must see that they serve their adopted country with devotion and loyalty and cultivate fraternal relations with its inhabitants. He addressed several large and crowded public gatherings where he emphasised the necessity of preserving the ancient cultural and historical ties that bound the two countries and remember the common fight they had to carry on against imperialism. This high-minded approach to the problem created a fine impression all round. The Ministers, however, could not see their way to agree to a major change in their scheme but they agreed to small modifications and promised to take steps to minimise hardships consequent on repatriation.

Pandit Jawaharlal submitted to the Working Committee a report of his visit to Ceylon. The Committee regretted that in spite of the earnest efforts of Pandit Nehru, the Ceylon Government did not think it fit to make any major changes in the measures they had proposed against their Indian employees. The action of the Ceylon Government. the Working Committee pointed out, was not in conformity with justice or international practice.

The Committee recognised the right of the people of Ceylon to give preference to nationals in State service or otherwise in their country but surely the Indians who had settled there and made Ceylon their home and who had by their labour on the land and elsewhere contributed greatly to the riches and advancement of the common land, had secured the right to be considered on a par with the other inhabitants of the Island. Steps taken to adjust relationship should not be taken unilaterally. The Committee were averse to doing anything which might put a strain on the cultural, historical and economic bonds which united the two countries. But considering the circumstances which the unilateral action of the Ceylon Government had created. they were of the opinion that all future emigration of labour from India to Ceylon must be completely stopped. The decision of the Government of India to that effect was therefore welcomed.

Indians in South Africa

While in Ceylon steps were being taken which adversely affected thousands of Indians, in South Africa a grave situation was developing as a result of the policy of segregation pursued by the Union Government. Legislation was sought to be enacted prohibiting the lease and sale of land to Asiatics unless under certain conditions. There was talk of civil resistance. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress were being repeatedly appealed to for help and intervention. The Government of India, while professing sympathy with Indian settlers in their plight, would not go beyond friendly representations and verbal protests. As in Zanzibar in the matter of Clove Boycott, so also here the burden of espousing the cause of our nationals fell on the Congress. The A. I. C. C. passed a resolution regretting the attitude of the Union Government which betrayed utter disregard of the obligations undertaken by their predecessors. The policy just initiated by them was a direct violation of the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement of 1914 and all the numerous subsequent

undertakings given on behalf of the Union Government. The A. I. C. C voiced the sympathy of the whole Indian nation behind the settlers' fight for self-respect and honourable existence. They expressed the hope that the dissensions among the Indians will end and they will present a united front. The Union Government was appealed to retrace their steps and carry out the undertakings of their predecessors.

No reassuring news is however to hand. Instead the latest we have from Capetown confirm all our worst fears. In the South African Union Assembly, Doctor Malan, Leader of the Nationalists moved : 'The house regards it as urgently necessary that the policy of segregation between Europeans, residentially, industrially and practically should be carried out without delay and that on the basis of the report of the Government Commission of 1939 on mixed marriages steps should be taken to prohibit miscegenation. The house requests the Government, therefore, to introduce immediately legislation necessary to carry out that policy effectively.' The meaning of this reactionary piece of racial legislation is too plain for comment.

Political Prisoners

Among the earliest measures adopted by the Congress Ministries was the release of political prisoners. The few that remained behind the prison bars in Bihar and U. P. were released as a result of the ministerial crisis in the two Provinces. The Congress attached great importance to the question of the release of political prisoners but in the non-Congress administrations of Bengal and the Punjab, particularly the former, no effort was made to solve the question. This produced widespread resentment in the two provinces. In Bengal the problem was particularly acute as there were internees who had been in jail for several years without a trial. Gandhiji interested himself in the release of the Bengal prisoners. He had prolonged consultations with the Bengal Government. As a result of these consultations almost all the internees and a number of prisoners were released in batches. A considerable number however still remained in jail. There were threats of hunger-strike by the prisoners. They had declared to Gandhiji that they had no faith in terrorism. Yet they were kept on inspite of the fact that those who were released were not known to have created any trouble. Under these circumstances, it was but proper and just that the remaining prisoners be released. But the Bengal Government for reasons best known to them, took a different view of their responsibility.

The prospect of indefinite detention made the prisoners desperate. Some 80 political prisoners in Dum Dum and Alipore jails went on hunger-strike on July 7 and 8 to register their protest against their continued detention and also to rouse public opinion in favour of their release. The news of the hunger-strike created widespread stir in the country Prominent Congressmen in Bengal got into touch with Bengal Government and urged them to take timely action and avert an unpleasant crisis. Mahatma Gandhi appealed to the Bengal Government to do bare justice to the prisoners and release them. The Congress President, Shri Mahadeo Desai, Shris Subhas Chandra Bose and Sarat Chandra Bose, all in their several ways intervened to avert the crisis. The prisoners responded to these appeals and gave up hunger-strike on an assurance being given by Shri Subhas Chandra Bose on behalf of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee that steps would be taken, including direct action, to secure their early release. The news of the termination of the hunger-strike was received with great relief throughout the country.

The Working Committee passed a resolution expressing grateful appreciation of the action of the prisoners in suspending the hunger-strike. They hoped that the Bengal Government and also the Punjab will release political prisoners within their jurisdiction, especially as these have abjured violence. The Working Committee, however, took care to point out that it is wrong on the part of prisoners, political or otherwise, to resort to hunger-strike for their release.

Demonstrations on July 9 and Disciplinary Action Against Shri Subhas Chandra Bose :

The Bombay A. I. C. C. in June passed two resolutions : one related to 'Satyagraha in provinces' and declared that no Congressman may offer or organise any form of Satyagraha in the administrative Provinces of India without the previous sanction of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned ; the other defined the relation between Congress Ministries and the P. C. C's. The resolutions were opposed by Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and the socialists,

but were passed by a large majority after full discussion. It was expected that the decisions thus democratically arrived at would be loyally accepted by Congressmen, especially Congress Committees and their office-bearers. But very soon a surprise was sprung upon the country by the action of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose. He fixed July 9 as an all India protest day when a country-wide agitation against the said two resolutions was to be inaugurated. The Congress President on hearing of the proposed demonstrations issued a statement in which he warned Congress Committees and their office-bearers against participating in these demonstrations. He made clear that if the resolutions of the A. I. C. C. passed after mature deliberation were defied by Congress Committees and office-bearers whose duty it was to give effect to them there would be an end to all discipline and the Congress organisation would be disrupted. Inspite of the clear and specific direction of the Congress President that any participation in such demonstrations by office-bearers and Congress Committees would be regarded as a breach of discipline, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose went on with his plan of protest in defiance of the explicit direction of Congress President though he was himself the head of Bengal P. C. C. This created an extra-ordinary situation. The President wrote to Shri Subhas Chandra Bose explaining how he regarded his action in organising protest meetings as not only destructive of all discipline but fraught with the gravest consequences for the future of the Congress organisation. This had no effect. Meetings and demonstrations consisting of some congressmen and many non-congressmen were held in several places with varying success. In Bengal the Executive Council of the Provincial Congress Committee organised demonstrations in Calcutta and several of its prominent members and office-bearers participated in them.

The Working Committee which met at Wardha from August 9 to 12, 1939 considered the situation and the action of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and others. They had before them the explanation of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose. He argued that it was his constitutional right to give expression to his view regarding any resolution passed by the A. I. C. C. Denial of this constitutional right was, he maintained, tantamount to suppression of Civil liberty within the Congress. If the explanation was not considered satisfactory by the Working Committee, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose took full responsibility for the demonstrations and expressed readiness to face any disciplinary action taken against him, cheerfully. The Working Committee considered the situation and the explanation. It came to the conclusion that in his explanation Shri Subhas Bose had wholly missed the main point which was that as an ex-President of the Congress and as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee he should have realised that after having received instructions from the President it was his clear duty as a servant of the nation to obey them implicitly even though he differed from the ruling of the President. It was open to him to appeal afterwards if he so desired to the A. I. C. C. or open session. If Subhas Babu's contention that every member is free to interpret the Congress Constitution prevails and if every member were to act on that interpretation, contrary to the decision of the President, there will be perfect anarchy in the Congress.

The Working Committee therefore came to the painful conclusion that it would fail in its duty if it condoned the open and deliberate breach of discipline by Subhas Babu. It therefore decided that for the grave act of indiscipline, Shri Subhas Babu be declared disqualified as President of the Bengal P. C. C. and to be a member of any elective Congress Committee for three years as from August 1939. The Committee however did not take any action against the executive council of the B. P. C. C. or the individual Congressmen. The Working Committee left it to the P. C. C. to take such action as they thought necessary against offending members under their respective jurisdiction if they did not express regret for their indiscipline.

National Planning Committee

A brief account of the functions and work of the National Planning Committee was given in last year's report. The first meeting of the Committee which was held in December 1938 drafted an elaborate questionaire, which was sent to various Governments, public bodies, Chambers of Commerce, Trade Unions and individuals. The second meeting took place in Bombay from 4th to 17th June, 1939. As originally conceived the Planning Committee was supposed to do a certain

amount of preliminary work as preparatory to more comprehensive investigations by the larger body—a National Planning Commission. But as it proceeded it found that it had to do its work more thoroughly and on a more comprehensive basis. A mere superficial survey of the industrial situation in the country would be of no useful guidance to the country or the Planning Commission to be appointed later. It was therefore decided to enlarge the scope of work of the Planning Committee. It appointed 27 sub-committees to consider each individual problem, and each sector of the National plan separately. The 27 sub-committees were divided under seven main heads, namely : (i) agriculture, (ii) industries, (iii) demographic relations, (iv) transport and communication, (v) commerce and finance, (vi) public welfare and (vii) education.

Experts were invited to serve on these committees. The committee adopted certain instructions for the guidance of the various sub-committees. The fundamental aim to be kept in view by all sub-committees, it directed, was to ensure an adequate standard of living for the masses. An adequate standard of living implies a certain irreducible minimum plus a progressive scale of comfort. The average annual income per capita in India is placed at Rs. 65. This is the most optimistic calculation. It includes the rich and poor, the town dweller and the villager. Even according to this the average for the villager cannot be more than Rs. 25 to 30 per annum per capita. This implies not only a considerable deficit in food supply but also in the other essential requirements of human existence. The national income must therefore be increased greatly during the next ten years to ensure an irreducible minimum standard for everybody. In order to secure this minimum standard not only will it be necessary to increase production but also to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth.

A really progressive standard of life will necessitate the increase of the national wealth five or six times. But for the present the minimum standard which can and should be reached is an increase of national wealth of between two and three times within the next ten years. It is with this object in view that the planning should be done now.

The Planning Committee as it proceeded with its work, received cooperation from various individuals and organisations. All the Provincial Governments are cooperating with it. The Committee has also received the active cooperation of important States like Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Bhopal, Travancore and Cochin. It has a well-staffed secretariat, Prof. K. T. Shah has been appointed Honorary General Secretary. A sum of Rs. 50,000 has been sanctioned for the Committee's expenses. The work of the various committees is near completion. The Chairman has asked for the report of the various committees by the end of February.

War Crisis

The principles which should guide the nation in the event of war were clearly laid down by the Congress in its resolutions passed from to time time. It had repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism with all their cruel implications. It had expressed in unmistakable terms its sympathy with all those countries which were from time to time made the victims of unprovoked aggression. It expressed its solidarity with the democratic forces in Spain. It protested against the conquest and annexation of Czechoslovakia. As a natural corollary the Congress dissociated itself entirely from the foreign policy of the British Government which was considered responsible for these tragedies.

The Congress had further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people and any attempt by any outside authority to impose its decision on India or exploit Indian resources for the purposes of war would be resisted. But the British Government paid no heed to these repeated declarations and warnings of the Congress. The attempt to amend the Government of India Act in order to narrow and limit still further the powers of the provincial governments in the event of war emergency arising, the despatch of Indian troops towards Aden and some months later to Singapore and Aden without the consent of the Central Legislature unmistakably showed Britain's desire to entangle India in a future war. To mark their dissociation from these measures and to give effect to the policy of the Congress the Working Committee at its meeting at Wardha in August last called upon Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session of the Assembly. The provincial Governments were directed not to assist in any way the war preparation of the British Government which were on foot.

As soon as war broke out in Europe in the first week of September, India was

declared a belligerent country on the side of Allies by the British Government. This declaration was made without consulting the people of India. Ordinances strictly curtailing civil liberties were passed. The Government of India Act was amended greatly restricting Governments.

The sympathies of the country, generally were with the victims of aggression and against Germany and the fascist ideology guiding it. But sympathy did not necessarily mean India's entanglement in war and that too without her consent. What should be India's attitude in the crisis was a question pre-eminently for the Indian people to decide. But Imperialism thought and acted otherwise. The Indian people however were in no mood to acquiesce in this imposition and the Government knew it. The Viceroy, therefore, soon after their declaration of war called Mahatma Gandhi for an interview to explain to him the situation and enlist his moral support and through him that of the Congress and the country. Gandhiji took the public into confidence about what happened at the interview. He said he had made it clear to the Viceroy that in whatever he said he did not represent the Congress or the national mind. As a humanitarian he was greatly stirred by the war. Though his sympathies were with the Allies he did not want the destruction of any people. He was not at the time thinking of India's deliverance. What would Indian freedom be worth, if Britain was destroyed or Germany humiliated ! His own sympathies were with England and France from the purely humanitarian view-point.

The Working Committee however soon met at Wardha, and considered the situation. Having regard to the gravity of the issues involved, the President invited Shris Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Narendra Deo, Jayprakash Narain and Aney to assist the Working Committee in shaping their decision. Mr. M. A. Jinnah was also telegraphically invited to attend and give the Committee the benefit of his advice. He, however, declined the invitation owing to previous engagements. After mature deliberations the Working Committee issued a comprehensive statement defining the Congress position.

The statement reiterated the principles laid down by the Congress from time to time for guiding the nation in the event of war. It said that India was declared a belligerent country and measures were taken affecting the country virtually in defiance of the declared wishes of the people. The Working Committee took the gravest view of these developments. While it unhesitatingly condemned the latest aggression of the Nazi Government and sympathised with those who resisted it, its cooperation could not be had by compulsion and imposition. Cooperation must be between equals and by mutual consent for a cause which both consider worthy.

The Committee were aware that the Government of Great Britain and France had declared that they were fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression. During the war of 1914-18 also the declared war-aims were the preservation of democracy, self-determination and the freedom of small nations and yet the very Governments which solemnly proclaimed these aims entered into secret pacts embodying imperialist designs for the carving up of the Ottoman Empire. If the war is to defend the status quo, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privileges, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee were convinced that the interests of Indian democracy, did not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy. But there was an inherent conflict between democracy in India or elsewhere and imperialism and fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions, establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation.

The Working Committee therefore invites the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged and in particular how these aims are going to be applied to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people ? A clear declaration about the future, pledging the Government to the ending of imperialism

and Fascism alike, will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it, to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured. The real test of any declaration however is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern action today and give shape to the future.

The statement was forwarded to the Viceroy for his information and that of the British Government. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was nominated to the Working Committee and a War Sub-Committee consisting of Pandit Jawaharlal (Chairman), Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was formed to deal with the situation as it may develop from time to time.

Gandhiji in a statement to the press commended the manifesto of the Working Committee to the unanimous support of the country. He hoped that all the political parties and all communities would join the Committee's demand for a clear declaration of their policy by the British Government with such corresponding action as is possible amidst martial conditions. "All that was required was a mental revolution on the part of British statesmen i.e., honest action to implement the declaration of faith in democracy made on the eve of the war, and still being repeated from British platforms. The Congress support will mean the greatest moral asset in favour of England and France. The Congress has no soldiers to offer."

The statement was widely appreciated in the country as a statesmanlike document. It received publicity in foreign countries, especially America and Germany. The people of the oppressed nationalities adopted the manifesto as their own. The British Government in England, however, and a considerable section of the British press took care to give it the minimum possible publicity. But the more advanced section of the British opinion welcomed the document and warmly supported the Congress demand for a declaration of war aims and peace aims of Great Britain.

The British Government and its agents here could not possibly ignore this challenge of the Congress. Some answer had to be given. The Viceroy had recourse to interviews.

The Viceroy had interviews with the Congress President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru jointly and also with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mahatma Gandhi. He also met Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League. These interviews however were not confined to the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League but included all sorts of persons and parties. He had as many as 52 interviews before he could frame an answer to the simple and straightforward question the Congress had asked.

Considering the gravity and magnitude of the crisis facing the country it was felt necessary that a special meeting of the A. I. C. C. be called to consider the manifesto issued by the Working Committee. A meeting was called accordingly at Wardha on October 9 and 10. The A. I. C. C passed a resolution endorsing the statement of the Working Committee and authorising the Working Commitee to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to it. The Committee repeated its condemnation of Fascism and Nazi aggression and expressed its conviction that peace and freedom can only be established and preserved by an extension of democracy to all colonial countries and by the application of the principle of self-determination to them so as to eliminate imperialist control. It declared that "Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of all minorities to which the Congress has always pledged itself." In particular India must be declared an Independent nation, and at present application must be given to this status to the largest possible extent. The A. I. C. C. earnestly trusted that this declaration will be made by the British Government in any statement that it may make in regard to its war and peace aims.

The Viceroy before answering the specific questions in the Working Committee's statement referred to the "so many different points of view revealed, marked differences of outlook, markedly different demands, and markedly different solutions, for the problems that lie before us".

The declaration then sought to throw some light on the following matters : (i) objectives of His Majesty's Government in the war ; (ii) intention of the British Government with regard to the future of India and (iii) closer association of the Indian opinion with the prosecution of the war.

(i)—As to the objectives of the war, the Viceroy while ruling out of question a precise definition of war aims and peace aims in the changing situation of the world, referred to the general aims as declared by the Prime Minister : "We are

seeking no material advantage for ourselves...We, like all the peoples of Europe, long for peace ; but it must be a real and settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted by constant alarms and threats." Where did India come in all this ?

(ii)—For the second question, the question of India's future, the Viceroy referred to the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919. As a generous step to this goal "His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future Federal Government of India, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate... At the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several *communities*, *parties* and *interests* in India, and with the *Indian Princes* with a view to securing their aid and cooperation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable."

(iii)—As for India's active association with the prosecution of the war, the Viceroy suggested the establishment of a Consultative Group, representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes, over which the Governor General would himself preside which would be summoned at his invitation and which would have as its object the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of war and with questions relating to war activities.

The Declaration was so complete a denial of all that the Working Committee asked for and hoped for in their statement that Gandhiji was constrained to declare : "the Congress had asked for bread and was given a stone". It was condemned by even non-Congress circles as lacking in understanding and imagination. It looked as if the 52 interviews had been arranged with a view to emphasising differences.

The Working Committee which met at Wardha on October 22, considered the Viceregal declaration. They passed a resolution recording their opinion that the Viceregal statement was wholly unsatisfactory and calculated to rouse resentment among all those who were anxious to gain and are intent upon gaining India's independence. The Committee regarded the mention of internal differences as a screen to hide the true intention of Great Britain. What the Committee had asked for was a declaration of war aims as a test of British bonafides regarding India, irrespective of the attitude of opposition parties and groups. "The Congress had always stood for the rights of minorities. The freedom the Congress claimed was not for the Congress or any particular group or community but for the nation and for all communities in India that go to build that nation. In the circumstances, the Congress cannot possibly give any support to Great Britain for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialist policy which the Congress has always sought to end. As a first step in this direction the Committee call upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations."

The Committee also appealed to the nation to end all internal controversies in the hour of a grave crisis and act unitedly in the cause of India's freedom. It called upon all Congress Committees and Congressmen to be prepared for all eventualities.

Soon the Congress Ministers resigned. Their resignation changed the political situation in the country. It proclaimed the dissociation of political India from the imperialistic policies of Great Britain specially with the war that was going on in Europe. It was a big step towards non-cooperation. India withdrew her conditional moral support from the struggle Britain was waging against Hitler. The provincial part of the Government of India Act—the Federal part was still-born—was now dead beyond possibility of resurrection.

The resignation of the ministries demonstrated to all those who had any doubts that Congress was not out for power and office but for the emancipation of the people of India from foreign yoke. The ministries had done good work. Several reforms measures for the amelioration of the condition of the masses were pending before provincial assemblies. With their resignation these measures had little chance of being enacted. There was also the danger of the good already done being undone. But the Congress rose to its revolutionary height. It refused to allow small ameliorative reforms to stand in the way of the march of the country to its goal of Purna Swaraj.

The situation created by the resolution of the Working Committee and the resignation of the Congress ministries was not such as could be relished by the British Government. A sullen, discontented, rebel India was poor propaganda against Hitler. It introduced to mockery all the fine phrases about peace and democracy used by British statesmen.

To retrieve the position the Secretary of State for India and Sir Samuel Hoare spoke in the house of Parliament. They employed sweeter language but in effect said the same things that had been badly said by the Viceroy. As a result of these statements the Viceroy called Gandhiji, the Congress President and Mr. Jinnah for a joint interview. He told the visitors that he was prepared to modify his previous statement to the extent that instead of an advisory committee for the conduct of war, his Government were prepared to expand the Executive Council of the Viceroy and find in it place for some popular leaders, on condition that the Congress would come to an agreement with Mr. Jinnah not only about the proposed changes in the Central Executive but also about the Government in the Provinces. Babu Rajendra Prasad, on behalf of the Congress, made it clear to the Viceroy that it was not possible for Congress to co-operate unless the policy of the British Government was made clear on the lines suggested by the Congress. He added "It has pained us to find the communal question dragged in this connection. It has clouded the issue. It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Congress that it is our earnest desire to settle the points of communal controversy by agreement and we propose to continue our efforts to this end. But I would point out that this question does not in any respect come in the way of a declaration of Indian freedom as suggested above."

The deadlock therefore continued. The Working Committee which met in Allahabad on November, 19 to 23, 1939 approved of and endorsed the reply of the Congress President to the Viceroy. It said, "The Congress has looked upon the War crisis and the problem it raises as essentially a moral issue and has not sought to profit by it in any spirit of bargaining." The Committee declared again that the recognition of Indian independence and of the right of her people to frame their constitution through a Constituent Assembly was essential in order to remove the taint of imperialism from Britain's policy and to enable the Congress to consider further cooperation. "The Assembly could frame a constitution in which the rights of accepted minorities would be protected to their satisfaction and in the event of some matters relating to minority rights not being mutually agreed to, they can be referred to arbitration." The Constituent Assembly should be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, existing separate electorates being retained for such minorities as desired them. The number of members in the Assembly should reflect the numerical strength of the country. The answer to this demand had been entirely unsatisfactory. The plea of communal differences advanced in justification of this refusal was only an attempt to befog the moral issue. The Minorities did not oppose India's right to freedom and Independence. As for the Indian Princes, they were the creation of the Paramount Power and identical with it. It is the people of the Indian States which should have a determining voice in the shaping of a free India.

The policy of non-co-operation was therefore to continue and must continue until the British Government revised its policy and accepted the Congress contention. But "it is inherent in every form of Satyagraha that no effort is spared to achieve an honourable settlement with the opponent." The Working Committee therefore kept the door open and affirmed that all attempts to coerce the people of India along paths which were not of their choice would be resisted non-violently.

The Working Committee expressed gratification "at the readiness exhibited by Congressmen for the launching of Civil Disobedience should this become necessary." But civil disobedience required perfect discipline. Also a non-violent army must be possessed of the essentials of non-violence. The true test of preparedness lay in Congressmen carrying out the constructive programme especially spinning and promoting the cause of Khadi to the exclusion of Mill cloth, promoting communal harmony by personal acts of service and the up-lift of Harijans.

Communal Problem

Efforts made in 1938 to solve the Hindu Muslim problem—the voluminous correspondence that passed between Pandit Nehru with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League, the subsequent talks between the latter on the one hand and Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Subhas Chandra Bose on the other—proved abortive. Mr. Jinnah insisted that an essential precondition to any agreement between the two organisations was the recognition by the Congress that the Muslim League was the sole, authoritative and representative political organisation of the Mussalmans of India. The Congress on the other hand was the representative organisation of the Hindus and was to negotiate with the League on their behalf. Such a position is not true to facts and Congress could not accept it, forgetting its

own national character and repudiating its past history and the many Muslims within the Congress fold and several Muslim organisations representative of large sections among Muslims, as the Shias and the Momins, who repudiate the leadership of the League.

In their resolutions, on the platform, and in the press, the Muslim League carried on a regular propaganda against the Congress, especially the Congress Government in the 8 Provinces. The latter were accused of a set design to establish Hindu Raj and crush the culture and religion of the Mussalmans of India and annihilate their political and economic rights. The accusers were repeatedly challenged to produce instances of the communal tyranny and domination. Vague and indefinite allegations, one-sided stories, distortions and exaggerations were the only answer given to this challenge. Singing of Vande Matram, flying of the national flag on public institutions, popularisation of Hindustani and such like activities were instanced as attempts to crush Muslim culture. These activities were nothing new. The national flag had ever since 1921, been the symbol of national solidarity and oppositions to foreign rule. It was not in opposition to Islam. *Bande Matram* had come to be the national song by historical associations since the early years of the present century and had been in vogue ever since the partition. The Muslim agitation against it was a new phenomenon. Here too the Congress authorised only that portion of it to be sung to which no possible objection could be raised. The common language, the Congress advocated, was Hindustani as popularly spoken in Northern India and written either in the Nagri or the Urdu script. All these activities were old but the League opposition to them was new. Yet everywhere, where there was opposition, Congressmen and Congress Governments avoided conflict.

The Council of the Muslim League appointed a special Committee to collect all such and other vague charges against the Congress Governments. A report was produced popularly known as the Pirpur report. Shortly afterwards Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee directed the Congress Ministries to enquire into each allegation and submit a report. The Congress Governments issued communiques giving detailed replies to these charges proving their baselessness. But despite the denials there was no abatement in the Muslim League propaganda. The incessant circulation of vague and disproved charges of a very serious nature roused passions and embittered relations between the two Communities.

The declaration of War in Europe in September and the crisis arising therefrom in India, served to lend increased importance to the communal problem and bring it into special prominence in political discussions relating to war-issues. It was recognised by Congress leaders that in a crisis like the present it was essential that India should present a united front and compose all her internal differences. To this end the Working Committee which met at Wardha in September last to consider the situation, telegraphically invited Mr. M. A. Jinnah to join in the discussions and help to evolve an agreed decision on the critical situation facing the country. Mr. Jinnah however could not come.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League which met in Delhi a little after, passed a resolution on the War-crisis which repeated the charges against Congress Government in the Provinces. It was stated that autonomy in these Provinces had resulted in the domination of the Hindus over the Muslim minorities whose life and liberty, property and honour were being assailed every day. Babu Rajendra Prasad, the President, wrote to Mr. Jinnah that these charges were wholly unfounded and based on one-sided reports that might have reached the League. The Governments concerned had carefully gone into these allegations and denied them. If the charges were persisted in, it was but fair that they should be inquired into and either substantiated or disproved. The Congress President suggested that if he (Mr. M. A. Jinnah) agreed, Sir M. Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court might be requested to go into the matter. In the event of his not being available some other person of similar standing might be approached. To this Mr. Jinnah replied that he had placed the whole case before the Viceroy and had requested him to take up the matter without delay as he and the Governors of the Provinces had been expressly charged under the Constitution with the responsibility of protecting the rights and the interests of the minorities.

There was no indication that the Viceroy was contemplating an enquiry in the charges. The atmosphere of tension was however kept up through wide circulation of these unproved charges and the war-crisis was utilised by interested parties to further accentuate the situation. We have dealt elsewhere in this report

with the war-crisis. The crisis as it affected India was political and the war-aims which the Working Committee called upon the British Government to declare, had nothing to do with the communal problem. The British Government however was not slow to take advantage of internal quarrels. To avoid this being done to the detriment of the country, Pandit Jawaharlal resumed personal contacts with Mr. Jinnah. The communal problem apart, the Working Committee was anxious to evolve a common approach to the political issues connected with the war-crisis. Pandit Nehru's talks with Mr. Jinnah however did not lead to desired result. The communal problem was not discussed at all in these talks. Mr. Jinnah wanted to postpone it for a later date in Bombay. Pandit Nehru expressed to resume talks whenever and wherever it suited Mr. Jinnah.

It was expected that with the resignation of Congress Ministries the communal tension would decrease and favourable atmosphere created for efforts to compose all internal differences. The resolution passed by the Working Committee emphasised that the freedom that the Congress contemplated for the country included the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities to which the Congress had always pledged itself. They also emphasised that the easiest method of arriving at a solution of the communal problem was provided by demand for a Constituent Assembly. It would represent the various parties and interests in the country according to their exact numerical strength and set at rest the otherwise interminable controversies with regard to the representative character of this or that organisation. Muslims would have representation on it to the full extent of their numerical strength in the country, through separate electorate, if they so desired. Seats may be reserved for other accepted minorities. It would be the special responsibility of the Constituent Assembly to frame safeguards to the satisfaction of the minorities Matters whereon agreement was not possible would be referred to a previously agreed Tribunal. The settling of details was an easy matter if once the proposition that all communities desired independence, with a Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly, was accepted. This was the most democratic method conceivable in the circumstances for arriving at an agreed solution

While the Congress was popularising the idea of the Constituent Assembly and the country was looking forward to the resumption of talks between Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the latter sprang a surprise on the country in the shape of 'Deliverance Day' to be observed by the Mussalmans of India on Friday December 22, 1939. Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Mussalmans to observe this day as one of thanksgiving that the Congress Governments had at last ceased to function. Meetings were to be held to celebrate the 'Day of Deliverance' from 'tyranny', oppression and injustice during the last two and a half years when the Congress ministries, it was alleged, did their best to flout the Muslim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture, and interfered with their religious and social life and trampled upon their political and economic rights. While the ministries were condemned, the Governors were asked to inquire into the alleged charges and grant redress.

The 'Deliverance Day' coming as it did on the eve of Nehru-Jinnah talks and at a time when the country was passing through a serious political crisis took the country by surprise. Gandhiji in a statement to the press addressed an earnest appeal to Mr. Jinnah to call off the 'Deliverance Day'. Mr. Jinnah, argued Gandhiji, had taken upon his shoulders the tremendous responsibility of being both the accuser and the judge. On the one hand, the Governors were requested to examine the allegations and, on the other hand, the vast mass of Mussalmans were asked to cite the allegations before God as if they were proved facts and on that account to thank Almighty for deliverance. Would it not be right and proper to wait for the Governors' opinion before the Deliverance Day was observed ? Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, in a statement to the press, repudiated the unfounded allegations made by Mr. Jinnah. He stated that when the Muslim League through the Pirpur Commmittee first made the charges against the Congress Ministries, he instructed them to inquire into each allegation and submit a report. These reports showed that the charges were entirely unfounded Some months later, Dr. Rajendra Prosad, the Congress President, offered to submit the charges, if specified, to an independent tribunal for inquiry, but Mr. Jinnah spurned the offer, stating that he had placed the charges before the Viceroy. When Mr. Jinnah had repeated the charges, Sardar Vallabhbhai had instructed every Premier to invite his Governor's attention to them as they were also affected by the charges, and he was informed that the Governors

considered the charges as unwarranted. He was therefore constrained to characterise the charges as wild, reckless and intended to endanger communal peace. The repetition of the unproved charges was the more deplorable in that Pandit Jawaharlal and Mr. Jinnah were about to meet to explore the possibilities of a communal settlement.

The chorus of disapproval coming even from Muslims made Mr. Jinnah to change his position. He said that he had no quarrel with the Hindu Community. The Deliverance Day was to be observed by minorities who had all been oppressed by the Congress Government. All along Congress had been identified by him with the Hindu Community, and Congress rule as Hindu rule Mr. Jinnah by widening the scope of the Deliverance Day tacitly admitted that Congress, whatever it may be, is not a Hindu organisation. As a matter of fact if the Congress as a national organisation with a political and economic programme had not participated in the provincial elections there would have been only denominational representatives in the Assemblies. The Congress saved the country from this catastrophe.

The statement of Mr. Jinnah about the celebration of 'Deliverance Day' created an embarrassing situation for Pandit Jawaharlal who was to resume talks with him in Bombay. The statement revealed a wide gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League with regard to the vital political issues facing the country. Also the distrust of Mr. Jinnah was so deep as to make all unity talks useless. Pandit Jawaharlal wrote to Mr. Jinnah to this effect and asked if there was some common ground for discussions to yield fruit. Mr. Jinnah replied that no common ground was possible first 'so long as the Congress is not prepared to treat the Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India", and second "that we, (the League,) cannot endorse the Congress demand for the declaration as laid down in the resolution of the Working Committee, confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee on October 10, 1939". The preliminary condition emphasised by Mr. Jinnah involved repudiation by the Congress of all those Muslims who are not in the League. "There were" replied Pandit Nehru "a large number of Muslims in the Congress, who have been and are our closest colleagues. There are Muslim organisations like the Jamiat-Ul-Ulema, the All India Shia Conference, the Majlis-i--Ahrar, the All India Momin Conference, etc., apart from trade unions which have many Muslims as their members. As a general rule, many of these organisations and individuals have adopted the same political platform as we have done in the Congress. We cannot possibly dissociate ourselves from them or disown them in any way."

In these circumstances and with this back-ground the talks were dropped. As in 1938 so also now, it was not made known to the Congress what precisely the demands of the Muslim League were. The communal problem remained enmeshed in the fog of irrelevant and impossible "conditions precedent".

Bengal Dispute

We have in an earlier section of the report related the events leading to the disciplinary action taken against Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Bengal P. C. C. We give here the history of the subsequent events in Bengal.

A requisition meeting was called on July 26, 1939 of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee at which the then existing Executive Council was dissolved and a new Executive Council including office-bearers was elected. Soon afterwards this Executive Council constituted an Election Tribunal for the province. Complaints were received by the A. I. C. C. Office from several members of the old Executive that the requisition meeting of July 26, 1939, was invalid because (1) there was not sufficient notice for the meeting as required under the rules and the constitution of the Bengal P. C. C., (2) that the meeting and its proceedings were malafide as they were meant to circumvent the constitution passed by the A. I. C. C. at Bombay regarding the formation of the Tribunal, (3) that the persons appointed as members of the Tribunal were not impartial and their appointment defeated the purpose of the constitution. The Working Committee which met at Wardha in August last went fully into the matter and authorised the President to review the whole case and write the judgment.

The President in his judgment reviewed in brief the sequence of events prior to the requisitioned meeting of the Bengal P. C. C. on July 26. Sri Subhas Chandra Bose was unanimously elected as the president of the Bengal P. C. C. as the result of a compromise on the part of the various groups within the P. C. C. According to the compromise the Bengal President was to nominate the executive council within a week of the meeting and in consultation with the group leaders.

The president of the Bengal P. C. C. however made the nominations to the executive out of time and without consulting the leaders of the minority groups. To this objection was raised by the opposition leaders. In the meantime a fresh dispute arose in connection with the appointment of the Election Tribunal, as provided for in the recently amended All India Constitution. The Working Committee had fixed July 31, 1939 as the last date for the appointment of the Provincial Tribunal. The A. I. C. C. Office and the President received complaints that although the constitution as amended in Bombay had come into force, Provincial and District Tribunals had not been constituted in Bengal to deal with the election disputes. Instead they were being dealt with in the old way. The President as also the General Secretary instructed the P. C. C. to appoint the Tribunal in conformity with the rules of the constitution as amended at Bombay and refer the election complaints to them. The appointment of the Provincial election Tribunal however required at least a three-fourths majority of the provincial executive. This majority was not available to the President in the Executive Council of Bengal P. C. C. It was therefore thought necessary to get over this difficulty by dissolving the old Executive and appointing a new Executive in which the necessary majority for the appointment of the Tribunal may be available. A meeting of the P. C. C. was requisitioned to elect a new Executive. The meeting as requisitioned was convened ; a new executive consisting of the supporters of the President was elected. This executive appointed the Tribunal in terms of the amended constitution. The opposition alleged that the new Executive was not properly elected in as much as the requisition for the P. C. C. meeting was not signed by the requisite number of members, that notices were not duly received by several members and that seven day's clear notice was not given by post or published in the newspaper as required by the rules of the Provincial constitution. These allegations were found substantially correct. The following extract from the President's judgment sums up the case :

When it is sought to dissolve the Executive Council which had been formed by the President under the authority of the Provincial Congress Committee, without assigning any reason in the notice and assigning different reasons according to the varying inclinations of requisitionists, after it has been allowed to function in spite of protests, when the motive behind this move is at least open to suspicion and the dissolution and reconstitution of the Council result in excluding a number of members belonging to the minority group reducing them to much less than one-fourth and thus making the appointment of the Election Tribunal in accordance with the wishes of the majority without regard to the opinion of the minority possible, when the letter of requisition itself has no endorsement to show when it was presented and when its inspection was not available to members, it is necessary to scrutinise the whole thing carefully and insist upon a strict compliance with the rules of the Bengal P. C. C. This has not been done and the meeting of July 26. 1939 was invalid for want of sufficient and proper notice under the rules. Its proceedings are therefore declared null and void. The old Executive Council continues. The proceedings of the new Executive Council held on July 30 and the appointment of Election Tribunal are equally null and void."

A meeting of the Bengal P. C. C. held on August 30, 1939 reviewed the two decisions of the Working Committee—one relating to the disciplinary action which was taken against its president and another declaring null and void the proceedings of the meeting of the Bengal P. C. C. held on July 26, 1939 and the appointment of the Provincial Tribunal. The long resolution it passed about these two matters that "This Committee desires to make it clear that if it were to act in consonance with the opinion of the general public it should forthwith take the extreme step of defying the above two decisions of the Working Committee and such action would be enthusiastically received by the public of the province." The Committee also expressed its opinion on a variety of matters wholly unconnected with the points at issue. It questioned the validity of the Working Committee itself. It reaffirmed its faith in the Executive Council and the Election Tribunal declared null and void by the decision of the Working Committee. It hoped that "even at this stage the Working Committee will reconsider and rescind the above two decisions." It further resolved that "pending the final decision of the Working Committee the post of the President of the Bengal P. C. C. be kept vacant and all the business of the B. P. C. C. be transacted in consultation with Shri Subhas Chandra Bose".

The Working Committee which met at Wardha in September 1939

considered this resolution of the Bengal P. C. C. It noted with regret that not only the tone and temper of the resolution but also its contents are objectionable in the extreme, wholly unbecoming of a provincial committee in its relations to the Working Committee and such as would entitle this committee to take serious notice of them." The Committee decided that it saw no reason to revise its decisions which were taken solely in the interests of the Congress organisation. It therefore called upon the Bengal P. C. C. to give effect to the two resolutions of the Working Committee and elect a president for the P. C. C.

The Bengal P. C. C. having failed to appoint the Tribunal in terms of the Congress constitution, the duty of appointing one devolved on the Working Committee. The President proposed to the Secretary of the Bengal P. C. C. that if he could suggest names to which all groups would be agreeable he would advise the Working Committee to nominate them as members of the Tribunal. The Secretary however could give no agreed list. The Working Committee was therefore constrained to appoint a tribunal in terms of the constitution consisting of the following members : (1) Shri Satishchandra Gupta, (2) Shri Kshitish Prasad Chatterjee, (3) Shri Priyaranjan Sen.

The Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee at an emergent meeting adopted certain resolutions by which it again, in intemperate language, condemned the decisions of the Working Committee about Bengal and demanded their reconsideration and withdrawal. In the meantime, complaints had been received by the President about the non-cooperation of the B. P. C C. officials with the Tribunal whose appointment had been disapproved of by the B. P. C. C. Executive in one of its resolutions. In particular, the President had directed the B. P. C. C. Secretary to carry out in the Rajshahi dispute the interim order of the Tribunal pending final disposal of the dispute by the Tribunal. The Executive had also been instructed to act up to the provision of their constitution requiring that all monies belonging to the B. P. C. C. be deposited in the bank in the name of the Treasurer of the B. P. C. C. These instructions had not been carried out.

The Working Committee considered the resolutions of the B. P. C. C. Executive and noted with regret "that the tone and temper of some of these resolutions are highly objectionable and wholly unbecoming of a provincial committee in its relations to the Working Committee and to record the warning that if persisted in, the Working Committee, will feel compelled to take notice of the same." The Working Committee also had received certain complaints regarding acts and omissions of the Bengal Provincial Executive. The Working Committee noted that the Bengal Executive Council had not been following sections 38 and 39 of the Bengal P. C. C. constitution requiring that all moneys realised for the Bengal P. C. C. shall be deposited in the Bank through the Treasurer and all withdrawals to be made by cheques issued under the joint signatures of the President or Secretary and the Treasurer and that the Secretary may keep with him up to Rs. 100 as imprest cash. The Secretary of the Bengal P. C. C. was asked to submit without delay to the A. I. C. C. Office copies of the audit report for the year 1937 and 1938. The Working Committee also in compliance with the article XX (d) of the constitution deputed the auditors of the A. I. C. C. to audit the accounts of the Bengal P. C. C. for the years 1937-38 and 1939 up to October 31 and all other special funds connected with the B. P. C. C. and to submit their report before the next meeting of the Working Committee. The executive of the B. P. C. C. were directed to render full cooperation to the auditors.

The Working Committee further regretted that inspite of their resolution on the subject the Bengal Executive Council passed a resolution requesting the Leader of the Bengal Legislative Party to hand over the A. I. C. C. fund formed out of the contributions of the Congress legislators in Bengal to the B. P. C. C. The Working Committee requested the Leader of the Bengal Congress Legislative Party to transfer the amount of this fund to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

The Working Committee reaffirmed the appointment of the Election Tribunal for Bengal. It disapproved of the resolution of the Bengal Executive relating to the Tribunal which the Working Committee was compelled to appoint in terms of the Congress constitution. The persons constituting the Tribunal were, in the opinion of the Working Committee, not connected with any party and could deal with the disputes in a detached and impartial manner.

The Working Committee regretted the action of the Secretary of the Bengal P. C. C. in countermanding the interim order of the Provincial Election Tribunal and directing the subordinate Committees through the press to act in contravention of the orders of the Tribunal. The Committee called upon the Secretary to formally withdraw the same and publish the fact of such withdrawal in the press.

The Executive Council of the B. P. C. C. while it elected a new president of the B. P. C. C. on the advice of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose deplored the decision of the Working Committee regarding the Election Tribunal appointed by the Working Committee and expressed its complete want of confidence in it. The Secretary of the B. P. C. C. also failed to carry out the specific direction given to him about Rajshahi by the Working Committee. Unable to function in the absence of cooperation from the B. P. C. C. the members of the Tribunal tendered their resignations.

The Working Committee in its meeting deplored this state of things in Bengal, and said that the situation called for drastic action under Article XIII C (ii) but they refrained from such action in view of the approaching elections. But it was necessary to take steps to ensure fair election. To this end the Working Committee appointed an *ad hoq* committee with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as Chairman to make all necessary arrangements in connection with elections of delegates to the next Congress and Congress Committees in the province. The B. P. C. C. and others concerned were directed to give cooperation to this *ad hoc* committee.

The Working Committee requested the members of the Election Tribunal to withdraw their resignations.

The Working Committee considered the audit report submitted by Messrs. S. R. Batliboi & Co. Incorporated Accountants, Calcutta, appointed by them to go into the B. P. C. C. accounts. The auditors received but partial cooperation from the B. P. C. C. officials. From the facts as disclosed in the report, it appeared as the Working Committee resolution stated that the Secretary of the B. P C. C. had failed to put its funds in a bank as he was bound to do. It was quite clear that the Secretary was not in a position to produce the whole or any part of the balance of the funds, admitted by him to be with him on that day and that a sum amounting to Rs. 10,371-3-7 was not produced nor banked by the Secretary up to December 13, 1939 on which date and long prior thereto the whole of that money ought to have been at least ready for production if not already banked. Besides this, the state of affairs as disclosed by the audit showed that books, papers and vouchers were not regularly kept.

The Working Committee considered this state of things to be extremely unsatisfactory. It was greatly detrimental to the prestige of the B. P. C. C. that a large cash balance which at the lowest computation came to over ten thousand rupees should remain unbanked and otherwise unaccounted for. The Committee desired the Secretary and Treasurer to take immediate steps to keep proper accounts and see that monies are disbursed in strict accordance with the rules of B. P. C. C.

The Executive Council of the Bengal P. C. C. considered the resolution of the Working Committee appointing an *ad hoc* committee for conducting elections in Bengal. The Council characterised the appointment as "unconstitutional, *ultra vires* and exparte, besides being high-handed and unwarranted." The Council declined to accept the decision of the Working Committee and resolved to continue functioning in accordance with the constitution of the Congress and B. P. C. C. The Council also resolved as an emergency measure to place Rs. 10,000 in the hands of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose to execute the present and future programme of the B. P. C. C. This grant practically exhausted the cash balance in the bank to the credit of B. P. C. C. This amount consists of the provincial share of the proceeds of primary membership which should be and is ordinarily used by the new P. C. C.

The Secretary of the B. P. C. C. issued a circular to the district committees asking them not to recognise the *ad hoc* committee and continue to deal with the B. P. C. C.

The Bengal P. C. C. which met afterwards to consider the situation recorded its protest against the appointment of the *ad hoc* committee but at the same time "earnestly requested the Working Committee to reconsider their resolution and not to foist their unwanted *ad hoc* committee on Bengal congressmen. It however took no account of the resolution of its Executive Council refusing to accept the *ad hoc* committee and the Secretary's circular to all subordinate committees asking them

to disobey the Working Committee resolution and not to cooperate with the *ad hoc* committee. On the other hand the resolution "recorded its full confidence in the present executive council, the President, Secretary and office-bearers of the committee and requests them to deal with the situation as it arose." It requested its President and Shri Sarat Chandra Bose to represent its case at the next meeting of the Working Committee.

The Working Committee at their meeting considered the resolution of the B. P. C. C. and its Executive. It heard Shri Sarat Chandra Bose at length and decided not to alter previous resolutions. The Executive Council of Bengal has since reiterated its determination to disregard and disobey the resolution of the Working Committee and has called upon the subordinate Committees not to co operate with the *ad hoc* Election Committee appointed by the Working Committee. Elections are however being organised by the Committee and many districts and other committees are cooperating with the Election Committee. It is unfortunate that on account of this controversy and attitude of non-cooperation and defiance of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and its Executive Council, the elections could not be completed in time to enable the Bengal delegates to participate in the Presidential election. It is hoped, however, that the elections will be completed in time for the meetings of All India Congress Committee on the eve of the Congress and that the delegates representing most of the districts will join the Congress.

It has been stated that the Election Tribunal appointed by the Working Committee had resigned. The Working Committee appointed another Tribunal in its place consisting of Shri Atul Chandra Gupta as Chairman and Shris Birendra Kumar De and Bhupendra Kumar Bose as members and they have been functioning since their appointment.

In spite of the clear and open defiance by the Executive Council, the Working Committee did not consider it necessary to take any further action in view of the forthcoming elections. However on February 27, the Council of the Bengal P. C. C. passed a resolution disaffiliating the Mymensing, Hoogly and Jessore District Congress Committees for cooperating with the Bengal Congress Election Committee appointed by the Working Committee. This constituted not only defiance of the Working Committee orders but it was an incitement to all subordinate committees in Bengal to defy the instructions of a body superior in jurisdiction to the Bengal P. C. C. If the work of election had to go on smoothly, subordinate committees that were cooperating with the Election Committee needed protection. The Working Committee at their meeting of February 27 was therefore constrained to pass the following resolution :

"The Working Committee understand that the Bengal P. C. C. has passed a resolution purporting to disaffiliate the Mymensing, Hooghli and the Jessore district Congress Committees on account of their cooperation with the Congress Election Committee appointed by the Working Committee by its resolution of Dec. last. The resolution of the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee coming as it does after a series of acts of defiance of the Working Committee leaves no room for any further condonation of their indiscipline. The Working Committee, therefore, calls upon the Bengal P. C. C. to show cause why it should not be disaffiliated under Article XIII of the Congress Constitution. The President is authorised after receiving such explanation as may be offered to take action thereon and, if satisfied, to pass orders withdrawing all recognition from the present Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and further authorises him to take such further action as may be necessary in consequence thereof for carrying on the Congress work in that province.

"The District Congress Committees of Mymensingh, Hoogly and Jessore and all other district committees in Bengal are hereby informed that all actions taken by the Bengal P. C. C. or its Executive Council for disaffiliating and otherwise interfering with their loyalty to the resolutions and directions of the Working Commitee are null and void and shall have no effect.

"Pending final orders by the President after receipt of any explanation that the Bengal P. C. C. or its Executive Council offers, the Bengal P. C. C. and its Executive Council are suspended and their powers shall be exercised by the aforementioned Election Committee."

Affairs in Indian States

The year 1938 saw the rapid growth of political consciousness in Indian States. The movement for civil liberties and self-government spread over all the States, big and small. The princes naturally looked upon this with suspicion and

hostility. They suppressed the movement with violence. In some States where the movement was too strong for suppression an attempt was made to come to terms. It was however soon discovered that this was only a device to gain time. The rulers in their effort to combat the reform movement, like their British masters, did not hesitate to foment communal passions. In some places as in Limbdi the criminal elements were encouraged to harass the reformers.

The enthusiasm in some States owing to the nature and extent of repression could not be always confined to non-violent means. In a few places there was some violence. The leaders were new to the technique of satyagrah. Violence gave the authorities opportunity for severe repression. The people were not trained to the sacrifices necessary for a prolonged struggle. In smaller States, where the repression was most inhuman, the population was too small to keep up the fight for long. Help from outside could not do much. It was, therefore, felt that if the tempo of the movement was not regulated, there would be reaction and demoralisation. Gandhiji sensed the danger. He therefore advised suspension of civil disobedience in several States, and asked the people to concentrate on the constructive programme to prepare themselves better for a future fight.

The paramount power looked not only unconcerned while all this repression was going on, but rendered help by means of troops wherever the demand was made for them. It affords protection to the States without insisting upon justice being done to the people of the States. Whenever it is the question of its own interest and the prestige of its political department there is no hesitation to interfere. Rulers have been dethroned and exiled for reasons best known to the Political Department. The ostensible reason is misgovernment. But misgovernment only means failure to carry out the will of the political department or any of its officers. Real misgovernment is not the concern of the paramount power. It tolerates mediaeval barbarism. In British India the princes are used like minorities for frustrating Indian aspirations. They are one of the minorities and are the special charge of the paramount power. They were introduced in the proposed Federation to defeat the will of the Indian people to freedom. The Federation has disappeared from the stage but the war has come in to fill the gap. The princes protest at the top of their voices their loyalty to the paramount power and their love for liberty and democracy. They have been vying with each other in the expression of their identification with the British empire. They have placed all their resources at the disposal of the crown. They all are in alliance with the so-called democratic powers and against Hitlerism which they claim to hate except in their own little territory. Neither the British Government nor the princes see the humour of the situation. Self interest, however it may laugh in private, keeps up appearances in public. The Viceroy goes about commending this loyalty as if it were the free expression of normal, healthy individuals who love things that are good and beautiful and hate injustice, tyranny and oppression. The princes are the creatures of the present order and they know they have no existence apart from it. With it they sink or swim. The paramount power recognises their utility as that of the minorities in India to show to a doubting world that India needs England and is behind it. They must have their reward. The power that keeps alive the tyranny of these princes stands self-condemned. However mistaken be the ideas of Hitler, he labours and works for what he wrongly considers to be the good of his people. For whose good does the princely order exist and whom does it represent, whom does it benefit? England by identifying itself with the cause of autocracy in the States only shows that in India it occupies the same position as the princes and therefore there is natural fraternisation. The princes are useful to Britain; Britain is useful to them.

We give below the course of events in some of the Indian States:

In Travancore

Travancore is supposed to be one of the most advanced and progressive States in India. It has as its Diwan, Sir P. C. Ramaswami Iyer, once a nationalist. And yet, the policy adopted by the Travancore Administration towards the movement for responsible government in the State has been reactionary in the extreme. In 1938 the State Congress was goaded into a campaign of civil resistance against a series of arbitrary orders issued by the Travancore Government prohibiting meetings of the State Congress within the State. One of these orders declared the entire organisation of the State Congress illegal. The movement of civil resistance gained momentum as time passed. Repression including firing on unarmed crowds was resorted to. About 600 people were put behind prison bars. The Government

realised that the movement was too strong aud widespread for suppression. The 600 prisoners were unconditionally released and some sort of civil liberty established. But the iron hand of repression was not long in appearing again. The State Congress was a thorn in the side of the bureaucratic administration. In 1939 civil resistance was renewed. A general round-up followed. Just when Travancore was in the thick of the fight Gandhiji advised suspension. The Travancore Congress faithfully obeyed Gandhiji's advice. The halt was called to give the Diwan an opportunity to reconsider the situation created by his wrong policy and render justice to the State Congress. Correspondence was exchanged between the Diwan and the State Congress. The Diwan laid down impossible conditions for a settlement. All talk of responsible government was to cease and whatever constitutional reforms the Diwan might introduce must be preceded by an abandonment by the State Congress of any organised effort for responsible government.

When negotiations failed, the State Congress resumed its constructive activities and the Diwan his repressive policy. The Diwan's wrath was visited on several newspapers in the State. There was a fall in the number of journals which catered for the education of the public. A series of measures were adopted for breaking the prestige and power of the State Congress. A deputation waited on Gandhiji to acquaint him with the worsening situation in Travancore and obtain his advice. On a study of all the facts Gandhiji found himself unable to resist the demand for a renewal of the struggle. He however laid down his indispensable conditions of non-violence and discipline. The people are preparing themselves for a further struggle. The Diwan is using the plea of war in Europe for perpetuating and accentuating the policy of repression.

In Mysore :

The agreement arrived at in 1938 between the Diwan Sir Mirza Ismail and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Kripalaniji proved an uneasy truce. Promises made were not kept by the administration. The order of deportation passed against two Mysoreans on the plea that they were not Mysoreans was not withdrawn. The prohibition order passed under section 144 Cr. P. C. forbidding the public from holding any meeting in the Town Hall maidan in Mysore was not only not withdrawn but renewed on expiry. The final blow to the pact came when the Government refused to accept a substitute nominee of the Congress for a seat on the Reforms Committee. The gentleman holding the seat on behalf of the Congress resigned the membership of the Congress and thus disentitled himself to represent the Congress. The Government however refused to fill this seat by another nominee of the Congress. No reason was given for the refusal. These arbitrary acts of the administration were significant of the new mentality governing it. The State Congress was in no mood to acquiesce. Before however resuming the struggle they wanted to explore all means of avoiding it. The Congress sought interviews with the Diwan but there was no response from the latter. There was no way of ending this stalemate except through a resumption of the struggle. Fresh efforts for a rapprochement were however directed to be made by the Working Committee of the State Congress before launching civil resistance. 1st September 1939 was fixed as the time limit after the expiry of which they would be free to take an aggressive line of action. 1st of September came without the least response from the Government. The fight was launched. The repressive machinery of the State is now working in full swing. Gandhiji has again advised suspension and his advice has been accepted.

In Jaipur :

It will be recalled that Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, member of the Working Committee and President of the Jaipur Praja Mandal was arrested in February 1939 for defying an order prohibiting him from entry into Jaipur State. He was going there for famine relief and to preside over a meeting of the Praja Mandal which was not an illegal association. He was released in August after a harrassing detention of more than six months Soon after his release Jamnalalji engaged himself in exploring possibilities of a satisfactory settlement between the Jaipur Durbar and the Jaipur Praja Mandal. The Praja Mandal had launched a campaign of civil resistance for winning not responsible government but elementary civil liberties,—the liberty to pursue constructive activities and peaceful educative propaganda among the masses with a view to preparing them for responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja.

Shortly after the release of Shri Jamnalalji the Public Meetings and Procession Regulation Act was repealed. This was but a small concession and fell short of the popular demand. It however indicated the willingness of the authorities to end the tension and appease the people. Shri Jamnalalji therefore had a series of interviews with the Maharaja and pressed the popular demand with his accustomed patience The interviews yielded the desired settlement. The main terms of the settlement were (i) the release of political prisoners, (ii) the lifting of ban on all newspapers (iii) satisfactory amendment of the Public Societies Act so as to render unnecessary for a society to get itself registered.

The settlement was welcomed in all quarters in Jaipur as a fitting result of the quiet and dignified struggle of the people for civil liberties.

The latest news from Jaipur is however disturbing. The Praja Mandal is asked by the authorities to get itself registered. This is manifestly contrary to the Durbar-Praja Mandal Agreement. Negotiations are afoot for averting this breach of the agreement.

In Hyderabad

Hyderabad is a State with the largest population and the largest revenue. It is also, next to Kashmir, the largest State in point of territory. But politically it is among the most backward and reactionary States. The State takes particular care to prevent the entry of 'undesirable outsiders' into the State. Often the leading Indian papers are prohibited entry into the State territory.

The Arya Satyagrah which went on in Hyderabad for over a year had a successful ending. The Nizam Government conceded in substance the religious demands for which the Satyagrah was launched. The Satyagrah was withdrawn, but not before the satyagrahis had undergone the humiliations and miseries of a State jail. Several prisoner died in jail.

The Government also announced a scheme of so called reforms. The reforms are no advance over the existing system. The bulky report of the Reforms Committee has tried to prove the unsuitability of responsible and representative Government for the people of the State. The sovereignty, in other words, the autocracy of the Nizam has been affirmed and reaffirmed and every effort to detract from its absolute character is discountenanced. To give the reforms however a 'progressive' appearance a scheme is formulated for establishing panchayats in villages. The crux of the problem in Hyderabad today is that of civil liberties. They find no place anywhere in the 'Reforms.' The ban on the Hyderabad State Congress still continues.

In Orissa :

The Working Committee of Orissa People's Conference appointed a Committee of inquiry to go into the condition of affairs in various States in Orissa. The report submitted is a revealing document. The state of things disclosed is indescribably bad and is going from bad to worse. The princes of most of these States live a life of extravagance and self-indulgence. The liberty and property and life of their subjects are at their arbitrary disposal. The report details incredible tales of tyranny and vice. The princes with possibly one or two exceptions spend at least 50 per cent of the revenue on themselves, their family and their favourites. A considerable bulk of the remaining 50 per cent, if not the whole of it, is spent on persons employed for exacting taxes and practising extortions. Civil liberties are an unknown phenomenon. Public meetings are not permitted, newspapers are banned at will. Detentions without trial, summary punishment of inconvenient subjects, arbitrary confiscations of property, extortionate fines, beatings and torture are of frequent occurrence.

The people petitioned repeatedly to the agents of the Paramount power from whom the doings of the princes are not concealed, for relief, but with little success. The power that nurses the petty States fails to provide protection to the poor and oppressed people. If their doings were known to an average Englishman, he would hang his head in shame for his country. But Imperialism knows neither shame nor humanity. In sheer desperation the people took to civil resistance with its consequent woe and suffering. This was represented as active rebellion, British troops were called to assist the State forces in suppressing this rebellion. Several people were shot down in Dhenkanal, Gangpur and Ranpur. Unable to bear this repression a great exodus took place from these States. From 25 to 30 thousand people migrated into the province of Orissa. A demand supported by the British authority came from the rulers for the extradition of the leaders of the exodus. The Congress Government in Orissa refused to agree to this demand. At one time

a ministerial crisis was threatened. But the ministry resisted to the last the pressure from the Governor. Gangpur was another tragedy. A peaceful crowd was fired upon resulting in a great number of deaths. The popular demand for an inquiry was refused. The President of the States Peoples Conference appointed a Committee of Inquiry but the British agent refused permission to this Committee to enter the State concerned.

The British officials promised redress and reform. But nothing has yet been done or is likely to be done.

In Limbdi :

Limbdi is a small State in Kathiawad. It has a population of 40,000 and an average annual revenue of Rs. 9,00.000, The incidence of taxation per capita in this state is Rs. 22.5. as against Rs. 6.5 for India. Every conceivable article of commerce is a state monopoly. The reader can imagine the oppression practised in imposing the monopolies on an impoverished peasantry. When repeated entreaties and representations for relief failed the people under the guidance of the Praja Mandal had recourse to civil resistance. This was suppressed with frightful repression. The peasants were hunted out of their homes. The merchant class which formed the backbone of the movement came in for special attention. Their houses were allowed to be burnt and their property looted. When their life was made unbearable they performed Hijrat. Some people weakened under this terrible steamroller of repression but others held on and are in exile.

To make a show of concession to the popular demand, some reforms are announced. They are an eye-wash.

What has been narrated here is true of other States also, Details vary but the main outline is the same everywhere. Kashmir, States in the Punjab. Rajputana, Kathiawad, Karnatak, Central India and Simla States all tell the same tale of people awakening to the sub-human conditions of their existence, and mustering courage to live healthier and more normal lives and the same tale of repression, woe and suffering.

The All India States Peoples Conference met this year at Ludhiana under the Presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was a great success. It took stock of political awakening in States big and small. It passed a number of resolutions covering various aspects of the States problem. It welcomed the great awakening among the people of the States all over India and the progress made by them in their struggle for responsible government and establishment of civil liberty. It demanded the liquidation of the Indian States system. It expressed its appreciation of and gratitude to the National leaders, specially Mahatma Gandhi for the lead they had given in the struggles of the States peoples and the part they are taking in guiding these.

The Conference passed resolutions expressing its solidarity with the people in Kashmir Jammu, Rajkot, Mysore, Jaipur, Mewar and other States in their struggle for responsible government. It expressed its considered opinion that only those States which have a population exceeding 20 lakhs or revenue exceeding 50 lakhs could be units of a federated India. The rest of the States were to be suitably amalgamated.

It called upon the public workers to organise constructive work, particularly in the villages, such as spinning, weaving, prohibition, sanitation, communal unity, medical relief aud literacy etc. and through these services to secure the confidence of the masses.

In view of this awakening and the Congress policy with regard to it, the Conference resolved that the struggle in Indian States should be coordinated with the wider struggle for Indian Independence. It authorised the Standing Committee to take steps to this end. The standing committee of the All-India State's Peoples Conference adopted a resolution at Wardha authorising Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to represent the States Standing Committee before the Working Committee of Congress.

Congress Governments

The Congress Ministries resigned in the first week of October for reasons set forth in another part of the report. They functioned altogether for two years and some months. We give here a brief statement in figures of the benefits that have accrued to the people through the various legislative and executive measures undertaken by them while in office.

These benefits were not confined to any particular community but were

for the general mass of the people. In Bombay alone, the public, specially the poor, gained about seven crores annually from only 3 items, namely, prohibition, labour and land legislation. In addition to this the peasants gained about 40 crores owing to the Debt Redemption legislation. Other provinces show as great advantages accruing to the public from the policies followed by Congress Governments.

The figures given here are not exhaustive. They represent only a part of the benefits conferred by the Congress Governments. Their activities in the field of literacy, village uplift and social amelioration of the people have been as fruitful.

Madras

Item	Cash value of the benefit per annum. Rs.
Prohibition (Loss to the Government Rs. 65,00,000)	2,60,00,000
Land Revenue Remission 1938-39	71,40,00
Potentially estimated gain to Agricultural debtors. Debt Relief (The Agriculturists Relief Act,)	50,00,00,000
Arrears written off under the Agricultural Debt Relief Act.	300.00,000
Harijan uplift : 1937-38	8.35,600
1938-39	9,38,300
1939-40	10,05,130

Bombay

	Rs.
1. Prohibition : The Government losing Rs 180,00,000	5,00,00,000
2. As a result of the recommendations of the Textile Inquiry Committee adopted by the Congress Government	95,00,000
3. Amendment of the Land Revenue Code	30,00.000
4. Debt Redemption bill	30 to 40 crores of rupees (non-recurring).

United Provinces

Item	Rs.
Land Revenue : Remission in revenue	
(1) to Landlords	3.57,00,000
(2) to Tenants	10.71,00,000
Remission of Stayed Arrears Act	9,00,00,000
Prohibition	1,00,00,000
Sugar Cane Control :	
(1) 1938-39	2,00,00,000
(2) 1939-40	6,00,00,000

Orissa

1. Orissa Tenancy Act	4,00,000
2. The Madras Estates Land Act Amendment Bill (awaiting the Viceroy's assent)	10,00,000

3. Water rate in North Orissa under the Mahanadi system was reduced by 25 per cent as a permanent measure from 1938. The canal irrigation system is extended.
4. Grazing fee is reduced in all government forests by 50 per cent. New conveniences are made available in South Orissa.
5. Labour : The system of unpaid Labour and *rasad* abolished. The Orissa Moneylenders Act was passed by which, among other things, no moneylender could recover more than an equal amount of the principal as interest.
6. The Orissa Court fees Act was passed which reduces scales of court fees in South Orissa.
7. Prohibition of opium was introduced in the district of Balasore

Assam

1. The grant of from 25 per cent. to 31 per cent remission in the land revenue assessment for 1938-39 — 28,00,000 (non-recurriug)
2. Flood relief operations — 8,00,000
3. Education : An additional grant of — 2,80,000
4. 1939-40 Remission — 42,00,000
5. Prohibition : Total prohibition of opium was introduced in Dibrugarh and Sibsagarh subdivisions from April 15, 1939. The experiment was welcomed with enthusiasm. Many voluntary agencies sprang up to push forward the campaign. A large number of treatment centres and temporary hospitals were opened where the addicts were treated by trained doctors. About 10,000 registered and over 5000 unregistered addicts were cured of the opium habit. Loss of Revenue from the sale of opium is estimated at Rs. 4,50,000 and the cost of the campaign at Rs. 1,00,000

Bihar

Tenancy Legislation	Rs. 2,50,00,000
The Bihar Sugar Factories Control Act	1,50,00,000

(This year being an abnormal year, the peasantry will benefit to the extent of Rs. 2½ crores).

Prohibition. (Loss of Revenue Rs. 20 lakhs),	60,00,000

Debt legislation : Under the Bihar Money Lenders' Act maximum rates of interest have been fixed at 9 per cent p. a. in case of secured and 12 per cent p. a. in case of unsecured debts, subject to the proviso that in no case shall the interest paid exceed the principal.

Central Provinces

Relief in Land Taxes	Rs. 11,87,170
Textile Labour	5,00,000
Prohibition (The Government losing 9 lakhs)	27,00,000
Reduction in Grazing etc,	1,18,000
Irrigation rates	2,00,000
Debt Concilation up to March 1939	5,83,00,000

Observance of Days

A large number of 'Days' were observed during the year under report. The year began with the President Subhas Chandra Bose's appeal to observe 23rd April as anti-war Day. Meetings were held all over the country where resolutions were passed condemning the Amending Bill introduced in the British Parliament empowering the Central Government to act independently of the provincial Governments in the event of war emergency arising at any time, thus curtailing further the powers of the Provincial governments. The resolutions also affirmed India's resolve to non-violently resist any attempt involving India in such a war or to exploit India's man-power or natural resources for war purposes.

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 Jalianwala Bagh Day.

May 21 was observed as the Political Prisoners Day throughout the country in response to the President's appeal. At meetings held, speeches were made urging the release of political prisoners, especially in Bengal and the Punjab.

The country celebrated Gandhiji's seventy-first birthday with enthusiasm. A whole fortnight was devoted to the promotion of activities dear to Gandhiji, such as the propaganda and sale of Khadi. Large stocks of khadi were disposed of. Public meetings were held everywhere and the significance of Gandhiji's life, message and philosophy were explained to the public and congratulatory resolutions passed.

January 26th was observed, as every year, as the Independence Day. This year's celebrations had a special significance. To the usual independence pledge was added constructive programme which the nation has to carry out preparatory to the struggle ahead. The Working Committee allowed all those who

had any conscientious objection to pledge themselves to ply the charkha regularly, to refrain from repeating that part of the pledge.

The day, this year, was celebrated with special enthusiasm. It began with Prabhat Pheries followed by flag hoisting and flag salutation. In the evening there were huge processions terminating in public meetings where the full implications of the day and the pledge were explained to the audience. After that the pledge was administered by the Chairman of the meeting. There was no interference on the part of the Government and the day passed off peacefully. As usual members of all communities and classes participated in the celebrations. Our Muslim countrymen were as conspicuous by their presence as in other years in spite of the appeal of the League President to boycott the day.

53rd. Session—Ramgarh—19th. & 20th. March 1940

The Welcome Address

The following is the text of the Welcome Address delivered by Babu Rajendra Prosad as Chairman of the Reception Committee :—

It is a great good fortune of the province of Bihar that within its short life of 30 or 32 years it has got this third opportunity of making arrangements for a session of the Indian National Congress. I extend to you all a most cordial and enthusiastic welcome. I hope that now that you have taken the trouble of coming all the way to this place, you will not mind any inconvenience and discomfort that you may have to bear on account of shortcomings in our arrangements. Where you see the arrangements for the Congress today was only some months ago a jungle—a jungle of the same kind that you see standing some hundred or two hundred yards away from the pandal and on the fringes of Mazharpuri. It was no easy task to clear this jungle and to construct Mazharpuri and to arrange for supply of water and light to it. But all difficulties melted away in the presence of the enthusiasm of our workers and particularly of the engineering staff. The engineers could not have succeeded in their task, if all those who are connected with this province had not helped us with money and other workers and particularly the labourers had not given them their full cooperation. During the last three weeks we have had rain on several occasions—sometimes heavy rain like what we have during monsoons, and much that had been constructed has had to be reconstructed twice or thrice over again. This added considerably to our costs and to the labour of our workers, but their courage never faltered and you see Mazharpuri as it is today. Therefore, while extending to you a most hearty welcome I also wish to offer to all those who worked and helped our cordial thanks.

Bihar and its Historical Importance

Bihar is considered a backward province. This is true today. But Bihar has not been always like this nor is it going to remain like this in future, because it has all those resources which go to make a country or a nation great. It will not be proper for me to give a detailed history of Bihar. For a task like this I have not got the ability nor have you the time. I desire to say only this that since the days of the Mahabharat right down to the time of Bakhtyar Khilji, Bihar had a very high place in the history of India and it will be no exaggeration to say that there were long periods when the history of India was the history of Bihar writ large. Jarasandh was a king of Bihar who gave many defeats to Srikrishna and reminders of the name of Jarasandh are found even to-day at Rajgir. The birthplace of Budhism and Jainism is Bihar and the province owes its name to their Vihars. Every particle of the dust of a large portion of this province is sanctified by the tread of feet of Goutam Buddha and Jina Mahavira and their memorials have been discovered scattered all over by research scholars. For a thousand years or more Budhism grew, flowered and flourished in this region and it was from here that it spread towards South and North and East and West to distant lands. Twigs of the Mahabodhi tree were taken to Ceylon and planted there, and you can see the descendant of the tree at Anuradhpur where tradition has it, the light lit there is literally burning even to-day. There is no land south of Ceylon right down

to the South Pole. On the north Budhism passed to Nepal and crossing Tibet made Turkistan on one side and China and Japan its own, on the other. On the east it crossed over to Burma, Siam, Sumatra and other islands, it reached the furthest corners of the then known world. On the west it was accepted by the Afghan country and reached Turkistan. To-day when it is found only in name in the land of its birth, nearly one-fourth of humanity seeks shelter and consolation from it.

Jainism remained confined within the borders of India. Both Budhism or Jainism were born near about the same time and the same place and they spread also in India. The former conquered the world and left its homeland ; the other considered it better to remain within India's borders and even to-day regulates the lives of hundreds of thousands of men and women. It is a curious thing that Jainism starting from North Bihar passed through Chhota Nagpur or Jharkhand and progressed along the east cost to the south and from there took a north-westerly course and ultimately reached Gujarat and Rajputana and spread its benevolent influence. In those areas and in the south it has its largest number of votaries.

Republics Flourishing in Bihar

The history of Bihar is not illustrious by reason only of the religions it gave birth to. It has seen great empires. The empires of those days were not like the empires of these days but of a different kind. People often say that India did not know democracy and that there is some thing in the soil and climate of this place which makes autocratic Government alone successful. The history of Bihar furnishes incontrovertible evidence against this ignorant assertion. Just about the same time when the Greek Republics were fighting against each other and even before that there were republics flourising in this province ; and if you like to know something about them you have only to turn to the researches of the late Mr Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, the results of which are recorded in his books. After the end of the republics Chandragupta established his empire and after him Bindusara and Asoka extended it over the whole of Hindustan. Asoka's pillars are to be found in all parts of the country and they not only furnish proof of the extent of his great empire but the inscriptions on them show also the heights which India had attained in these days. After the Maurya Empire the Gupta Empire came into existence and this also covered practically the whole of India. The high culture and civilization of those days have been the subject of encomium and praise by all historians. After the Gupta Empire the Pal Dynasty ruled and it was also a line of great rulers.

No empire equal in extent to those empires was ever established in any other part of India. These empires covered a larger area than the Moghul Empire and the British India Empire of today. The length and breadth of an empire, however, are not its greatest characteristics Bihar has also furnished material for man's progress. You read stories about the old Rishis in books and places are pointed out as having been the scenes of their *tapasya*. Buddha and Mahabir were of this province. Among the older Rishis the places where Sringi Rishi, Gautam, Vishwamitra, Vasishta, Lomas and Durbasa did their *tapasya* are regarded even to-day as places of pilgrimage. The science of language of Panini was tested here in Patna. Chanakya ought to occupy a very high place amongst the learned men of ancient India and of the whole world. His Artha-shastra favourably compares with some of the best writings of modern day. Aryabhatta who a thousand years before Galileo proved that the earth revolves round the sun and not the sun round the earth made his marvellous discovery in this province. Nalanda continued to be a great seat of learning for several hundred years. There thousands of teachers and pupils used to live together. Excavations have brought out some of the buildings of those days which are well worth a visit. Bhikshus of Nalanda went to Tibbet and propagated Buddhism there.

Empire of Asoka

Will it be hoping for the impossible if we were to hope that to-day when a great part of the world is engaged in mortal conflict and reddening it with human blood that like the Asoka of old who after having conquered Orissa after a cruel war saw that shedding of human blood was a great sin and changed the entire outlook of his empire, gave up his sword and sent out his son and daughter to distant lands to establish an altogether different kind of empire, even so will some one arise in the world and having put an end to bloodshed establish the empire of love and peace ? That empire of Asoka which he had established with his

sword disappeared more than 2,000 years ago but the other empire in which he had bound together peoples of different lands not with a chain of steel but with a golden silken cord of love is still flourishing and will continue to flourish. If I could skip over 2,000 years I could say that on that self-same land our great General after returning from foreign lands has striven to show us the self-same path and it was from here that Gandhiji taught us his first lesson in satyagraha. The history of these 2,000 years is a long history and all those who were either the original inhabitants or new-comers to these parts have contributed in their own way to its making. When Sher Khan took the spade in his own hands along with his ordinary soldiers and labourers to dig trenches and received the ambassador of the Moghuls in that very condition, he presented an example of that plain living and high thoughts and deeds which have ever been the cause of our pride and glory.

That portion of Bihar where this great assemblage is meeting to-day has its own peculiarities. In beauty it is matchless. Its history too is wonderful. These parts are inhabited very largely by those who are regarded as the original inhabitants of India. Their civilization differs in many respects from the civilization of other people. The discovery of old articles shows that this civilization is very old. The Adibasis belong to a different stock (Austrick) from the Aryas and people of the same stock are spread towards the south-east of India in the many islands to a great distance. Their ancient culture is preserved in these parts to a considerable extent, perhaps more than elsewhere. It is not, however, as if the Aryas and the Adibasis never mingled with one another. As a matter of fact there have been considerable intermixture and exchange. Aryas have taken many things from them and they have taken many things from the Aryas. With all this, however, they have kept themselves apart. It is the opinion of experts that the colour and facial expression of the Biharis, the formation of their souls and even their language exhibit clear unmistakable marks of their influence. Having, however, once cast their influence on the Biharis, Adibasis have made much of our culture and our speech their own. On the Hazaribagh plateau the dialect generally spoken is the dialect of South Bihar, namely, magahi, and on the Ranchi plateau the dialect spoken is Nagpuria and learned men hold that it is a branch of Bhojpuri of western Bihar. It is not as if this inter-mixture and exchange between the Aryas and the Adibasis have taken place in Bihar alone. From Burma right down to the eastern shores of Indo-China civilization has been influenced by our mutual co-operation. Some 1,800 years ago our people from Champa (Bhagalpur) migrated and established the Champa colony in Indo-China. That is an incident in the history of the past which Bihar played among the Austricks of the South-East.

God has made this province very rich. The land of the northern portion is as fertile as any in India. You can grow almost every crop and almost every fruit that you like. Within the bowels of the earth in the southern portion of the province there are to be found some of those things which are considered the most valuable in this age. Nearly two-thirds of the total production of the coal of the country is extracted from the mines of this province. We have practically a monopoly in iron, copper and aluminium, ores and mica in also found in large quantities. You can see some of the beauty of the jungles from where you are sitting. The wealth extracted from the forests is also not inconsiderable. Lac is also our special product in which we surpass all other provinces.

'A BLIND FOLLOWER OF GANDHIJI'

In spite of all this, however,—our old history and present sources of wealth—this province is poor. It is backward in education. We are unable to compete with others in modern methods of worldly dealing. People often say that this province is a blind follower of Gandhiji. The fact is true. And why should it not be? He it is who within recent times has opened our eyes and the eyes of the rest of India and we consider it a matter of pride to work along the path chalked out by him and it is our determination and prayer that God may give us the strength to do so.

You might say 'This man is reciting only old and stale stories. We do not care for ancient history, nor do we consider it necessary to look back to past things. We are keen on knocking at the door of revolution which will turn everything topsy-turvy in this world. The world is moving with such tremendous speed that it is difficult even to know where it is moving to and this man is keeping us engaged on outworn things.' All that I can say is that these are

matters on which our President can speak with authority and I have neither the desire nor the ability to usurp his function.

A LESSON FROM THE PAST

We may, however, sometimes draw a lesson from the past and get an inspiration from it. I shall close this after placing before you one such incident. There was a time when Raja Ajat Shatru was reigning in South Bihar and the Republic of the Vajjies was flourishing in North Bihar. Ajatsatru was desirous of conquering the Vajjies and annexing their territory to his kingdom. Gautam Buddha visited Rajgir which was Ajatsatru's capital and stayed at the hill of Gidhakut. Ajatsatru deputed his Minister Bassakar to Buddha to find out what Buddha's opinion was about his designs against the Vajjies. When Buddha came to know the intention of Ajatsatru he put seven questions to his disciple Anand and on getting replies to them gave his reply to Ajatsatru's question. He asked :— 'Anand, have you heard whether the Vajjies hold their assemblies frequently and whether these assemblies are well attended'. Anand replied : 'I have heard, O Lord, that the assemblies of the Vajjies are held frequently and are well attended.' Buddha said : 'Then, O Anand, so long as the assemblies of the Vajjies continue to meet frequently and are well attended you can expect only their progress and not their destruction.' He put six more questions of this nature and on getting satisfactory answers to them replied :—'So long as the Vajjies continue to sit together, to work together, to perform their national duties together ; so long as they continue not to issue arbitrary orders without making laws nor to disobey their laws ; so long as they continue to act in a collective way according to the rules made by themselves ; so long as they continue to respect their elders, to show honour to them, and to accept such of their advice as is worty of acceptance ; so long as they continue not to treat harshly or behave rudely towards their women ; so long as they continue to respect their *Chaityas* (religious and national shrines) and not to deprive them of old endowments properly given to them ; so long as they give protection to their *arhats* (self-sacrificing learned men) and allow *arhats* from outside to enter their territories and *arhats* of their own territory to live in comfort ; so long will they continue to prosper and flourish and you should expect no harm to them. When Ajatsatru heard this, he became convinced that it was not possible to conquer the Vajjies with his armies. How true even today are these seven laws which govern the rise and fall of nations and which were promulgated 2,500 years ago. In the hills of Rajgir the rock of Gidhkut reminds us of them even today. Difference of opinion are natural in any living society. The ability to solve them is the sign of a well-organized society. Can we say of the Congress today that we sit together, work together and do our national duty as one man ? Can we say that we do not disobey rules made by ourselves and that we collectively act according to rules regularly laid down by ourselves ? Can we say with confidence that we respect our elders and listen to and accept their advice which is worthy of acceptance ? The strength of the Vajjies lay in these fundamental matters. Our strength will also increase if we are able to answer these questions in the affirmative. Buddha on one occasion, showed the assembly of the Vajjies to his Bhikshus and told them :—Look at this assembly and you can form an opinion as to what an assembly of the gods is like. Is it not possible for us to so organize and conduct this our national organization that Mahatma Gandhi may instead of complaining of indiscipline and violence in us point it out to the girls of his Ashram and address to them words similar to those which the Buddha addressed to his *Bhikshus* ?

Today we are face to face with a big crisis and we are called upon to get ready to meet it. May not this old store inspire us and may not the Biharis who are backward gather courage and strength from it not only to offer you a welcome but also to take their share in giving effect to the resolutions which you arrive at.

I have only a last request to make. Times are critical. It is very rarely that a country or a nation has to face a situation when its whole future can be made bright by one right step or may be marred by one wrong step. The Congress is an organization of the whole country. It has undertaken the great task of winning its freedom. Each one of us must understand and realize his own personal responsibility in this. We may not allow this great work to suffer by our negligence or laziness. We may not also injure it by wrong action in our rashness. We may not allow ourselves rest under the false impression that it is the business of the President or of Mahatma Gandhi or of other leaders to carry the burden of winning freedom for the country. Each one of us must decide for himself what his share

is going to be in this great enterprise—his share not only of work and sacrifice when the time comes for it but also his share in settling the future programme. We must make our contribution to this also according to our ability. But when the decision has once been taken we must be fully prepared and have the grimmest determination to carry it out. I desire to assure you on behalf of the people of this province that we shall not fail to act according to your decision and I believe that is the best welcome that we can offer you.

I will now request the President to take charge of this assembly and to conduct its proceedings.

Presidential Address

The following is the full text of *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's* Presidential Address :—

In 1923 you elected me President of this National Assembly. For the second time, after seventeen years, you have once again conferred upon me the same honour. Seventeen years is not a long period in the history of national struggles. But now the pace of events and world change is so rapid that our old standards no longer apply. During these last seventeen years we have passed through many stages, one after another. We had a long journey before us and it was inevitable that we should pass through several stages. We rested at many a point no doubt, but never stopped. We surveyed and examined every prospect but we were not ensnared by it and passed on. We faced many ups and downs but always our faces were turned towards the goal. The world may have doubted our intentions and determination but we never had a moment's doubt.

Our path was full of difficulties and at every step we were faced with great obstacles. It may be that we did not proceed as rapidly as we desired but we did not flinch from marching forward. If we look back upon the period between 1923 and 1940, nineteen-twenty-three will appear to us a faded landmark in the distance. In 1923 we desired to reach our goal but the goal was so distant then that even the milestones were hidden from our eyes. Raise your eyes to-day and look ahead. Not only do you see the milestones clearly but the goal itself is not distant. But this is evident that the nearer we get to the goal the more intense does our struggle become. Although the rapid march of events has taken us further from our old landmark and brought us nearer our goal, yet it has created new troubles and difficulties for us. To-day our caravan is passing a very critical stage. The essential difficulty of such a critical period lies in its conflicting possibilities. It is very probable that a correct step may bring us very near our goal, and on the other hand, a false step may land us in fresh troubles and difficulties.

At such a critical juncture you have elected me President and thus demonstrated the great confidence you have in one of your co-workers. It is a great honour and a great responsibility. I am grateful for the honour and crave your support in shouldering the responsibility. I am confident that the fullness of your confidence in me will be a measure of the fullness of the support that I shall continue to receive. I think that I should now come straight of the real problem before us without further delay.

The first and the most important question before us is this : Whither is the step taken by us in consequence of the declaration of War on the 3rd September, 1939, leading us ? And where do we stand now ?

Probably in the history of the Congress, the 1936 session at Lucknow marked a new ideological phase, when the Congress passed a long resolution on the international situation and placed its view-point clearly and categorically before the public. After this a consideration of the inter-national situation, and a resolution thereon, became an essential and integral part of the annual declarations of the Congress. Thus this decision on this subject was arrived at and placed before the world with full deliberation. These resolutions embodied at one and the same time, two declarations to the world : Firstly, we stated, what I have described as a new ideology in Indian politics, that we could not remain in isolation from the political events of the outside world, even in our present state of helplessness. It was essential that while we forged our way ahead and fashioned our future, we must not confine ourselves merely to our own surroundings but should keep a vigilant watch on the conditions of the outside world. Innumerable changes in the world have brought countries and nations nearer to one another so that the waves of thought and action, rising in one corner of the world, flow and produce immediate reactions in other places. It is therefore impossible to-day for India to consider her problems while confining herself within her own four walls. It is inevitable that

events in the outside would should have their repercussions in India ; it is eqully inevitable that our decisions and the conditions prevailing in India should affect the rest of the world. It was this consciousness and belief which brought about our decisions. We declared by these resolutions against reactionary movements like Fascism and Naziism which were directed against democracy and individual and national freedom. These movements were gaining strength day by day and India regarded this as the greatest danger to world progress and peace. India's head and heart were with those peoples who were standing up for democracy and freedom and resisting this wave of reaction.

But while we were considering the dangers arising from Fascism and Naziism, it was impossible for us to forget the older danger which has been proved to be infinitely more fatal to the peace and freedom of nations than these new dangers, and which has in fact supplied the basis for this reaction. I refer to British imperialism. We are not distant spectators of this imperialism, as we are of the new reactionary movements. It has taken possession of our house and dominates over us. It was for this reason that we stated in clear terms that if new entanglements in Europe brought about war, India, which has been debarred from exercising her will and making free decisions, will not take any part in it. She could only consider this question when she had acquired the right of coming to decisions according to her own free will and choice.

India cannot endure the prospect of Naziism and Fascism, but she is even more tired of British imperialism. If India remains deprived of her natural right to freedom, this would clerly mean that British imperialism continued to flourish with all its traditional characteristics, and under such conditions, India would on no account be prepared to lend a helping hand for the triumph of British imperialism. This was the second declaration which was constantly emphasised through these resolutions. These resolutions were repeatedly passed from the Lucknow session onwards till August 1939 and are known by the name of "War resolutions."

All these declarations of the Congress were before the British Government when suddenly, in the third week of August 1939, the war clouds gathered and thundered and, at the beginning of September, war began.

At this stage I will ask you to pause for a moment and look back. What were the conditions prevailing in August last ?

"MADE A BELLIGERENT WITHOUT BEING CONSULTED"

The Government of India Act of 1935 was imposed upon India forcibly by the British Government and, as usual, resorting to the old stratagem, it tried to make the world believe that it had conferred a big instalment of India's national right upon her. The world knows the decision of the Congress to reject this Act. Nevertheless, the Congress decided to avoid a conflict at that stage and preferred a respite. It resolved to take charge of Provincial Governments on a certain definite condition. After this decision, the Congress Ministries were functioning successfully in eight out of the eleven Provinces, and it was in the interest of Great Britain herself to maintain this state of affairs for as long a period as possible. There was yet another factor. So far as the War was concerned, India had clearly condemned Nazi Germany. Her sympathies were with the democratic nations, and this was a point in Britain's favour. Under such circumstances, it was natural to expect that if the British Government had changed its old imperialistic mentality in the slightest degree, it would, even though as a measure of expediency, change its old methods at this juncture and afford an opportunity to India to feel that she was breathing in a changed atmosphere. But we all know how the British Government behaved in this matter. There was not even a shadow of change discernible in its methods. Its policy was dictated exactly in accordance with the habit of an imperialism a hundred and fifty years old. It decided its course of action and, without India being afforded in any manner and in the slightest degree an opportunity to declare freely her opinion, her participation in the War was announced. It was not even considered necessary to give those representative assemblies, imposed upon us by British diplomacy for purposes of show, an opportunity of expressing their opinion.

The whole world knows, and so do we, how all the Empire countries were given freedom of decision : the representative assemblies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland, all of them arrived at an

independent decision, in regard to their participation in the War, without the least outside interference. Not only this but when Ireland decided to remain neutral, no surprise was shown nor was a single voice raised against it in Great Britain. Mr. De Valera, in the very shadow of England, refused to extend his help to Britain in the War unless the question of Ulster was settled to his satisfaction.

But what place did India occupy in this picture of the British Commonwealth ? India is being told to-day that the generous hand of Britain will confer upon her the precious gift of Dominion Status in the near but unknown future. When the War began, a war which will probably be one of the greatest in the world, India was pushed into it suddenly without her even realising that she was entering it. This fact alone was sufficient to show us which way the wind was blowing. But there was no need for us to hurry. Other opportunities were to come and the time was not distant when we could see the face of British imperialism even more unmasked and at closer quarters.

When in 1914 the first spark was ignited in a corner of the Balkans, England and France raised the cry of the rights of small nations. Later, President Wilson's fourteen points came into view ; their fate is well known to the world. On that occasion the situation was different. After the last war, England and France, intoxicated with victory, adopted a course of action which necessarily resulted in a reaction. This reaction grew. It took the shape of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany, and unrestrained dictatorships, based on brute force, challenged the peace and freedom of the world. When this happened, inevitably the world aligned itself in two rival camps : one supporting democracy and freedom ; the other encouraging the forces of reaction, And in this way a new picture of the coming war began to take shape. Mr. Chamberlain's Government, to which the existence of Soviet Russia was much more unbearable than the existence of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and which considered Russia to be a living challenge to British Imperialism continued to watch this situation for three years. Not only this, but by its attitude it clearly and repeatedly encouraged Fascist and Nazi ambitions. Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania disappeared as free countries, one after the other, from the map of the world. And Great Britain, by her vacillating policy, continually assisted in the destruction of their freedom. But when this course of action produced its natural and ultimate result and Nazi Germany marched ahead unchecked, the British Government found itself compelled to enter the arena of war. Had it not done so then, the power of Germany would have become an intolerable menace to British imperialism. Now the new slogans of freedom, world peace, democracy, took the place of the old cry of saving the smaller nations, and the whole world began to ring with these cries. The declaration of war on the 3rd September by Britain and France was made to the accompaniment of the resounding echoes of these slogans. The peoples of the world were bewildered and harassed by brutal strength and the worldwide unrest created by these new reactionary forces, and they lent a willing ear to the siren voices of these slogans.

The Congress Demand

War was declared on the 3rd of September and on the 7th September the All-India Congress Working Committee met at Wardha to deliberate upon the situation. What did the Working Committee do on this occasion ? All the declarations of the Congress made since 1936 were before it. It had also to face the notion taken by the British Government in declaring India as a belligerent country. Undoubtedly the Congress could not have been blamed had it come to a final decision in accordance with the logic of the situation. But it continued to keep vigilant watch on its mind and heart ; it resisted the natural urge of the moment for an acceleration of pace ; it deliberated upon every aspect of the matter, unemotionally and dispassionately, and took the step which to-day entitles India to raise her head and say to the world that this was the only correct step which could have been then taken. The Congress postponed its final decisions and asked the British Government to state its war aims, for on them depended not only peace and justice for India but for the whole world. If India was being invited to participate in this war, she had a right to know why this war was being fought. What was its object ? If the result of this grim tragedy was not to be the same as that of the last war, and if it was really being fought to safeguard Freedom, Democracy and Peace and to bring a new order to the world, then, in all conscience, India had a right to know, what would be the effect of these aims on her own destiny.

The Working Committee formulated this demand in a long statement which was published on the 14th September, 1929. If I express the hope that this statement will occupy an outstanding place in recent Indian history, I am sure I am not claiming too much of the future historian. This is a simple but irrefutable document, based on truth and reason, and it can only be set aside by the arrogant pride of armed force. Though this cry was raised in India, in fact it was not of India only, but it was the agonised cry of wronged humanity, whose hopes had so often before been betrayed. Twenty-five years ago the world was plunged into one of the biggest infernoes of death and destruction known to history, and yet this was but a preparation for a still bigger catastrophe. The world was bewitched and its hopes were kindled by cries of freedom for small nations, collective security, self-determination, disarmament, League of Nations and international arbitration, and of similar high-sounding phrases. But what was the result in the end ? Every cry proved false ; every vision that seemed so real to us, vanished as a dream. Again nations are being plunged into the blood and fire of war. Should we part with reason and reality so completely as not even to ask why this is being done and how this affects our destiny before plunging into this deluge of death and destruction ?

BRITAIN AND THE FIRST STEP OF THE CONGRESS

In answer to this demand of the Congress a regular series of statements were made on behalf of the British Government, both in England and in India. The first link of the series was the Delhi declaration of the Viceroy, dated the 17th October. This lengthy statement is perhaps a finished example of that peculiarly involved and tiring style which characterises the official literature of the Government of India. After reading page after page of this statement, the curtain is at last lifted with hesitation. We have a glimpse. We are told then that if we want to know the war aims we must read a speech by the Prime Minister of Britain, and this speech deals only with the peace of Europe and with the adjustment of international relations. Even the words "Freedom" and "Democracy" are not to be found in the Viceroy's statement. So far as India is concerned, it only reaffirms the policy laid down in the premble of the 1919 Act, which is now embodied in the 1935 Act. To-day that policy continues to be the same ; there is nothing to add to it or to improve it.

On the 17th of October, 1939, the statement of the Viceroy was published and the Working Committee met to deliberate upon it on the 22nd October at Wardha. Without any discussion it came to the conclusion that this reply could under no circumstances be considered satisfactory, and that it should now unhesitatingly give the decision, which it had postponed till then. The decision of the Working Committee was as follows :

"In the circumstances, the Committee cannot possibly give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialistic policy which the Congress has always sought to end. As a first step in this direction, the Committee call upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations".

As a result of this decision the Congress Ministries in eight Provinces resigned.

This was but the first step which the Congress took in the series of events. Now we have to see to what these events led. The communique of the Viceroy issued on the 5th February from Delhi giving the resume of the talk between him and Mahatma Gandhi, and Mahatma Gandhi's statement of the 6th February may be regarded as the last of this series. We all know the substance of the Viceroy's statement. The British Government, it is stated, fully desires that India should, in the shortest time possible under the circumstances, attain the status of a British dominion, and that the transition period should be as short as possible. But it is unwilling to concede to India the right of framing her own constitution and deciding her own destiny through her own elected representatives without outside interference. In other words, the British Government does not accept the position that India has got the right of self-determination.

At the first touch of reality the structure of make-belief fell to pieces. For the last four years the world resounded with cries of democracy and freedom. The utterances of the most responsible spokesmen of England and France in this regard are so fresh in our memory as not to need recall. But the moment India raised this question, the reality behind these utterances was unveiled. Now we are told that, without doubt, safeguarding the freedom of nations is the aim of this war but that this is confined within the geographical limits of Europe. The peoples of Asia and Africa should not dare to have any such hopes. Mr. Chamberlain has made

this even more clear in his Birmingham speech of the 24th February, though we never had any doubts about the matter. He confirmed the British Government's action by his words. Proclaiming British war aims, he stated that they were fighting to secure that small nations in Europe shall henceforth live in security, free from the constant threat of aggression against their independence.

Though this answer about war aims has been given through a British spokesman, yet in reality it interprets the real mentality of Europe as a whole, which has been known to the world for the last two hundred years. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whatever principles were accepted for individual and collective human freedom, the right to claim them and to benefit from them was limited to European nations. And even amongst them, its application was confined to the Christian nations of Europe. To-day, in the middle of the twentieth century, the world has so changed that the thoughts and actions of the last century read like ancient history, and appear to us as faded land marks in the distance. But we will have to admit that there is at least one distinctive landmark of Europe emphasising human rights, which has not faded and is still with us. We have not passed it yet, or achieved those rights.

This reality has been brought home to us again by the problem of our own political and national rights in India. When, after the declaration of war, we raised the question of war aims and their effect on India's destiny, we were not forgetful of British policy in 1917 and 1919. We wanted to know how in the year 1939, when the world was covering the track of centuries in the course of days, England looked at India. Had that look changed ? We were given a clear reply that it had not; even now there was no change in that imperialist outlook. We are told to believe that the British Government is very desirous that India should attain the status of a dominion, in the shortest possible period. We knew even before that the British Government had expressed this desire. Now we know that they are very anxious indeed.

But it is not a question of the desire or of the measure of the desire of the British Government. The straight and simple question is of India's right; whether she is entitled to determine her own fate or not. On the answer to this question depend the answers to all other questions of the day. This question forms the foundation-stone of the Indian problem ; India will not allow it to be removed, for if it is displaced, the whole structure of Indian nationalism will collapse.

So far as the question of war is concerned our position is quite clear. We see the face of British imperialism as clearly now as we did in the last war, and we are not prepared to assist in its triumph by participating in the war. Our cause is crystal clear. We do not wish to see British imperialism triumphant and stronger and thus lengthen the period of our own subjection to it. We absolutely refuse to do so Our way lies patently in the opposite direction.

Let us return to our starting point and consider once again whether the step that we took after the declaration of war on the 3rd September is leading us. Where do we stand to-day ? The answer to both these questions is by this time apparent to your minds and is hovering on your lips. It is not even necessary that your lips should tell me for I feel the quivering of your hearts. The step of temporary and partial co-operation which we took in 1937, we withdrew after the declaration of War. Inevitably we inclined towards further steps in non-co-operation. As we stand to-day, we have to decide whether we should march forward in this direction or go backward. When once a step is taken, there is no stopping. To cry halt, is to go back and we refuse to go back. We can only, therefore, go forward. I am sure that the voice of every one of you joins mine when I proclaim that we must and and will go forward.

In this connection one question naturally faces us. It is the verdict of history that in a struggle between nations, no power forgoes its possessions unless compelled to do so. Principles of reason and morality have effected the conduct of individuals but have not affected the selfish conduct of Powers that dominate. To-day even in the middle of the twentieth century, we witness how the new reactionary forces in Europe have shattered man's faith in individual and collective human rights. In place of justice and reason, brute force has become the sole argument in the determination of rights. But while the world is presenting this depressing picture, there is another side, the hopeful side, which cannot be ignored. We see countless millions all over the world, without any distinction, awakening to a new consciousness which is spreading everywhere with great rapidity. This new consciousness is tired of the utter hopelessness of the old order, and is impatient for a new order based on reason, justice and peace. This new awakening which arose

after the last War and took root in the deepest recesses of the human soul, has now come to dominate men's mind and their utterances. Perhaps there is no parallel in history to the speed of this awakening.

In these circumstances, was it beyond the realm of possibility that history should, contrary to its old record, take a new step ? Was it impossible that two great peoples of the world, who had been tied together by the course of events as rulers and ruled, should create a new relationship between them, based on reason, justice and peace ? If that had been possible, the sorrow born of world war would have given place to a new-born hope ; and the new order of reason and justice would have ushered in a new dawn. If the British people could have proudly said to the world to-day that they had added such a new example to history, what a vast and unparalleled triumph this would have been for humanity. Certainly this was not an impossibility, but it was an amazingly difficult thing to do.

In the prevailing darkness of the times, it is faith in the bright side of human nature which sustains the great soul of Mahatma Gandhi. He is always prepared to take advantage of every opening which might lead to a natural settlement without feeling that he is weakening his unassailable position.

Since war began, several members of the British Cabinet have tried to make the world believe that the old order of British imperialism has ended, and that to-day the British nation has no other aims except those of peace and justice. Which country could have more warmly acclaimed such a declaration than India ? But the fact is that in spite of these declarations, British imperialism stands in the way of peace and justice to-day exactly as it did before the War. The Indian demand was the touch-stone for all such claims. They were so tested and found to be counterfeit and untrue.

MINORITIES AND INDIAN'S POLITICAL FUTURE

I have briefly placed before you the real question of the day. That is the vital question for us, all else are subsidiary to it. It was in relation to that question that the Congress put forward its invitation to the British Government in September last, and made a clear and simple demand, to which no community or group could possibly object. It was not in our remotest thoughts that the communal question could be raised in this connection. We realise that there are some groups in the country which cannot keep step with the Congress in the political struggle or go as far as the Congress is prepared to go ; we know that some do not agree with the method of direct action which the great majority of political India has adopted. But so far as the right of the Indian people to independence is concerned and the full admission of India's birthright to freedom, an awakened and impatient India has passed far beyond the early stages, and none dare oppose our demand. Even those classes who cling to their special interests and fear change lest this might affect them adversely are rendered helpless by the spirit of the times. They have to admit and to agree to the goal we have set before us.

A time of crisis is a testing time for all of us, and so the great problem of the day has tested us and exposed many an aspect of our present-day politics. It has laid bare also the reality that lies behind the communal problem. Repeated attempts were made, both in England and India, to mix up the communal question with the vital political question of the day, and thus to confuse the real issue. Again and again, it was sought to convince the world that the problem of the minorities barred the way to a proper solution of India's political problem.

For a hundred and fifty years British imperialism has pursued the policy of divide and rule, and by emphasising internal differences sought to use various groups for the consolidation of its own power. That was the inevitable result of India's political subjection, and it is folly for us to complain and grow bitter. A foreign government can never encourage internal unity in the subject country, for disunity is the surest guarantee for the continuance of its own domination. But when we were told, and the world was asked to believe, that British Imperialism had ended, and the long chapter of Indian history dominated by it had closed, was it unreasonable for us to expect that British statesmen would at last give up this evil inheritance and not exploit the communal situation for political ends ? But the time for this is yet distant ; we may not cling to such vain hopes. So the last five months with their succession of events have established. Imperialism, in spite of all assurances to the contrary, still flourishes ; it had yet to be ended.

BRITAIN'S ATTEMPT TO EXPLOIT THE SITUATION

But whatever the roots of our problems might be, it is obvious that India, like other countries, has her internal problems. Of these, the communal problem is an important one. We do not and cannot expect the British Government to deny its existence. The communal problem is undoubtedly with us, and if we want to go shead, we must needs take it into account. Every step that we take by ignoring it will be a wrong step. The problem is there ; to admit its existence, however, does not mean that it should be used as a weapon against India's national freedom. British Imperialism has always exploited it to this end. If Britain desires to end her imperialistic methods in India and close that dismal chapter of history, then the first signs of this change must naturally appear in her treatment of the communal problem.

What is the Congress position in regard to this problem ? It has been the claim of the Congress, from its earliest beginnings, that it considers India as a nation and takes every step in the interest of the nation as a whole. This entitles the world to examine this claim strictly and the Congress must establish the truth of its assertion. I wish to examine afresh this question from this point of view.

There can be only three aspects of the communal problem : its existence, its importance, and the method of its solution.

The entire history of the Congress demonstrates that it has always acknowledged the existence of the problem, it has never tried to minimise its importance. In dealing with this problem, it followed a policy which was the most suitable under the circumstances. It is difficult to conceive of a different or better course of action. If, however, a better course could be suggested, the Congress was always, and is to-day, eager to welcome it.

We could attach no greater importance to it, than to make it the first condition for the attainment of our national goal. The Congress has always held this belief ; no one can challenge this fact. It has always held to two basic principles in this connection, and every step was taken deliberately with these in view.

(1) Whatever constitution is adopted for India, there must be the fullest guarantees in it for the rights and interests of minorities.

(2) The minorities should judge for themselves what safeguards are necessary for the protection of their rights and interests. The majority should not decide this. Therefore the decision in this respect must depend upon the consent of the minorities and not on a majority vote.

The question of the minorities is not a special Indian problem. It has existed in other parts of the world. I venture to address the world from this platform, and to enquire whether any juster and more equitable course of action can be adopted in this connection, than the one suggested above ? If so, what is it ? Is there anything lacking in this approach, which necessitates that the Congress be reminded of its duty ? The Congress has always been ready to consider any failure in the discharge of its duty. It is so prepared to-day. I have been in the Congress for the last nineteen years. During the whole of this period there is not a single important decision of the Congress in the shaping of which I have not had the honour to participate. I assert that during these last nineteen years, not for a single day did the Congress think of solving this problem in any way other than the way I have stated above. This was not a mere assertion of the Congress, but its determined and decided course of action. Many a time during the last fifteen years, this policy was subjected to the severest tests, but it stood firm as a rock.

The manner in which the Congress has dealt with this problem to-day in connection with the Constituent Assembly, throws a flood of light on these two principles and clarifies them. The recognised minorities have a right, if they so please, to choose their representatives by their votes. Their representatives will not have to rely upon the votes or any other community except their own. So far as the question of the rights and the interests of the minorities is concerned, the decision will not depend upon the majority of the votes in the Constituent Assembly. It will be subject to the consent of the minority. If unanimity is not achieved on any question, then an impartial tribunal, to which the minorities have also consented, will decide the matter. This last proviso is merely in the nature of a provision for a possible contingency, and is most unlikely to be required. If a more practical proposal is made, there can be no objection to it.

When these principles are accepted and acted upon by the Congress, what is it that obliges British statesmen to remind us so often of the problem of the minorities, and to make the world believe that this stands in the way of Indian

freedom ? If it is really so, why does not the British Government recognise clearly India's freedom and give us an opportunity to solve this problem for ever by mutual agreement amongst ourselves ?

Dissensions were sown and encouraged amongst us, and yet we are taunted because of them. We are told to put an end to our communal conflicts, but opportunity to do so is denied us. Such is the position deliberately created to thwart us ; such are the chains that bind us. But no difficulties or constraints can deter us from taking the right steps with courage and fortitude. Our path is full of obstacles but we are determined to overcome them.

We have considered the problem of the minorities of India. But are the Muslims such a minority as to have the least doubt or fear about their future ? A small minority may legitimately have fears and apprehensions, but can the Muslims allow themselves to be disturbed by them ? I do not know how many of you are familiar with my writings, twenty-eight years ago, in the "Al Hilal". If there are any such here, I would request them to refresh their memories. Even then I gave expression to my conviction, and I repeat this to-day, that in the texture of Indian politics, nothing is further removed from the truth than to say that Indian Muslims occupy the position of a political minority. It is equally absurd for them to be apprehensive about their rights and interests in a democratic India. This fundamental mistake has opened the door to countless misunderstandings. False arguments were built upon wrong premises. This error, on the one hand, brought confusion into the minds of Musalmans about their own true position, and, on the other hand, it involved the world in misunderstandings, so that the picture of India could not be seen in right perspective.

If time had permitted, I would have told you in detail, how, during the last sixty years, this artificial and untrue picture of India was made, and whose hands traced it. In effect, this was the result of the same policy of divide and rule which took particular shape in the minds of British officialdom in India after the Congress launched the national movement. The object of this was to prepare the Musalmans for use against the new political awakening. In this plan, prominence was given to two points. First, that India was inhabited by two different communities, the Hindus and the Musalmans, and for this reason no demand could be made in the name of a united nation. Second, that numerically the Musalmans were far less than the Hindus, and because of this, the necessary consequence of the establishment of democratic institutions in India would be to establish the rule of the Hindu majority and to jeopardise the existence of the Muslims. I shall not go into any greater detail now. Should you, however, wish to know the early history of this matter, I would refer you to the time of Lord Dufferin, a former Viceroy of India, and Sir Auckland Colvin, former Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. P., now the United Provinces.

Thus were sown the seeds of disunity by British Imperialism on Indian soil. The plant grew and was nurtured and spread its nettles, and even though fifty years have passed since then the root are still there.

Politically speaking, the word minority does not mean just a group that is numerically smaller and therefore entitled to special protection. It means a group that is so small in number and so lacking in other qualities that give strength, that it has no confidence in its own capacity to protect itself from the much larger group that surrounds it. It is not enough that the group should be relatively the smaller, but that it should be absolutely so small as to be incapable of protecting its interests. Thus this is not merely a question of numbers ; other factors count also. If a country has two major groups numbering a million and two millions respectively, it does not necessarily follow that because one is half the other, therefore it must call itself politically a minority and consider itself weak.

If this is the right test, let us apply it to the position of the Muslims in India. You will see at a glance a vast concourse, spreading out all over the country ; they stand erect, and to imagine that they exist helplessly as a "minority" is to delude oneself.

The Muslims in India number between eighty and ninety millions. The same type of social or racial divisions, which affect other communities, do not divide them. The powerful bonds of Islamic brotherhood and equality have protected them to a large extent from the weakness that flows from social divisions. It is true that they number only one-fourth of the total population ; but the question is not one of population ratio, but of the large numbers and the strength behind them. Can such a vast mass of humanity have any legitimate reason for

apprehension that in a free and democratic India, it might be unable to protect its rights and interests ?

These numbers are not confined to any particular area but spread out unevenly over different parts of the country. In four provinces out of eleven in India there is a Muslim majority, the other religious groups being minorities. If British Baluchistan is added, there are five provinces with Muslim majorities. Even if we are compelled at present to consider this question on a basis of religious groupings, the position of the Muslims is not that of a minority only. If they are in a minority in seven provinces, they are in a majority in five. This being so, there is absolutely no reason why they should be oppressed by the feeling of being a minority.

Whatever may be the details of the future constitution of India, we know that it will be an all-India federation which is, in the fullest sense, democratic, and every unit of which will have autonomy in regard to internal affairs. The federal centre will be concerned only with all-India matters of common concern, such as, foreign relations, defence, customs, etc. Under these circumstances, can any one who has any conception of the actual working of a democratic constitution, allow himself to be led astray by this false issue of majority and minority ? I cannot believe for an instant that there can be any room whatever for these misgivings in the picture of India's future. These apprehensions are arising because, in the words of a British statesman regarding Ireland, we are yet standing on the banks of the river and, though wishing to swim, are unwilling to enter the water. There is only one remady ; we should take the plunge fearlessly. No sooner is this done, we shall realise that all our apprehensions were without foundation.

Basic Question for Indian Muslims

It is now nearly thirty years since I first attempted to examine this question as an Indian Musalman. The majority of the Muslims then were keeping completely apart from the political struggle and they were influenced by the same mentality of aloofness and antagonism, which prevailed amongst them previously in the year 1888. This depressing atmosphere did not prevent me from giving my anxious thought to this matter, and I reached quickly a final conclusion, which influenced my belief and action. I saw India, with all her many burdens, marching ahead to her future destiny. We were fellow-passengers in this boat and we could not ignore its swift passage through the waters : and so it became necessary for us to come to a clear and final decision about our plan of action. How were we to do so ? Not merely by skimming the surface of the problem but by going down to its roots, and then to consider our position. I did so and I realised that the solution of the whole problem depended on the answer to one question : Do we, Indian Muslims, view the free India of the future with suspicion and distrust or with courage and confidence ? If we view it with fear and suspicion, then undoubtedly we have to follow a different path. No present declaration, no promise for the future, no constitutional safeguards, can be a remedy for our doubts and fears. We are then forced to tolerate the existence of a third power. This third power is already entrenched here and has no intention of withdrawing and, if we follow this path of fear we must needs look forward to its continuance. But if we are convinced that for us fear and doubt have no place, and that we must view the future with courage and confidence in ourselves, then our course of action becomes absolutely clear. We find ourselves in a new world, which is free from the dark shadows of doubt, vacillation, inaction and apathy, and where the light of faith and determination, action and enthusiasm never fails. The confusions of the times, the ups and downs that come our way, the difficulties that beset our thorny path, cannot change the direction of our steps. It becomes our bounden duty then to march with assured steps to India's national goal.

I arrived at this definite conclusion without the least hesitation, and every fibre of my being revolted against the former alternative. I could not bear the thought of it. I could not conceive it possible for a Muslim to tolerate this, unless he has rooted out the spirit of Islam from every corner of his being. I started the *Al Hilal* in 1912 and put this conclusion of mine before the Muslims of India. I need not remind you that my cries were not without effect. The period from 1912 to 1918 marked a new phase in the political awakening of the Muslims. Towards the end of 1920, on my release after four years of internment, I found that the political ideology of the Muslims had

broken through its old mould and was taking another shape. Twenty years have gone by and much has happened since then. The tide of events has ever risen higher, and fresh waves of thought have enveloped us. But this fact still remains unchanged, that the general opinion amongst the Muslims is opposed to going back.

That is certain ; they are not prepared to retrace their steps. But again they are full of doubts about their future path. I am not going into the reasons for this. I shall only try to understand the effects. I would remind my coreligionists that to-day I have given thought to all those innumerable occurrences which have happened since then : my eyes have watched them, my mind has pondered over them. These events did not merely pass me by ; I was in the midst of them, a participant, and I examined every circumstance with care. I cannot be false to what I have myself seen and observed ; I cannot quarrel with my own convictions ; I cannot stifle the voice of my conscience. I repeat to-day what I have said throughout this entire period, that the ninety millions of Muslims of India have no other right course of action than the one to which I invited them in 1912.

Some of my co-religionists, who paid heed to my call in 1912 , are in disagreement with me to-day. I do not wish to find fault with them, but I would make appeal to their sincerity and sense of responsibility. We are dealing with the destinies of peoples and nations. We cannot come to right conclusions if we are swept away by the passions of the moment. We must base our judgments on the solid realities of life. It is true that the sky is overcast to-day and the outlook is dark. The Muslims have to come into the light of reality. Let them examine every aspect of the matter again to-day and they will find no other course of action open to them.

Islam's Contribution to India

I am a Muslim and am proud of that fact. Islam's splendid traditions of thirteen hundred years are my inheritance. I am unwilling to lose even the smallest part of this inheritance. The teaching and history of Islam, its arts and letters and civilisation are my wealth and my fortune. It is my duty to protect them.

As a Muslim I have a special interest in Islamic religion and culture and I cannot tolerate any interference with them. But in addition to these sentiments, I have others also which the realities and conditions of my life have forced upon me. The spirit of Islam does not come in the way of these sentiments ; it guides and helps me forward. I am proud of being an Indian. I am a part of the indivisible unity that is Indian nationality. I am indispensable to this noble edifice and without me this splendid structure of India is incomplete. I am an essential element which has gone to build India. I can never surrender this claim.

It was India's historic destiny that many human races and cultures should flow to her, finding a home in her hospitable soil, and that many a caravan should find rest here. Even before the dawn of history, these caravans trekked into India and wave after wave of new-comers followed. This vast and fertile land gave welcome to all and took them to her bosom. One of the last of these caravans, following the footsteps of its predecessors, was that of the followers of Islam. This came here and settled here for good. This led to a meeting of the culture-currents of two different races. Like the Ganga and Jumna, they flowed for a while through separate courses but nature's immutable law brought them together and joined them in a *sangam*. This fusion was a notable event in history. Since then, destiny, in her own hidden way, began to fashion a new India in place of the old. We brought our treasures with us, and India too was full of the riches of her own precious heritage. We gave our wealth to her and she unlocked the doors of her own treasure to us. We gave her, what she needed most, the most precious gifts from Islam's treasury, the message of democracy and human equality.

Heritage of our Common Nationality

Full eleven centuries have passed by since then. Islam has now as great a claim on the soil of India as Hinduism. If Hinduism has been the religion of the people here for several thousands of years, Islam also has been their religion for a thousand years. Just as a Hindu can say with

equal pride that we are Indians and follow Islam. I shall enlarge this orbit still further. The Indian Christian is equally entitled to say with pride that he is an Indian and is following a religion of India, namely, Christianity.

Eleven hundred years of common history have enriched India with our common achievements. Our languages, our poetry, our literature, our culture, our art, our dress, our manners, and customs, the innumerable happenings of our daily life, everything bears the stamp of our joint endeavour. There is indeed no aspect of our life which has escaped this stamp. Our languages were different, but we grew to use a common language; our manners and customs were dissimilar, but they acted and reacted on each other and thus produced a new synthesis. Our old dress may be seen only in ancient pictures of by-gone days; no one wears it to-day. This joint wealth is the heritage of our common nationality and we do not want to leave it and go back to the times when this joint life had not begun. If there are any Hindus amongst us who desire to bring back the Hindu life of a thousand years ago and more, they dream, and such dreams are vain fantasies. So also if there are any Muslims who wish to revive their past civilisation and culture, which they brought a thousand years ago from Iran and Central Asia, they dream also and the sooner they wake up the better. These are unnatural fancies which cannot take root in the soil of reality. I am one of those who believe that revival may be a necessity in a religion but in social matters it is a denial of progress.

This thousand years of our joint life has moulded us into a common nationality. This cannot be done artificially. Nature does her fashioning through her hidden processes in the course of centuries. The cast has now been moulded and destiny has set her seal upon it. Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity. We must accept the logic of fact and history and engage ourselves in the fashioning of our future destiny,

I shall not take any more of your time. My address must end now. But before I do so, permit me to remind you that our success depends upon three factors : unity, discipline and full confidence in Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. The glorious past record of our movement was due to his great leadership, and it is ouly under his leadership that we can look forward to a future of successful achievement.

The time of our trial is upon us. We have already focussed the world's attention. Let us endeavour to prove ourselves worthy.

Resolutions

(*For proceedings and Resolutions see page 228*)

The All India Muslim League

Working Committee—New Delhi—3rd. to 6th. February 1940

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League commenced its first meeting of the year 1940 at New Delhi on the **3rd. February** and continued it till the **6th. February.** It adopted the following resolutions :—

Jinnah-Viceroy correspondence

"The Working Committtee of the All-India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Jinnah, the President, and His Excellency the Viceroy, ending with his final reply dated December 23, 1939. The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation. The Committee, therefore, empowers the President to place the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolution of the Working Committee dated September 18 and October 22, 1939, and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India".

It was also resolved that a delegation on behalf of the All-India Muslim League, consisting of the hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, the hon. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of Punjab, Sir Nazimuddin. Home Minister, Bengal and Ch. Khaliquzzaman should visit England as soon as possible in order to put the case of Muslim India before the British public, Parliament and His Majesty's Government.

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The Working Committee considered the statement of Mr. Abdul Rehman Siddiqui regarding the 'day of deliverance'. Mr. Siddiqui expressed his deep regret on the language of the statement and for any reflection on the personality of the President. The Committee was of opinion that no member of the Working Committee should give public expression to his views against the decision of the Committee or of the President while still remaining a member of the Working Committee.

The Committee considered the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed on August 27 and 28, 1939 (regarding disciplinary action against three Muslim League members of the Council of State for serving on the Army Indianisation Committee and against Sir Sikander Hyat Khan for his speech in support of the Indo-British Trade Agreement in the Punjab Assembly) and came to the conclusion that, according to the constitution and rules of the All-India Muslim League, no disciplinary action could be taken in the matter.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS

The Working Committee accept with regret the resignation of Syed Abdul Aziz, which he sent to the Committee on his appointment as Law Member of H. E. H. the Nazam's Government. The Committee places on record its appreciation of his great services to the All-India Moslem League and, in particular, to Bihar and the Working Committee of which he was a member. The Committee is glad to note that he will continue to take an abiding interest in the progress of the All-India Moslem League and wishes him every success in his great and responsible office in the Nizam's Government.

"The Working Committee having carefully examined the grounds of appeal against the decision of the U. P. Provincial Moslem League Council from Bulandshahr filed by Kunwar Abdus Salam Khan and having heard in person the Kunwar Saheb together with his legal adviser, are of the opinion that the decision of the Working Committee of the United Provincial Moslem League should be confirmed and the parties concerned be informed to act accordingly.

"The Committee considered the resolution of the Council of the All-India Moslem League passed on August 27 and 28, 1939, (regarding disciplinary action against three Moslem League members of the Council of State for serving on the Army Indianization Committee and against Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan for his

speech in support of the Indo-British Trade Agreement in the Punjab Assembly) and came to the conclusion that according to the constitution and rules of the All-India Moslem League no disciplinary action can be taken in the matter.

"The Working Committee deplores the firing by the police on Mahommedans at Burhanpur (Central Provinces), on January 15 and urges His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces to appoint an impartial tribunal to inquire into the incidents and take such steps as may be necessary for the conduct of an impartial and fair inquiry."

The Committee also considered the report of the National Guard Committee and adjourned further consideration of it till the next meeting.

A committee consisting of the Raja of Mahmudabad, Nawab Ismail Khan and Chudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman was appointed to examine the applications for affiliation to the All-India Moslem League that have been sent by the Punjab, Assam, and Orissa Provincial Moslem Leagues.

The Working Committee concluded its sittings on the 6th. February after it heard from its President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, what transpired between him and His Execellency the Viceroy at their meeting. Members present were Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Sir Abdulla Haroon, Chaudri Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Nawab Mohd. Ismail, Khan Aurangazeb Khan, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddique, Mr. Abdul Rauff Shah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Seth Essak Sait.

Western Democracy Unsuited for India

MR. JINNAH'S THESIS

In this connection it would be interesting to read an article of Mr. M. A, Jinnah written for the "Time and Tide" and issued from New Delhi on the 13th. February 1940, which elaborates his thesis that western democracy is totally unsuited for India and that its imposition on India is the disease in the body politic. He demands that a constitution must be evolved that recognises the existence of two nations in India, both of whom must share the governance of their common Motherland. The following is the text of the article :—

The constitutional maladies from which India at present suffers may best be described as symptoms of a disease inherent in the body politic. Without diagnosing the disease, no understanding of the symptoms is possible. Let us, therefore, first diagnose the disease, then consider the symptoms and finally arrive at the remedy.

What is the political future of India? The declared aim of the British Government is that India should enjoy Dominion status in accordance with the Statute of Westminster in the shortest practicable time. In order that this end should be brought about, the British Government, very naturally, would like to see in India the form of democratic constitution it knows best and thinks best, under which the government of the country is entrusted to one or other political party in accordance with the turn of the elections.

Such, however is the ignorance about Indian conditions among even the members of the British Parliament that, in spite of all the experience of the past, it is even yet not realised that this form of government is totally unsuited to India. Democratic systems based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India and this simple fact is the root cause of all India's constitutional ills. Even as Under-Secretary of State for India the late Lt. Col. Muirhead failed to appreciate this fact for, deploring the present communal tension, he expressed the opinion that the tendency on the part of both those in power and those in opposition was to consider that what the position now was would be the position always. He deplored the failure of Indians to appreciate an essential feature of democratic government—namely, the majority and minority are never permanent, and he, therefore, felt that the minorities' opposition to Federation on the assumption that, from the outset, power would be in the hands of an irremovable majority, was untenable. But he forgot that the whole concept of democracy postulates a single people, divided however much economically, and he might well have started his study of Indian problems by consulting the report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian constitutional reforms (sessions 1933-34 Vol. 1. para 1.)

'India is inhabited by many races often as distinct from one another in origin tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe. Two-thirds of its inhabitants profess Hinduism in one form or another as their religion, over 77

millions are followers of Islam ; and the difference between the two is not only of religion in the stricter sense, but also of law and culture. They may be said, indeed, to represent two distinct separate civilizations. Hinduism is distinguished by the phenomenon of its caste which is the basis of its religious and social system and save in a very restricted field remains unaffected by contact with philosophies of the west : the religion of Islam on the other hand is based upon the conception of the equality of man".

Perhaps no truer description of India has been compressed into a paragraph and. without this back-ground, no understanding of Indian problems is possible. The British people must realise that Hinduism and Islam 'represent two distinct and separate civilisations' and moreover, are 'as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe'.

They are, in fact, two different nations and if this fact is accepted by no less an authority than the Joint Select Committee, the Muslim people have cause to question the wisdom of the British Government in forcing on India the western system of democracy without the qualifications and limitations to which the system must be subject to make it at all suitable for Indian conditions. If, therefore, it is accepted that there is in India a major and a minor nation, it follows that a parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rise of the major nation. Experience has proved that, whatever the economic and political programme of any political party, the Hindu, as a general rule, will vote for his caste-fellow and the Muslim for his co-religionist. The British people, being Christians, sometimes forget the religious wars of their own history and to-day consider religion as a private and personal matter between man and God. This can never be the case in Hinduism and Islam, for both these religions are definite social codes which govern not so much man's relation with his God as man's relation with his neighbour. They govern not only his law and culture but every aspect of his social life and such religions, essentially exclusive, completely preclude that merging of identity and unity of thought on which the western democracy is based and inevitably bring about vertical rather than the horizontal divisions, democracy envisages. Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and its imposition on India is the disease in the body politic.

Let us now consider the inevitable symptoms. Led by an astute Hindu politician of the first rank, Mr. Gandhi, the Congress (which is mainly a Hindu body) had long foreseen that in the western form of democracy lay the fulfilment of their hopes of a permanent all-India dominance. All their efforts and energies had, therefore, been bent towards securing for India a completely democratic form of government and they realised that the new constitution would bring their goal immeasurably nearer if it could be worked on the lines chalked out by their leader and the working committee. Therefore, while crying that the new constitution was thoroughly unsatisfactory and totally unacceptable, the Congress decided to contest the elections held before its inauguration and, as was inevitable, secured complete majorities in the six Hindu provinces of India, namely, Bombay, Madras, the U. P., the C. P., Bihar and Orissa. The Congress, however, was as completely defeated in the five Muslim provinces, namely, Bengal, the Punjab, Sind, N. W. F. P. and Assam and even in the Hindu provinces failed to capture any appreciable number of seats in non-Hindu constituencies, particularly the Muslim electorates. This, undoubtedly, was an unsatisfactory situation for a self-styled 'national' party and the exposure of its communal character seemed imminent. Rushing to Wardha for guidance, the working committee took stock. What was the position ? In five provinces they had been defeated and while they held a complete majority in six, the Oppositions, weak in numbers though they were, were led by the small but solid blocks of Muslim League members.

This situation had two very unsatisfactory aspects. First, it brought out the completely Hindu composition of the Congress and, secondly, it would be difficult to ignore and override Muslim oppositions as long as the Governors of provinces were in possession of special powers granted to safeguard the minority interest.

Realizing at once that such circumstances would considerably hinder their plans, the Congress played its trump card. It refused to accept office. To the consternation of the Muslims and other minorities, overnight, the Viceroy and the Governors became suppliants. What would the Congress have them do ? What assurances did the Congress need ? The answer was ready. Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers and we will accept office.

Hastily, the constitutional guardians of minority and other rights jettisoned their trust and amidst much mutual appreciation of each other's 'statesmanship' the Congress and the British Government came into political alliance. Victory number one. But there was still that troublesome first point. The whole game would be up if purely Hindu Governments took office and in at least three of the six provinces not a single Muslim had been returned on the Congress ticket and not more than one or two in the others. But what of it? Surely, there must be at least one amongst the Muslim members who would be unable to resist the bait of a ministership. They would offer the ministership provided he signed the Congress pledge. But would the Governor agree to this 'camouflage'? What did his Instrument of Instructions advise? 'In making appointments to his council of ministers our Governor shall use his best endeavour to select his ministers in the following manner, that is to say, in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the legislature, to appoint those persons (including so far as practicable members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the legislature. But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need of fostering a sense of responsibitity among his ministers'.

Anxiously the working committee analysed the implications. The instructions seemed to be in two parts. In the first the Governor was instructed to use 'his best endeavours to select' as ministers '...persons (including as far as practicable members of important minority communities)...' The spirit underlying these words was clear. It was to secure important minorities a minister who commanded their confidence, and since there was no difference in the political programmes of the Congress and Muslim League parties in the legislatures, there was no reason why it was not 'practicable' for a Muslim League member to be appointed a minister.

But what about the last line? 'But in so acting he shall bear in mind the need for fostering sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers.' This fortunately could be turned to suit their purpose if the Governor was prepared to allow this second part, advisory and subsidiary to the main instruction, to overrule the first. They had but to claim that joint responsibility was impossible unless the Muslim minister was prepared to abide by the decisions of the working committee and their point was won. Meekly the Governors acquiesced and in order to allow the Congress to deceive the public by making it appear that it was 'national' and looking after the interests of the minorities by including a 'representative' of them in the Council of Ministers, accepted as Muslim ministers individuals who by no stretch of imagination could be regarded as 'representatives' of the Muslim community and who, by signing the Congress pledge, were responsible to the working committee alone. Victory number two.

Surprised by such easy victories, the Congress became intoxicated with power. The working committee arrogated to itself the position of a parallel central Government to whom the provincial Governments were responsible. Regional dictators were appointed, and the Ministers were entirely subject to their orders generally, and no provincial legislation could be enaced without their approval. They then proceeded to stifle even the little opposition that existed. Having dealt with the British, they now dealt with the Muslims.

An India-wide attack on the Muslims was launched. In the five Muslim provinces every attempt was made to defeat the Muslim-led Coalition Ministries and by offering local political leaders ministerships and other inducements, Congress Ministries came into power in at least two more provinces, the N. W. F. P. and Assam.

In the six Hindu provinces a *Kulturkampf* was inaugurated. Attempts were made to have *Bande Mataram*, the Congress party song, recognized as the national anthem ; the party flag recognized as the national flag, and the real national language Urdu supplanted by Hindi. Everywhere oppression commenced and complaints poured in such force into the Muslim League's central office that the Pirpur Committee, whose report is available, was appointed to investigate these grievances. Such overwhelming evidence was collected that the Muslims, despairing of the Viceroy and the Governors ever taking action to protect them, have lately been forced to ask for a royal commission to investigate their grievances.

Such was the position on the eve of the resignation of the Congress Ministries, a position over which the British people might well ponder. Is it their desire that India should become a totalitarian Hindu State with the central and all the provincial Governments responsible not to their legislatures or to the electorate but to a caucus unknown to the Constitution, the working committee of the Congress. They

may rest assured that such will be the inevitable result if the Congress demand for the right of framing India's constitution through a constituent assembly is conceded.

Let us consider briefly the implication of this nebulous and impracticable constituent assembly. To commence with, the question arises why is this demand made at this particular time. The answer is obvious. The war is to the working committee a heaven-sent means of increasing its rule from over eight provinces to over the whole of India, state and province. If the British Government are stampeded and fall into the trap under the stress of the critical situation created by the war, India will face a crisis the result of which no man could prophesy, and I feel certain that Muslim India will never submit to such a position and will be forced to resist it with every means in their power.

And of what type of constitutionalists will this constituent assembly consist ? There are in India roughly four hundred million souls who, through no fault of their own, are hopelessly illiterate and consequently priest and caste-ridden. They have no real conception of how they are being governed even today and it is proposed that to the elected representatives of such, should India's future constitution be entrusted. Is it too much to say that since the vast majority of the elected representatives will be illiterate Hindus the constituent assembly will be under the influence of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders and the constitution that will emerge will be as the working committee direct ?

Thus, through the constituent assembly, will the working committee attain its ends. British control and commerce will disappear ; the Indian States will be abolished ; minority opposition will be stifled and a great Hindu nation will emerge governed by its beloved leader Mr. Gandhi and the Congress working committee.

We have now considered the disease and the symptoms. What is the remedy ? (1) The British people must realise that unqualified Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and attempts to impose it must cease. (2) In India, it must be accepted that 'party' government is not suitable and all Governments, central or provincial, must be governments that represent all sections of the people.

In this connection the all-India Muslim League has laid down the following broad principles :—

(1) That the British Government should review and revise the entire problem of India's future constitution *de novo* in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present provincial constitution, and developments that have taken place since 1939 or which may take place hereafter.

(2) While the Muslim League stands for a free India, it is irrevocably opposed to any federal objective which must necessarily result in a majority community rule, under the guise of democracy and parliamentary system of Government.

(3) No declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League, nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by his majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval.

To conclude, a constitution must be evolved that recognises that there are in India two nations who both must share the governance of their common motherland. In evolving such a constitution the Muslims are ready to cooperate with the British Government, the Congress or any party so that the present enemities may cease and India may take its place amongst the great countries of the world.

Council Meeting—New Delhi—25th. February 1940

MR. JINNAH ON LEAGUE DEMANDS

The Council of the All-India Moslem League, at a meeting held at New Delhi on the **25th. February 1940**, unanimously elected Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* as President for the forthcoming session of the League at Lahore. All the Provincial Leagues had unanimously suggested his name. Mr. Jinnah, addressing the meeting, said :—

"I have already communicated to His Excellency the Viceroy the resolutions of the Working Committee, and have intimated to His Excellency the viewpoint of the League. There the matter stands at present, and we are now awaiting what His Excellency proposes to do next."

The League, he said, had put a fivefold demand before the Viceroy. First, the League had demanded a clear statement on behalf of the British Government that the present Act of 1935 would go lock, stock and barrel, and the entire scheme of constitutional reform would be examined *de novo* in the light of experience gained from the working of the Constitution during the last two years, and in the light of experience which might be gained in future.

The Viceroy had assured them that the whole scheme of the Act of 1935 would be examined afresh, as also the policy and plan underlying it.

The second point on which the League had insisted was that Moslems would not agree to any declaration without their consent and approval being obtained for it, nor was any interim settlement to be made under the threat or at the behest of any other party, however strong it might be, without the previous approval of Moslems. In this matter also the Viceroy had assured them that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the importance of Moslems and any settlement which ignored them would be unthinkable.

Mr. Jinnah said that this statement was unsatisfactory. This left them within the region of consultation and counsel, while Moslems demanded that they themselves should be the sole judges of their destiny.

The third demand was that Indian, particularly Moslem, troops should not be used against any Moslem country.

In this respect, said Mr. Jinnah, His Excellency had misunderstood the League. The League never asked the Government that Indian troops should not be used in the defence of India. What it had asked was that Indian troops should not be used against a Moslem country outside India.

The fourth demand was for the settlement of the Arab question, and Mr. Jinnah urged, on behalf of the League, that the so-called endeavours to reach a settlement would not do, and the British Government must reach a settlement to the satisfaction of the Arabs forthwith.

The last demand of the League related to Moslem grievances in Congress-governed provinces. It was true that the Governor-General could not intervene when the Congress Ministries did not exist. The question, however, had two aspects. First, the League had made it abundantly clear that Moslems had been oppressed in Congress-governed provinces, and members of the League were made the special targets. The Congress High Command had characterised these statements as false, but was willing to set up a judicial committee. That proposal was absurd.

"On the other hand I had offered to accept a royal commission, consisting of two people from outside India." Mr. Jinnah said, "It was then said that the Congress was not willing to have outsiders as arbitrators in theire domestic affairs. As if Sir Maurice Gwyer was born in Wardha." Mr. Jinnah declared thet he repeated the demand.

The second aspect of the question was whether the High Command caucus ministries were again to be put into office. The "Deliverance Day" demonstrations had amply shown how every section of the people outside the Congress was opposed to Congress Rule.

The question was that of the protection of minorities. Mr. Gandhi in this connexion had recently stated that everyone in India should depend upon himself for his protection. That meant that every minority should have an army of its own and not depend on the Government for its protection. Moslems, however, were not a minority but a nation, Mr. Jinnah asserted.

"People ask me what is our goal. If you do not understand even now, then I say you will never understand what our goal is. Great Britain wants to rule India. Mr. Gandhi wants to rule India and the Moslems. We say that we will not let either the British or Mr. Gandhi rule the Moslems. We want to be free."

Referring to the Congress claim to be a protector of the minorities, Mr. Jinnah quoted a letter from Mr. Gandhi to a prominent citizen of Sukkur in which he said: "The re-incorporation of Sind in the Bombay Presidency may or may not be a good proposition on other grounds, but certainly it is not for the purpose of greater protection of life and property. Every Indian, be he Hindu or any other, must learn the art of protecting himself. It is a condition of real democracy. The State has a duty, but no State can protect those who will not share with it the duty of protecting themselves."

Mr. Jinnah also quoted the statement of Mr, Gandhi in the latest issue of the *Harijan* in which Mr. Gandhi admitted that the proper organisation to enter into settlement was the Hindu Mahasabha so far as the Hindus where concerned. Mr. Jinnah asked, "who does Mr. Gandhi represent ?" and replied "certainly not the Mussalmans."

Resolutions—CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

The Council confirmed the resolutions on the war and the Indian constitutional question raised by the Working Committee on September 18, October 22

and February 3 and 4. During the discussion on the resolutions, Mr. Jinnah made a survey of the position since the outbreak of the war and reiterated the Moslem League's demands and emphasized the determination of the League to let neither the British nor Mr. Gandhi rule over Moslems. Mr. Zafar Ali, Sir Raza Ali, Mr. Barkat Ali, Mr. Hossain Imam, the Raja of Pirpur and Sir Sher Mohd. Khan also spoke.

Sir Raza Ali said that the feeling among educated young Moslems was that the League should reach a settlement with the Congress. The Raja of Pirpur and Mr. Jinnah thought that it was wrong to attribute to youth views which, in their opinion, were Sir Raza Ali's own. Sir Raza Ali defended his statement and said he was only acting as a messenger.

VICEROY'S SPEECH CONDONED

The meeting passed a resolution, moved by Mr. *Naimul Haq* (Bihar), expressing dissatisfaction with the Viceroy's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, and placing on record bitter resentment at Sir Hugh Neil's statement declining to appoint the Royal Commission demanded by Mr. Jinnah.

FRONTIER QUESTION

The Council agreed to the affiliation of the Assam and Orissa Moslem Leagues and adopted a resolution on the forward policy of the Government with regard to the Frontier.

The resolution which was moved by *Malana Zafar Ali*, runs as follows :—

"The Council views with alarm the recent decision of the British Government which created the impression that it intends to annex Waziristan, the homeland of the independent Pathan tribes, with whom a war on a miniature scale is being at present waged on what is known as the Ahmedzai Salient across the Kohat-Bannu Line. While the Council condemns the action of the Border tribes in carrying out raids on British areas, it has no hesitation in once more declaring that these raids are inspired by the fear that the British Government is bent upon depriving the Border tribes of their freedom which they love more than their lives.

"In view of the international situation in Europe and the danger of its spreading to the Near and Middle East, the Council calls upon the British Government to reconsider their forward policy and take immediate steps to pacify the Border tribes and assure them that the British Government is not inimical to Islam and is anxious to restore peace and order by friendly co-operation with the Border tribes."

Sir Sher Mohd. Khan was opposed to the forward policy, but felt that the mover did not understand the facts correctly. Sir Sher Mohd's reading was that Government had no intention of annexing Waziristan. He asked the Council to realize what havoc these raids were causing on the Frontier, both amongst the Hindus and the Moslems. The main object of the raiders was to obtain money. He suggested that before passing the resolution they should invite the opinion of the provincial Moslem League as to whether the Government's action was justified. Several speakers supported the resolution. Mr. Jinnah, in putting the resolution to the vote, said that they could obtain the Government's intention during the Budget debates in the Central Assembly. The Council then adjourned *sine die*.

Annual (27th) Session—Lahore—22nd. March 1940

The Welcome Address

Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm the 27th. session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Lahore on the **22nd. March 1940** in a huge pandal which was tastefully decorated with flags and buntings. Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, president-elect, arrived at 2-50 p. m. and was conducted to the pandal in a procession to the accompaniment of bag-pipes. He received a great ovation at the pandal.

That the greatest achievement of the Muslim League in recent times was the Federal scheme in India, was the view expressed by *Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan* of Mamdot, chairman of the reception committee, welcoming the delegates to the League. The Nawab said that this achievement, which protected the Muslims and other minorities against a calamity which endangered their very existence, would remain a bright chapter in the history of Indian Muslims. The All-India Muslim League was to-day working on such lines as would not only ensure the national life and independence of the Mussalmans of India, but at the same time protect other com-

munities. He was happy that the Mussalmans had fully grasped this ideal of their only representative organisation and they were mustering strong under the flag of the All-India Muslim League.

The ideal of free Mussalmans in a free India, continued the speaker, was an ideal which neither the British Government nor the Congress dare characterize as unreasonable. The All-India Muslim League upheld the cause of India's freedom but it could not tolerate that the rights of Mussalmans should be usurped by the majority community. The Mussalmans would reject any scheme of reform that did not safeguard Muslim rights.

Speaking on the Act of 1935, Sir *Shah Nawaz* said that the western type of government did not suit India and the experience of the past two-and-half years' administration in Congress majority provinces had amply proved this. The Mussalmans could never tolerate that they should live in subjection to a community which had no common ground with them as regards religion, culture and civilization. The European communities could not tolerate the domination of another nation, added Sir Shah Nawaz, although they had practically the same religion, culture and civilization.

Discussing the communal question, Sir Shah Nawaz said that as many as 25 attempts had been made in the last quarter of century, but no settlement had yet been arrived at. The reason for the breakdown of negotiations on every occasion was that the Congress refused to accept the basic principle of separate electorates for the Musalmans, and if they did so they did it in a form in which Mussalmans could not maintain their identity and independence. Referring to the working of provincial autonomy, Sir Shah Nawaz said that in order to run a popular Government efficiently the majority should try to satisfy the minorities and inspire confidence in them in every possible way, but he was sorry to observe that the attitude of the Congress had been to the contrary. Sir Shah Nawaz described how the Punjab Government was doing everything to satisfy the minorities and keep them content. The minorities had been given full representation in the Government in the Punjab and Bengal. During the past three years the Punjab Government had spent 2½ crores of ruppees on the famine-stricken villagers of the south-east Punjab, a majority of whom were Hindu Jats. Concluding, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan deplored that some very prominent Muslim leaders had cut adrift from their community and joined the Congress, which was not fighting for the independence of India but only for the domination of the Congress and the Hindus after the British.

Presidential Address

In the course of his address Mr. *Mahomed Ali Jinnah* said :—

"The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which have built the British constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the Cabinet system. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country. And the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder in producing the constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that most of the leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonize the inconsistent elements in India.

"A leading journal the *The Times*, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote that 'undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Moslems is not only of religion in the strict sense of the word, but also of law and culture, that they may be said indeed to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilizations. However, in the course of time, the superstitions will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation'. These fundamental and deep-rooted differences—spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political—have been euphemized as mere 'superstitions'. But surely it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the subcontinent of India, as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society vis-a-vis that of Hinduism, to characterise them as mere 'superstitions.'

"Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact these nationalities are as divergent to-day as ever, and they cannot at any time be expected to transfer themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by the unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes.

"What the unitary Government of India for 150 years has failed to achieve cannot be realized by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command willing and loyal obedience throughout the subcontinent by various nationalities, except by means of armed force behind it.

"The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character, but manifestly of an inter-national one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to Moslems, but to the British and Hindu also. If the British Government are really in earnest and are sincere in their desire to secure the peace and happiness of the people of this subcontinent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national States'.

"There is no reason why these States should be antagonistic to one another. On the other hand, the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will tend more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead, further, to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Moslem India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of the Moslems and various other minorities.

"It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is only a dream that Hindus and Moslems can ever evolve a common nationality. This misconception, of one Indian nation, has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time.

"The Hindus and Moslems have different religious philosophies, social customs, literature. They neither inter-marry nor dine together, and indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their views on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Moslems derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and they have different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical ministry and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State.

"History has presented to us many examples, such as the union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many States as there are nations inhabiting them. The Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as seven or eight sovereign States. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula where as under the plea of the unity of India and one nation which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when we know that the history of the last 1,200 years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during these ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Moslem India.

"The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet, but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break-up with the worst disaster that has ever taken place during the last 1,000 years to Moslems. Surely that is not the legacy which the British would bequeath to India after 150 years of rule, nor would Hindu and Moslem India risk such a sure catastrophe.

"Moslem India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Moslems brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities, can only mean Hindu raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress high command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial

constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and the raising of private armies, as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to the Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow. If they cannot, then they must emigrate.

"The Moslems are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only to look round. Even to-day according to the British map of India, out of 11 provinces, four provinces where the Moslems dominate more or less are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress high command to non-co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience. Moslems are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their State. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in the way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands, and the vital interest of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences and make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set before us."

Reviewing the position since the last session of the League at Patna in December, 1938, Mr. Jinnah touched on the Vidya Mandir scheme in Nagpur and the Wardha scheme all over India, the "repression of Moslems in the Congress-governed provinces and the way in which the Moslems were treated in some of the Indian States" and the issue in Rajkot.

"Before the war was declared", he continued, "the greatest danger that the Moslems of India faced was the possible inauguration of the federal scheme in this country. But the Moslem League stoutly resisted it in every direction and we shall never accept the federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935.

But after war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the League. Suddenly there came a change in the attitude of the Viceroy towards me. I was treated on the same basis as Mr. Gandhi. This was the severest blow to the Congress high command. I was wonder-struck. Why was I all of a sudden promoted and given a place side by side with Mr. Gandhi. The answer is the All-India Moslem League (loud applause). I believed that was the first shock that the Congress high command got and I tell you that they have not recovered from it yet.

"Now I want you, therefore, to realize the value and importance and significance of the Moslem League and organize yourselves. The Moslems of India are now conscious and awake. This institution is not going to be destroyed by anybody. Men may come and men may go, but the Moslem League will live.

"After the declaration of war the position of the Moslem League was a delicate one. We were between the devil and the deep sea. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India (cheers). But this is not the freedom which is the goal of the Congress. We have had enough experience during the last two and a half years of the Congress attitude towards Moslems in the Congress-governed provinces and we have learnt many lessons and we are not going to trust anybody. At any rate we do not trust anydody who has once betrayed us.

"I never dreamt that the Congress would ever come so now as they did in the Congress-governed provinces but facts are more important than belief. I never believed that there could be a gentleman's agreement between the British Government and the Congress. We cried ourselves hoarse day in and day out against what was happening in the Congress-governed provinces but the Governors remained supine and the Governor-General expressed his helplessness because of that gentleman's agreement. We reminded them of the special responsibilities it devolved upon them for giving protection to the minorities but these responsibilities have become a dead letter. Providence came to our help and the gentleman's agreement was broken and the Congress went out of office. They are now sorry that they did it. They want now to come back but how can they do it? We cannot trust and rely upon others and I appeal to you with all the earnestness that I can command to organize yourselves. This is the best and only safeguard. You must depend upon yourselves.

"After the outbreak of war, the Congress asked the British Government to make a declaration. The Viceroy says that he has made a declaration but the Congress wants another kind of declaration. The Congress says 'we want you to declare that India is free at once and independent and we will frame our own constitution by means of a constituent assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or the lowest franchise which will satisfy the legitimate minorities, and Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied with this a high tribunal will decide the dispute. Besides the proposal of a constituent assembly being of an impracticable and nebulous character historically and constitutionally, it is an absurd thing to ask the ruling power to agree to a constituent assembly.

"Supposing we do not agree with the majority then we are allowed to disagree only on points which deal strictly with safeguards. The presumption is that when the constituent assembly comes into operation the British Government will disappear. It follows that substantial power must be transferred to the assembly. How is this to be implemented and practised and who is the authority? Mr. Gandhi, because the British Government will have parted with power completely."

"Mr. Gandhi has been saying for the last 20 years that there cannot be any swaraj without Hindu-Moslem unity. Mr. Gandhi is fighting for a constituent assembly. May I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that they are fighting for a constituent assembly which we cannot accept. Therefore, the idea of a constituent assembly is impracticable and unacceptable.

"Mr. Gandhi wants a constituent assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Moslems and if they do not agree he will give up all hopes and then will agree with us.

"If there exists a will to come to a settlement with the Moslem League, then why does not Mr. Gandhi, as I have said more than once, honestly agree that the Congress is a Hindu organization and that it represents anything but a solid body of Hindus? Why should Mr. Gandhi not be proud to say 'I am a Hindu' and that the Congress is a Hindu body? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Moslem and that the Moslem League is representative of Moslems. Why all this camouflage? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why this fight for a constituent assembly? Why should not Mr. Gandhi come as a Hindu leader and let me meet him proudly representing the Moslems?"

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that after the outbreak of war they had asked the British Government to give assurances on several points. They had made an advance with regard to one point. Their demand that the constitutional problem of India be examined anew had been accepted by the British Government. As regards other matters they were still negotiating.

"We have asked the British Government," said Mr. Jinnah, "to make a declaration that no constitution will be thrust upon us without our approval and consent, that no Indian settlement will be made with any party behind our back and without our approval and consent. I trust that this is a fair and just demand. We do not want a constitution thrust upon us which the Moslems do not want.

"I hope the British Government will give this assurance. Whether give it or not, we must depend on our inherent strength. I declare here that if any declaration is made by His Majesty's Government without our approval and our consent, Moslem India will resist it, and no mistake should be made on that score."

With regard to Palestine, Mr. Jinnah urged that the national demands of the Arabs in Palestine should be met forthwith.

Referring to the despatch of Indian troops abroad, Mr. Jinnah said: "There seems to have been a misunderstanding. We have made it clear that we never intended that Indian troops should not be used for the defence of the Indian people. What we wanted was that Indian troops should not be sent against Moslems or any Moslem power.

Resolutions—Second day—Lahore—23rd. March 1940

CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

The second open session of the League commenced at 3 p.m. on the **23rd. March,** Mr. *M. A.* Jinnah presided. The pandal resounded with cheers of *Sherrai-Bengal Zindabad* when Mr. *Fazlul Huq* arrived at 3-45 p. m. The whole gathering stood up to welcome the Premier of Bengal. Mr. Huq moved the following resolution on the constitutional problem :—

"1. While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolu-

tions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1939, and 3rd of February 1940 on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

"2. It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of his Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act 193., is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

"3. Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultations with them and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

"This session further authorise the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary".

Moving the resolution Mr. *Fazlul Huq* said: We have stated definitely and upequivocally that what we want is not merely a tinkering with the idea of federation but its thorough overhauling so that the federation may ultimately go. This idea of federation must not only be postponed but abandoned altogether. On masy an occasion on the platform of the Muslim League and the other day on the floor of the House in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, I made an emphatic and definite assertion that the Mussalmans of India will not consent to any such scheme which is framed without our approval. We will make such a constitution absolutely unworkable. I hope those who may have in their power to shape the future constitution of India will take the Muslim feelings into consideration and not take any step which may be regretted. We have made our position absolutely clear. The problem is very simple. At present the Muslims constitute 80 millions scattered all over India. It may sound a big number but, as a matter of fact, the Muslims are in a weak position numerically in almost every province of India. In the Punjab and Bengal we are in an effective majority and are hopelessly in minority elsewhere. The possion is such that whatever may be the constitution, Muslim interests are bound to suffer just as they have suffered during the last three years of the working of provincial autonomy.

Mr. Fazlul Haq characterised as un-Islamic sentiments the recent statement of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his presidential address that the Muslims should not feel nervous. Eighty millions was not a small number and they need not be afraid. Mr. Fazlul Haq said even if a sufficient proportion of 80 millions had been congregrated in one province we would have nothing to fear. Situated as we are, our political enemy can take advantage of the situation. Our friends will remember that even in the Punjab and Bengal our position is not very safe. In the legislatures we are not in such large majority; we have to seek the help of other interests and minorities to form coalition governments which are the weakest form of Governments known to constitutionalists. As regards the other provinces we are in a very weak position and are at the mercy of the majority. Until a satisfactory solution is found of this unequal distribution of Muslim population it is useless to talk of constitutional advance or of safeguards.

I earnestly appeal to my Muslim friends throughout India to remain united and exercise calm and sober judgment and remember that we have to stand on our own feet and cannot rely on anybody. It is a case of every one for himself and no one for Muslims of India. Mr. Haq appealed to the audience to accept his motion and hoped the result would be good.

Seconding the resolution *Choudhury Khaliquzzaman* said that they should consider the circumstances which had forced the Muslims to demand separation and their own Government where they were in majority. Firstly, the responsibility of this demand rested on the British Government, who in order to exploit the Indians declared that India was one nation and started the majority and minority question. They opened the flood of such stupendous propaganda that the question came to be regarded as a real problem, whereas in fact this question did not exist. After the British, Congress and the majority community were responsible for the Muslims' demand for separation. The working of the provincial part of the Act of 1935 in Congress provinces during the last three years had finally decided the question of separation. The treatment that the minorities in these provinces had received at the hands of the majority needed no comment. The Muslims had now realised that their existence was in danger, and if they wanted to maintain their identity they must struggle for it. Third and last, the responsibility was of those Muslims who tried to split the ranks of Muslims by setting up rival organisations or joining the Congress or other non-Muslim political parties. Continuing Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman said that he differed from Mr. Abul Kalam Azad where he said that because the Muslims were strong enough to defend themselves they should not demand separation. He added that the responsibility of those Muslims who had damaged Muslim rights in India was great, for they were not only betraying the present generation, but the future generations also. If the Congress continued to act on the advice of Muslim Congressmen there was sure to be a civil war in India.

Supporting the resolution *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan*, M.L.A., (central) said that he was feeling today as if he was speaking from a free India. For a long period he had been an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity and had been in the Congress for a number of years. During all this time he had found that the Congress was not at all anxious to achieve freedom but in fact wanted to suppress the minorities. The Congress had achieved its present high position as the result of the support lent by the Muslims in the past but now the Congress had adopted an indifferent attitude towards the Muslims. He as well as others of his school of thought had been criticising the Muslim League for not doing any constructive work but today it had shown to the world its constructive programme. Referring to the Congress proposal for a constituent assembly, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan reiterated that they would not accept any constitution which had not been approved of and consented to by the Muslims of India.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, leader of the opposition in the Frontier Assembly said that he had the privilege of supporting the resolution which had been moved by the 'lion of Bengal.' It should be considered calmly and dispassionately. He congratulated the Muslims living in the Hindu provinces for lending their suport to the resolution which sought freedom for six crores of Muslims. Speaking for the Frontier he said that his province was the gateway of India and he was there to assure Muslims living in the Hindu provinces that they were ready at all times to lay their lives for the sake of their co-religionists. The speaker expressed the opinion that it was absurd to declare Muslims a minority community when in four provinces in India they were in a majority.

Concluding Sardar Aurangzeb Khan said, 'we do not want British democracy which is nothing but counting of heads. Muslims are a separate nation ; we want a home for the Muslim nation ; our home is as indicated in the resolution'.

Sir Abdulla Haroon, M.L.A., (central) said that it was a well known fact that the Muslims came to India through Sind. Sind Muslims were the first to moot this question which was now before the League. In 1938 the Muslim League passed a resolution for establishing 'independent states' in the north-western and eastern zones. Since then various constitutional schemes had been framed and they were now being examined by a command that it was the duty of the Muslims to pass it without any hitch. Sir Abdulla Haroon warned the Hindus that if the Muslims in Hindu province were not justly treated, the Hindus in the Muslim provinces would be treated in the same way in which Herr Hitler had treated the Sudetans. The speaker hoped that the proposal embodied in the resolution

would be acceptable both to the Hindus and the British as there was no better solution of the thorny problem.

Third Day—Resolutions—Lahore—24th. March 1940

The third day's session of the League commenced on the 24th. March at 11-15 a. m. As Mr. Jinnah arrived a little late, the Nawab of Mamdot was voted to the chair to guide the proceedings which commenced with recitations from the Holy Quran. Discussion on the resolution on the constitutional problem was then resumed.

K. B. Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan (Bihar), supporting the resolution said that he belonged to a minority province where Mussalmans did not enjoy freedom of speech. In this session which was being held in a 'free land' he had pleasure in speaking freely. He thanked the Muslim majority provinces for the offer of help to the Muslims of minority provinces if an attempt were made to suppress their rights, but he had full confidence in the ability of the Muslims of his own province to defend themselves in the hour of need. Referring to Maulana Azad's presidential address the Nawab said that he wanted to tell the Congress that Maulana Azad's voice was not the voice of the Muslims but that Mr. Jinnah truly reflected Muslim opinion in India. (Cheers.)

Mr. *Mohd Isa Khan* (Baluchistan) assued his co-religionists in the minority provinces that when they had achieved freedom in majority provinces they would not forget them and would be prepared to render every kind of help in their power. He reminded the audience that like the Mussalmans of the N. W. F. P., the Mussalmans of Baluchistan were also the gatekeepers of India, as they guarded the Bolan Pass. They were the trustees of a great charge and he hoped they would acquit themselves well in the eyes of their brethren in the minority provinces.

Mr. *Abdul Hamid Khan* (Madras) declared that the All-India Muslim League had been carrying on the fight for the freedom of India for the last 37 years. In this struggle they had co-operated with the Hindus in the hope that the freedom of India meant freedom for every inhabitant of this country. But their belief had been belied by the conduct of the Congress during its regime of two and a half years in seven out of the 11 provinces. Mr. Abdul Hamid said that thanks to the Congress regime in the provinces the Muslims had been awakened and Muslim Leagues had been organised in every province. He expressed the hope that when the League prepared a new constitution the Muslims of minority provinces would be fully consulted.

Mr. *Ismail Chundrigar* (Bombay) declared that Federation of the whole India in which the Mussalmans would be in a hopeless minority was entirely unacceptable to them. He maintained that the scheme embodied in the resolution was fair and just from all points of view. The Muslims in no circumstances were prepared to support the Congress proposal for a constituent assembly where the Muslims would be in a minority of one to three.

Syed Abdur Rouf Shah (C. P.), said that he belonged to a province which had been the target of the Congress oppression. In spite of the tyranny of the Congress ministry the Muslims did not lose patience.

Dr. *Mohd. Alam*, M.L.A. (Punjab), who recently resigned from the Congress, supported the resolution. Analysing the position of the Congress Dr. Alam said that the Congress did not want independence but a Hindu Raj under the aegis of the British Government. This was why distinguished Muslim nationalists like Mohammad Ali had severed their connection with the Congress. It was not a fact, he asserted, that the Muslims had left the Congress but on the other hand the truth was that the Congress had abandoned its original position and given up its goal of complete independence. Dr. Alam related how before joining the League he went to Delhi to meet Mr. Jinnah and enquired as to what sacrifice the Muslim League would be prepared to make to achieve the programme now outlined in the resolution. Mr. Jinnah assured him, continued Dr. Alam, that he would give his life for it and be the first to go to jail. Dr. Alam appealed to the Muslims to organise branches of the League in all districts, towns, villages and mohallas and strengthen the hand of Qaid-i-Azam.

When the session met at 9 p. m., *Syed Zakir Ali* and Begum Mohd Ali supported the resolution. The resolution was passed by a show of hands.

RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

The following resolution on Palestine moved by Mr. *Abdur Rehman Sidique* and seconded by Sir Raza Ali was adopted:

"The All-India Muslim League views with grave concern the inordinate delay on the part of the British Government in coming to a settlement with the Arabs in Palestine and places on record its considered opinion in clear and unequivocal language that no arrangements of a piecemeal character will be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world and particularly Muslims in India to secure them active assistance in the war of 1914-18. Further the League warns the British Government against the danger of taking advantage of the presence of the large British force in the holy land to overawe the Arabs and force them into submission".

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddique, who attended the Palestine Conference in Cairo last year, moving the resolution charged the British Government with taking advantage of the situation created by the war. He reminded the British Government that the pledges given to the Palestine Arabs must be fulfilled forthwith.

Sir Syed Raza Ali, seconding the resolution, deplored that no news was coming from Palestine, while war news from both sides was available at any time, though it may be exaggerated.

Resolution on Khaksars

The following resolution on the Khaksars moved from the chair was passed unanimously :

"This session of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the unfortunate and tragic occurrence on March 19, 1940, owing to a clash between the Khaksars and the police resulting in the loss of a large number of lives and injuries to many more, and sincerely sympathises with those who have suffered and with their families and dependants.

"This session calls upon the Government to forthwith appoint an independent and impartial committee of inquiry, the personnel of which would command perfect confidence of the people with instructions to them to make full and complete investigation and inquiry in the whole affair and make their report as soon as possible.

"This session authorises the working committee to take such action in the matter as they may consider proper immediately after the publication of the report of the committee.

"This session urges upon the various Governments that the order declaring the Khaksar organisation unlawful should be removed as soon as possible".

Moving the resolution, Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* assured the gathering, whether it be the Punjab Government, the Government of India, the Punjab Ministry or the Punjab Premier, that they would not rest until they had got justice. Mr. Jinnah requested every Mussalman in the Punjab and particularly the Khaksars in the Punjab and elsewhere in India to put their heads together and see that at the time of inquiry they placed their material before the investigating authority. Mr. Jinnah said : 'The resolution is the result of discussion in the subjects committee last night from 9 p. m. to 2 o'clock in the morning. The subjects committee adopted this resolution in the form in which it is now placed before you. They have passed it unanimously and now it is for you to deal with it. The resolution represents their considered opinion and they want me to convey to you that this resolution should be put from chair. There are many reasons for this course to be adopted. The first reason is that it will not be desirable to have people coming and making speech after speech. It is very difficult to restrain passions and some may say something which might be considered harmful to our interests. Another reason is that the matter is sub-judice.

Explaining the resolution, Mr. Jinnah said : 'It asks for a full and complete investigation and inquiry and it will not be in the fitness of things that on the one hand we ask for an inquiry and on the other we pronounce our judgment.' Mr. Jinnah reminded the audience that there was a clause in the resolution which authorised the working committee of the All-India Muslim League to take such action as they thought proper immediately after the publication of the report of the enquiry committee.

Amendments in League Constitution

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan then placed before the open session certain amendments in the constitution of the Muslim League which have been approved by the subjects committee. The amendments provide that the working committee of the All-India Muslim League shall control, direct and regulate all the activities

of the various provincial leagues strictly in consonance with the aims, objects and rules of the All India Muslim League. The working committee is empowered to take disciplinary action against individual members of the council of the All-India Muslim League who violate the decisions of the League or act in contravention of its aims and objects, subject to the right of appeal to the council of the All-India Muslim League. The working committee is also given the power to suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate any provincial league which fails in its duties, infringes or ignores the decisions or directions of the All-India Muslim League, or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever, subject to a right of appeal to the council of the All-India Muslim League.

These amendments were unanimously agreed to.

On the motion of Sir *Raza Ali*, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali and the Raja Sahib of Muhamadabad were elected honorary secretary and honourary treasurer, respectively, for the next year. The election of joint secretaries was left to the council of the League.

Mr. Jinnah's Concluding Remarks

In his concluding remarks Mr. Jinnah thanked the reception committee for according him a magnificent reception and for rendering him every assistance in conducing the deliberations of the session. The Mussalmans, he added, had shown to the world how much disciplined they were.

Referring to the Khaksar tragedy, Mr. Jinnah said that he was very much perturbed when he learnt about the firing on the Khaksars. He was advised not to hold the session of the League but as he had the fullest faith in his people he decided not to postpone the session. When he reached Lahore he told press representatives in an interview that the Lahore session of the Muslim League was going to be a landmark in the future history of the Mussalmans of India. He had no doubt that but for this tragedy on the eve of the session, it had proved a greater success. Had there not been this tragedy there would have been a magnificent procession when they would have had the opportunity of demonstrating their enthusiasm. Their enemies wanted to mar the session somehow or other but all their attempts had failed and the session had concluded successfully. Mr. Jinnah was happy that deliberations of the session were conducted in a calm and quiet atmosphere. It was the acid test of the Muslims, when our blood was boiling, and when 30 Muslims were shot dead, it was very difficult to keep calm. 'But you have demonstrated to the world that the Mussalmans are capable of bearing sorrows. You have also shown to the world that you can conduct your business in a gathering of lakhs. It is the finest certificate than can be given to any nation. The prestige of the League was in the hands of the Mussalmans of the Punjab. I, therefore, congratulate the Punjab Muslims from the bottom of my heart. It gives me courage to serve you all.'

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that the Lahore session was a landmark in the history of Indians. They had defined their goal. He assured the gathering that they would fight for that goal. They had taken this great decision on right earnestness. Mr. Jinnah thanked the Nawab of Mamdot, chairman of the reception committee who had worked day and night for making the session a success and extending hospitality to the guests. Finally Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims of the Punjab to organise the Punjab Muslim League and carry the message of the Muslim League from village to village and house to house. 'The more you organise yourself the more you will be able to get your rights.' He exhorted workers, peasants, intelligentsia, landlords and capitalists to try to speak with one voice.

The session concluded at 11-30 p. m. amid loud shouts of *'Muslim League Zindabad'*, *'Qaidiasm Zindabad'*.

Working Comm. Resolutions—Bombay—15th & 16th June 1940

Appeal to Governmdnt

The Working Committee of the All India Moslem League which was held in Bombay on the **15th. & 16th. June** passed a resolution authorizing Mr. *Jinnah*, the League President, to enter into communication with the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize India's resources for intensifying war effort and the defence of the country. The grave world situation, the resolution stated, demanded serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country. The Committee which reviewed the international situation,

expressed alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression and characterized Italy's unprovoked attack on the Allies as unwarranted and immoral. With regard to Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons and the broadcast appeal of the Viceroy, the Committee endorsed Mr. Jinnah's statement to the Press on May 27 which said, "It is up to the British Government to show trust in Moslem leadership —there are many ways of doing so—and as confident friends seek our whole-hearted co-operation, and we shall notfail." The meeting passed the following resolutions:

1. "The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League, while being of the opinion that further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated April 19, 1940, with regard to the assurance asked for by the All-India Moslem League, is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, to the Press on May 27, 1940.

"Up to the present moment we have not created any difficulty, nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war.

"The provinces where the Moslem League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government pending their consideration with regard to the assurance we have asked for. and in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connexion without our approval and consent.

"Nevertheless without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing, as far back as November last, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing laws.

"But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

"A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met the same fate. Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been writing for the Congress to pass its word.

"With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of H. E. the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Moslem leadership—there are many ways of doing so—and as confident friends seek our whole-hearted co-operation, and we shall not fail.

ENEMY AGGRESSION

"The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies, as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

"The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organized manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, as well as the statements of some provincial Governors, are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation.

"The Committee therefore authorizes its president to enter into communication with H. E. the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilize the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying the war effort and the defence of India. The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an All-India basis, and not provincial, between the Government and the Moslem League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.

"The Working Committee is of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave dangers that are facing the country real purpose will not be served by Mussalmans and others joining the proposed provincial and district war committees with their present scope and functions.

WAR COMMITTEES

2. "In view of the numerous inquiries that have been received from the various provincial and district Leagues and individual members seeking guidance

and instructions as to what course they should adopt towards the proposed war committees announced by H. E. the Viceroy and some Governors, the Working Committee is of the opinion that Moslems at present would not serve on these committees and should await futher instructions from the president pending the result of the communication with the Viceroy.

3. "In view of the misunderstanding created by the report in the Press about the so-called Moslem Premiers' conference with the President of the Congress at Delhi on June 13, 1940, the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League after the statement of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan before the Committee to the effect that it was purely an individual meeting at the invitation of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for an informal talk, resolves that in order to avoid any misunderstanding or misconstructions in future, no member of the Working Committee should enter into any negotiations or discussions with the Congress leaders regarding the question of Hindu-Moslem settlement or any other matter which requires adjustment between the Moslem League and the Congress without the permission of the president."

VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION

'In view of the grave world situation and its possible repercussions on India, says the resolution, 'when every community is organising its volunteer organisations for the protection of its life and property. the working committee of the All India Muslim League is of the opinion that the time has come when the provincial Muslim Leagues should exert every nerve to start, organise and strengthen the Muslim National Guard corps and give them such strength as will enable them to discharge their duties of maintaining peace, tranquility and order in the country worthy of the best traditions of Islam. The committee earnestly apppeals to the Muslims to join the National Guard in large numbers under the banner of the Muslim League and direct the provincial Muslim Leagues to submit monthly reports to the honorary secretary of the All India Muslim League regarding the progress and the steps adopted for the training of the Muslim National Guard. It is also the considered opinion of the committee that the members of the provincial Muslim League working committees and the district committees should offer themselves for training at least once a week, with a view to giving impetus to enlistment.

It is proposed to consider further the details of the scheme but in the meanwhile the provincial Muslim Leagues shall act in accordance with the following main principles.

The aims and objects of the organisation :—(1) (A) To train and discipline Muslims in coordinate activity for social and physical uplift of the Muslims and to maintain peace, tranquillity and order in the country. (B) The organisation shall consist of officers and guardsmen who will be willing to undertake a definite liability and responsibility to fulfil the aims and objects of the organisation here-in-before defined. (2) It shall be made up as follows :—(A) Active corps members. (B) Reservist corps members, and (C) juvenile corps. (3) Active corps shall consist of men who are capable of taking part in all the activities of the organisation. (4) Reservist corps shall consist of men who due to age, occupation or physical disability are not able to serve on the active corps. (5) Juvenile corps shall consist of boys under 16 years of age. (6) The Muslim National Guard shall be organised under the authority, control and supervision of the working committee of each provincial Muslim League subject to the final authority of the working committee of the All-India Muslim League. (7) The working committee of each province shall appoint properly qualified persons for the purpose of (A) organising the corps ; (B) giving them training ; and (C) officering them. (8) A guardsman on being eligible shall sign the following pledge in duplicate in the prescribed form :—

Solemnly swear by Allah, the Quoran, and my faith that I hereby of my own free will surrender myself to the Muslim National Guard's organisation. I will unflinchingly obey my officers and will remain faithful to the organisation and its aims and objects. So help me God. Amen.....signature.

(9) The headquarters of every provincial organisation shall maintain a classified list of the vocation and profession of every Guardsman under his command. (10) A Guardsman shall not be a member of any other political organisation except the Muslim League or of any volunteer corps. (11) It shall be impressed on all Guardsmen that courtesy to all ranks and classes of society shall be observed. (12) Uniform.—Khaki coat or shirts, khaki trousers and khaki

cap or turban or (2) grey coat or shirt, grey trousers and grey cap or turban provided however that every province will have the option to select either of the two colours but shall keep and maintain the colour and uniform throughout that province.

✓ The Bombay Muslim League Conference

Presidential Address—Hubli—24th. May 1940

The implications of the Muslim League partition scheme were explained in detail by the *Raja of Mahmudabad* in his presidential address to the Bombay Presidency Muslim League Conference held at Hubli on the **24th. May 1940.**

The Lahore resolution, he said, was unambiguous. The Muslims had demanded the very right of self-determination that the Congress had been asking from the British Government. "We have demanded a place in the Indian Sun", he added. "where we will be able to restablish the Government of Islam. We have demanded the right to establish a laboratory wherein we may experiment in peace the greatest experiment that was ever tried."

Asserting that the Muslims of India "have at last an ideal to live for and to die for", he went on to say that the League resolution reflected the mass will of the Muslim people of India and its sanction was the dynamic force of the Muslim masses. The resolve had been made and they were prepared to achieve it "at all costs." Referring to the opponents of the resolution, the Raja of Mahmudabad said that since the passing of the resolution, 'the entire Hindu nation and its parasites have strained every nerve to misrepresent the Muslims and the most astounding aspect of this campaign has been revealed in a few articles contributed by the Congress and Mahasabha autocrats in which they have touched the very depths of misrepresentation, vituperation and abuse.

'We do not want wholesale emigration of the Mussalmans from the Provinces in which they are in a minority, nor is it our intention to expel the non-Muslim minorities from the Muslim States. It is a calumny, a wholly unwarranted distortion of our intentions and programme. I myself belong to a minority province and much as I would have liked to have been born in a Muslim sovereign state of India, I do not intend to uproot myself from my home and leave my co-religionists to their fate".

The speaker then proceeded to explain as to how the contemplated State would function. "The State will conform to the laws as laid down in Islam", he said. "It will deal justly and fairly with evey community and every section of its constituent members. The unchangeable laws of Islam will *ipso facto* be applied and enforced. There will be no fresh legislation in regard to them because Islam has already legislated for them for ever and ever.

"There will be prohibition, absolute and rigorous, with no chance for its ever being withdrawn. Usury will be banished. *Z*akat will be levied. Why should not we be all allowed to make this experiment? In treading this path, we will not be crossing the path of any right-minded individual. Sikhs, Hindus and Christians will benefit equally from the beneficent, all pervading activites of this democratic-theocratic state." Proceeding, the speaker said that the issue of Muslims being a separate nation was not only a theoretical one, but on the other hand, a very living and practical one. If the Muslims did not want to share the fate of the Muslims of Spain, Poland, Bulgaria, if Muslims wanted to save their culture and political thought and if they wanted to revive Islam, then the establishment of an Islamic State was the only course open to them.

He appealed to the educated and upper classes to give up their isolationist attitude and give way to sympathetic intercourse and intermingling with the masses. The propertied classes should meet the masses on equal terms and be prepared to give up willingly their vested interests for the sake of the greater cause —the cause of Islam and the Muslims. After pointing out how the Pakistan demand was being grossly misinterpreted by the enemies of Islam, the President averred: "One of the comicalities in the recent pronouncements in regard to the Pakistan scheme is the entire agreement between Lord Zetland, the Congress and the Maha Sabha leaders in condemning the Muslim demand. Zetlands, Moonjes, Savarkars and Nehrus are strange and incongruous bed-fellows. They may unite and attack the Muslims, but they cannot deflect them from pursuing the course which the Mussalmans have set before themselves."

The Raja, proceeding, outlined the various legislative and administrative details which would be worked out in the proposed Muslimistan, which he was sure would come into existence. Referring to the international situation, the President said : "Imperialist Britain, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Socialist Russia—all are birds of the same feather. Where it is a question of aggression they are all one. Whether the so-called Democracies win or lose, the Socialists or Nazis win, the fate of the unprotected eastern nations will remain the same."

The Andhra Muslim Political Conference

Presidential Address—Samalkot—28th. January 1940

An appeal to the Congress and the Muslim League to come closer as their final objectives were identical was made by Mr. *Abdul Rawoof*, M.L.A., and Chairman of the Bellary Municipal Council, presiding over the Second Andhra Muslim Political Conference, held at Samalkot on the 28th. January 1940.

Mr. Rawoof, in the course of his address, said it was regrettable that the two major political parties in the country, the Congress and the Muslim League, should be drifting apart, although on broad principles the goal of each was the same, viz., Independence. "Both are anxious to see India free but while endeavouring to negotiate and bring about a fusion between the two organisations, the leaders on either side would appear to concentrate on the future constitution of a free India. The Congress thinks that it is the only body that can speak for all the Indians and should, therefore, have the sole voice in the administration. The Muslim League with identical aims and ends as the Congress, says that all communities, whether major or minor, should have equal rights in a future, free India. Janab M. A. Jinnah Sahib, President of the All-India Muslim League, says that if a new constitution is to lead the people of India to freedom, that freedom should be for every cultural unit and not for the majority community only. His one desire is to have for the country a constitution under which no single community, whether it be Muslim or Hindu, should have an upper hand over the other. But the Congress High Command insists that the voice of the majority should prevail in the administration of the country, in support of which it cites the case of certain democratic constitutions, conveniently ignoring the peculiar circumstances of India which abounds in heterogenous elements necessitated by the existence of the different communities here."

Referring to the work of the Congress Ministries, he said: "The Congress Governments, while in power, have given room for distrust and failed to satisfy the Muslim community. The introduction of compulsory Hindi has led to unnecessary agitation and country-wide opposition, Urdu is not merely the language of the Muslims in almost all the parts of India but also that of the Hindus of Nothern India and the States. We have eminent Urdu authors and poets among the Hindus of Northern India. It is compratively richer in literature, traditions and beauty than Hindi. Yet it is being attempted to be supplanted by Hindi, a comparatively new language. What prevented the Congress from making Urdu the *lingua franca* of India ?"

Turning to the demand for the formation of Andhra, Karnataka and other Provinces, he expressed his agreement with those who felt that a separate Andhra Province should not be formed before the Tungabhadra and other irrigational projects were substantially completed and the economic condition of Rayalaseema has been satisfactorily improved.

Proceeding, he said : "Just as the people of Andhradesa demand the formation of a separate province, for the purpose of enabling them to devote all their energies for an adequate development of the country inhabited by the Telugu-speaking people, the All-India Muslim League also demands the recognition of the need to safeguard the interests of the Muslims in the future constitution of India so that every community, whether it be a major or a minor community, may have equal opportunities for the adequate development of its cultural and economic conditions. If only my friends in the Congress adopt a more conciliatory attitude and try to understand us better and allay mistrust, there will be solidarity and unity among the different communities leading us all to freedom. Instead of calling Janab M. A. Jinna Shahib, the accredited leader of the Muslims, a rank communalist, if they examine the question from his point of view there is bound to be a settlement of the vexed question." Mr. Rawoof denied the charge that Mr. Jinnah was not

in favour of democracy. No Muslim could be opposed to democracy. Mr. Jinnah wanted the kind of democracy wherein every cultural unit had equal opportunities of self-expression and development and equal share in the administration, and not that form of democracy which was synonymous with majority rule, wherein the minorities had no voice and did not count. It was high time they showed the world that Muslims were a nation by themselves, that they stood for what was highest in culture and civilisation. He appealed to Muslims to join the League and work for the all-round advancement of the community.

The Shia All Parties Conference

Presidential Address—Lucknow—14th. April 1940

The first session of the Shia All Parties Conference was held at Lucknow on the **14th. April 1940** under the presidency of *Sir Sultan Ahmed*, who in the course of his address appealed that by supporting the cause of freedom and democracy India will have established her rights to both. It is not yet too late to concentrate our united efforts on assisting the Democracies in winning the war. Let us do so without any hesitation."

He said India could not remain isolated from the war as her own future depends on the result of it. Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru had offered unconditional support to Britain and France. Mr. Gandhi s first instinct was right.

After that why was an argument started about the war aims of the Democracies and why was the future of constitutional reforms in India raised at this stage, he asked. This was not the time to raise issues whose solution might well await the termination of the war. Where would be our freedom if the Democracies go under ? So far as the Moslems were concerned he said : "it will not be incorrect to say that the whole Moslem world has ranged itself on the side of the Allies. Turkey, the leader of the Balkan *Entente*, Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan are solidly behind the Allied cause. Never before have the Moslem States been united in this manner and this is one of the great assets of the war. The reason why they are with the Allies is so obvious. True to their Islamic traditions, the Moslem people cannot remain unaffected by the sad fate of many smaller nations which have recently suffered at the hands of aggressors and that is why they support the cause of the Allies, namely the protection of the rights of small nations."

Sir *Sultan Ahmed* went on to speak of the commuual question, which he said, had been further aggravated by the coming into power of the Congress Ministries. "I claim I was one of the Mussalmans who welcomed the Congress Ministries with enthusiasm. High hopes were raised in me as I believed that the real power which had for the first time come to us under the Government of India Act of 1935 will be exercised by them in the best interest of the country and that they will by their conduct attempt to satisfy and gain the confidence of all sections and creeds and thus automatically solve the communal problem. Unfortunately they, by their acts of omission and commission, at least in some provinces not only proved incapable of maintaining law and order but even brought into play the device of 'divide and rule.' Clashes between Hindus and Moslems, landlords and tenants, and capital and labour became rampant.

"On top of that, new controversies were started. In Bihar there was the Bengali-Bihari controversy and in Madras the Hindi and Anti-Hindi agitation. The worst was that they did not condemn or even discourage the corruption practised by their camp-followers throughout the rural areas. This is not an achievement of which any Indian can be proud. How can one enthuse over this kind of party and adulterated democracy ? What is now the result ? The Congress Governments have gone out of office. The last word of their demand has been said. The Moslem League has unfolded its constructive plan. Neither side, however, sees any merit in the proposal of the other. Both sides claim reasonableness and moderation for the views they sponsor, but both of them use the most violent and extreme language in condemning the rival scheme. At present clouds are gathering and a burst up is threatened. Should we allow this state of things to drift which may result in disaster or is there any solution ?

"Personally, I am inclined to think that the best way to solve a problem is to create an atmosphere for its solution. That atmosphere will not be possible unless all parties agree to a truce for a short period—say six months. This may be utilized in filling in the details of the different schemes by their respective sponsors

and also in explaining and understanding their implications. There are other schemes which may have to be considered but there has not been much time for us to carefully digest or consider their real import. Once this is done, His Excellency the Viceroy may call a small Conference which may be presided over by His Excellency himself whose personal anxiety to see that a settlement is arrived at is well known, or in the alternative a general election of the Legislatures as at present constituted may be held to take the verdict of the electorate on the alternative schemes.

"Now I come to the important question of our own needs and demands in the present circumstances. Toleration is the essence of Islam, and Islam enjoins full liberty and just treatment to all sects within its fold. In view of their past history and the important part which the Shias have played in the political advancement of the community, it is vital that their needs and demands be satisfied. To put it briefly, the main demands are :—

(1) There should be complete and full freedom for the observance of the celebrations connected with the Tragedy of Kerbala, commonly known as Azadari and Taziadari.

(2) Our representation in the Legislatures and local bodies should be assured by some convention ;

(3) *Madhe-Sahaba* processions and meetings as such must be prohibited for ever."

Sir *Sultan Ahmed* reviewed the history of the Shia-Sunni dispute and added:

"I will not pursue the subject any further and must leave our case in the hands of His Excellency the Governor and in the hands of our Sunni brethren. The next few days may be momentous in the history of our community. If our responsible brethren will only rise superior to the occasion, as I hope and pray to God they will, they will be rendering the greatest service to Islam and the Mussalmans of this country. My own personal view is that any declaration or public announcement of a "Madhe-Sahaba" meeting or procession followed by a meeting and procession and a similar declaration or announcement of a "Tabarra" procession or meeting followed similarly by a procession and meeting, must be stopped for ever. Anybody who encourages the one or the other to do the contrary will not be acting within the bounds of "Shariat." I am convinced that we would not please God and his Prophet by adopting methods, in the name of religion, which are only intended to annoy each other. Let us both combine and observe the birthday of our Holy Prophet without any ill-feeling towards each other. Let me add in the language of the appeal of the 22 leaders that nothing is further from our thoughts than to suggest the imposition of any restriction on the Sunnis or the Shias in the exercise of the practices followed by them prior to the present controversy.

"In conclusion I would appeal to you to come under one banner and join the organization which can deliver the goods so far as our rights are concerned. My definite personal view is that there should be only one political organization of Mussalmans. The Sunnis, the Shias the Ahle Hadis and others must come within its fold and work together with courage and determination and enhance the glory of Islam. That organization must, and I am sure, will give us every satisfaction."

Resolutions—Second Day—Lucknow—15th. April 1940

RIGHTS OF SHIAS

The Conference concluded its session on the 15th. April after passing two important resolutions with regard to the demands of the Shia community and their atitude to the Madh-e-Sahaba agitation.

The first resolution, which evoked a good deal of controversy in the subjects committee, expressed the community's fears that the recent events in India had shown that the rights and privileges of the Shias were in danger and necessary steps should be taken to secure certain rights. These included the securing of suitable and adequate representations in legislatures and local bodies, adoption of measures to protect social, economic and religious rights and watching, safeguarding and promoting educational interests of the Shia community.

In order to achieve these objects the conference authorized the president to take all suitable steps by appointing committees for the purpose.

The resolution was moved by *Syed Ali Zaheer*, M.L.A. of Lucknow and supported among others by *Raja Gaznafar Ali* of the Punjab, *Khan Bahadur Muhammad Jafar* of Bihar, *Nawab Hasan Mirza* of Murshidabad, *Khan Bahadur Syed Fakir Ali* of the C. P. and *Maulana Syed Ibne Hasan* of Sind and was passed unanimously.

Another resolution, which was moved from the chair and adopted unanimously, protested against the U. P. Government's communique of March 31, 1939, which the conference held, created a big gulf in the Muslim community and injured the feelings of Shia Muslims. The conference demanded of the Government the cancellation of the communique in the interest of justice and peace.

The Independent Muslim Conference

First Session—New Delhi—27th. April to 30th. April 1940

The open session of the All-India Azad (Independent) Muslim Conference commenced in the Queen's Gardens, New Delhi on the 27th. April 1940 and continued till the 30th. April 1940 under the presidency of *Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh*.

Welcome Address

Describing himself as a great supporter of the All-India Muslim League, Khan Bahadur *Shaikh Mohammed Jan*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address, said :—

"It is true that many Mussalmans feel annoyed by the past wait-and-see policy of the Congress to solve the communal problem. And the apathy of eminent Congress leaders to take up this important and most difficult question in right earnest has caused dissatisfaction. But there is no doubt that unprecedented and earnest efforts have for the last two years been made by Gandhiji and Mr. Jawahar lal Nehru to smoothe Hindu-Muslim relations in order to bring both the communities to a common meeting ground by entering into direct correspondence with Mr. Jinnah and by personal contact with him on his own terms. Had Mr. Jinnah responded to any of these eager gestures in the right spirit, Hindus and Mussalmans would be marching shoulder to shoulder to their goal of independence and full Dominion Status would have been in our grasp to-day and not be a mere object of hope deferred to an uncertain future.

"It is my strong belief that tremendous changes are going to take place in the world in the near future which will not leave India unaffected. The present day India is not going to be a stagnant country content with its subordinate position. Should not the Mussalmans make their due contribution to the coming changes ? Will it be honourable for them to do nothing but put forward their claim as full partners in the spoils after the battle is fought and won by others ? I hope that this Conference will not only discover a common formula for safeguarding the due rights and privileges of the Mussalmans of India but will also chalk out a great plan for them to make proper sacrifices worthy of the great community of the cause of the country."

Presidential Address

In the course of his Presidential Address, Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh declared :—

"If Germany's ruthless and brutal disregard of the right of other sovereign States to live peacefully is a challenge to civilisation and therefore Britain and France must stake their all in it, Britain should be the last to challenge India's right to exist as a sovereign and completely independent State and should, therefore, not obstruct its people if they desire to frame their own constitution." Mr. Baksh also condemned the Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League characterising it as grotesque and observed that it was "about the most indiscreet approach to a serious problem and as such has torpedoed the very basis of a reasonable settlement."

Proceeding, Mr. Baksh said, "It is this conference and this conference alone to-day which is in a position to evolve a constructive scheme to bring the political deadlock to an end. If you can come to an agreement as regards the basis of a communal settlement, the Congress, which is undoubtedly the most influential and powerful organisation in the country to-day, is bound to consider your proposals as the one golden bridge which leads not merely to communal and political harmony in the country but to the ultimate goal, namely India's independence. Perhaps your decisions are being awaited both in the country and abroad with great impatience, because on them will depend a very great deal. I am perfectly confident in my mind that the Congress will not hesitate to endorse our reasonable proposals for the communal settlement. The Congress can no longer say that the scattered Muslim organisations and individuals who are eager to attain the country's freedom have not yet formulated their proposals on behalf of the Muslim community for the settlement of the entire communal problem.

"It is perfectly obvious that whatever scheme of settlement you may eventually evolve for safeguarding the rights and interests of the minorities, whether they happen to be in a Hindu or Muslim majority provinces, you keep in view the principle of equal and universal application of the same standard to all of them everywhere.

Danger of Aggressive Communalism

Warning his audience that aggressive communalism was fatal to the growth of that feeling to brotherliness, good neighbourliness and common nationality which were essential, not merely for the acceleration of a common national effort but also for the maintenance of an atmosphere of peace, progress and stability in the country, Mr. Allah Baksh urged that a fair adjustment of the general needs of the country and the various communities should be undertaken in a spirit of generosity and toleration and of right brotherly affection for one another. "Whatever our faiths, we must live together in our country in an atmosphere of perfect amity and our relations should be the relations of several brothers of a joint family, the various members of which are free to profess the faith they like without any let or hindrance and all of whom enjoy equal benefits of their joint property."

To achieve the objects outlined by him, the President suggested the election of committees or boards consisting of a limited number of representatives of the delegates to consider the problem. He said : "The question of formulating definite proposals for the communal settlement is scarcely a matter which can be disposed of quickly at a conference like this. It will require deep and anxious thought and continuous consultations for some time before the result of the Board's or sub-committee's labours can be presented to you in a convenient form. I, therefore, suggest that a board consisting of the representatives of different associations and others may be formed to undertake this onerous duty and they may be authorised to co-opt experts or others to help them to come to correct conclusions. Their report as soon as it is ready—and I take it that they will take some time to conclude their labours—should come up before another session of this conference and after it has been ratified with or without modifications, it should be released to the the country for the consideration of all parties concerned. In the meantime we can appoint some executive of this conference for the purpose of carrying on intensive constructive work among the Mussalmans throughout the country. We can also name a day or days for echo-meetings throughout the country for making known to the millions of Mussalmans the result of deliberations of our conference. All this is essential because a great deal of educative work has to be done and Muslim electorates have to be prepared to consider the larger issues which their votes will ultimately have to decide."

Mr. Allah Baksh dealt at considerable length with the Muslim League's partition scheme, the League-Congress efforts for a settlement and with the background of a communal strife in India. He said, "Not service but rule, not fruitful co-operation but domination, not a general elevation of the level of common prosperity and material benefits but the enrichment of a few families at the cost of millions of their supporters, not a common willing effort to construct a comfortable world for all alike but a graded scale of benefits, the maximum to go to the most intriguing and the Hindu and Muslim masses to grovel in the dust and squalor of their villages and urban slums have been the main aspects of the history of all the Hindu, Muslim and British Empires in India up to now. Islam, on the other hand, does not prevent anyone from developing his natural gifts to the full and enjoying the fruits of his skill and labour. It does not work for a dead level but it forbids exploitation in all shapes and forms and all parties concerned will do well to note this as a fair warning against any attempt to found a structure of government in which domination, coercion or exploitation of the Muslim masses may be possible."

Britain and India

After reviewing rapidly the history of the events which had led to the present communal and constitutional impasse, the President said, "By far the most disturbing feature for Great Britain in the present struggle, from the point of view of world opinion, is the anomalous relationship between England and India. If Germany's ruthless and brutal disregard of the right of other sovereign States to live peacefully is a challenge to civilisation and therefore Britain and France must stake their all on it, Britain should be the last to challenge India's right to exist as a sovereign and completely independent State and should, therefore, not obstruct

its people if they desire to frame their own constitution. Sooner or later this principle on which the whole of that civilisation is based and for whose preservation millions of Englishmen and Frenchmen are ready to lay down their lives cannot fail to be recognised by Britain. Sooner or later, therefore, England must make up her mind to honour the cheque which she has proclaimed that she has drawn in India's favour. By the unwise action of the All-India Muslim League however, England, for the time being, has found it possible to bring the Indian Muslims to the fore and has declared that since the Congress, whose representative position in eight out of eleven provinces cannot be constitutionally questioned, has not yet made its peace with the Muslim League, the encashment of the Dominion Status cheque must be deferred indefinitely."

Proceeding, Mr. Baksh pointed out that the Muslims of India appeared in the eyes of the world as the main obstacle in the way of India's progress as a whole. "No Mussalmans with the sense slightest of realism and self-respect can possibly tolerate for a moment that he should be made a political scapegoat and the the evil consequences of the process should be allowed to react unfavourably on his own and the coming generation's polititical and material future", he said. "The proposal, if not promptly and authoritatively repudiated by a representative gathering like this, is calculated to cause infinite harm to our Indian co-religionists throughout the Muslim and non-Muslim parts of the world and much more so at home."

League's Credential Questioned

Contesting the claim of the Muslim League as the sole representative body of the Indian Mussalmans. Mr. Allah Baksh said that the representative character of the Congress as a political party with a majority in seven and controlling power in the eighth province was comprehensive. "But what credentials beyond public meetings does the League present to be recognised as the representative of the majority of Indian Muslims ? The only way to test its representative character would be to send the League to the polls on the specific issue of the policy it has declared at Lahore. For whatever may have been its support before in the provinces where the Muslims are in a minority, it has definitely injured it beyond repair by suddenly throwing the minority Muslims overboard and propounding a wholly impracticable scheme of creating a sovereign State of some crores of Punjabi, Sindhi. Pathan and Baluch Muslims in the north-west and another of about two and a half crores of Assamese and Bengali Muslims in the north-east separated by over a thousand miles. Only after these dreams have materialised will these sovereign and independent States begin to negotiate a treaty for the protection of the Muslim minorities throughout India. If the Muslim minorities in Hindu majority provinces are to wait for the protection of their rights till these independent and sovereign States of the Punjab and Bengal have come into existence, they will have to wait till the Greek Calends.

Two Nations Theory

Dealing with the "two nations theory of certain leading Muslim politicians of admittedly Indian origin", Mr. Allah Baksh said that Indian Muslims were proud to be the Indian nationals and they were equally proud that their spiritual level and credal realm was Islam. Every Muslim going for pilgrimage to the holy Mecca was invariably described as a Hindu by every Arab and all Indian Muslims were similarly known as Hindustani in Iran and Afghanistan and as Indians throughout the world. "A majority of the ninety million Indian Muslims who are descendants of the earlier inhabitants of India are in no sense other than sons of the soil with the Dravidian and the Aryan and have as much right to be reckoned among the earliest settlers of this common land. The nationals of different countries cannot divest themselves of their nationality merely by embracing one or the other faith. In its universal sweep, Islam, the faith, can run in and out of as many nationalities and regional cultures as may be found in the world."

After describing the bonds that knitted the Hindus and the Muslims in various walks of human life, Mr. Allah Baksh declared that no segregated or isolated region but the whole of India was the homeland of all the Indian Muslims and no Hindu or Muslim or any other had the right to deprive them of their homeland.

Partition Proposals Examined

Analysing the Partition scheme, the speaker said that if the sixty lakhs of N. W. F. Province, Baluchi and Sindhi Muslims were excluded from the North-west Pakistan because they had a more realistic sense of things, the Punjab, with a

population of 1½ crore of Muslims, confined between Campbellpore and perhaps Lahore, would constitute a problematic little Pakistan with rather drastically curtailed financial resources and reduced to the position of one of the bigger Indian States. "I have heard it said that the Sikhs and the Jats or at least the Sikhs can be won over by fair concessions to remain in this Pakistan. Of course such an infantile assumption proceeds on the basis that the bargaining power of the others does not exist. Once again, if over a crore of Sikhs and Jats and other Hindus of the Punjab choose to stay in this Pakistan, one fails to see how it will be different in political composition and power from the present autonomous provinces and in what sense it will become an independent sovereign of Islamic State. In the first place, the N. W. F. Province, Baluchistan and Sind which now enjoy comfortable majorities in autonomous provinces helped by the centre financially and in the matter of defence would not care to exchange their present position for a minority in another unit, though overwhelmingly Muslim.

But if for the sake of argument they did, who would bear, asked Mr. Baksh, their deficit of over Rs. 2½ crores and what guarantee, without efficient financial resources, would the Punjab offer regarding land, air and sea defences against not merely the external but the internal invaders ? The total revenue of the proposed Pakistan, if all the units contemplated including Kashmir and Bahawalpur coalesced (excluding the region which is predominantly Hindu-cum-Sikh), would not exceed Rs. 16 or 17 crores, all of which was required for daily administration. And if the railways and customs and other central revenues of Pakistan's share yielded, say, another five or six or even ten crores of net surplus, the whole of it would not be enough to maintain the defences of the unit against external invasions and to satisfy the interest charges and other liabilities. It was true that the unit if allowed a period of peace and prosperity might develop its industries and build up like Czechoslovakia a decent enough position and defence force but why should it be assumed that the rest of India would all this time stand still and so would the transborder neighbours including Russia, and that their resources would not be put to the best use. Who then would defend this unit against Russia or Afghanistan in the meanwhile, in case a new builder of a Russian or some other empire rose ? If the British were asked to hold this baby until it was strong enough to stand on its own legs, in the first place what was the *quid pro quo*, and in the second what was this smokescreen of an independent sovereign and Islamic State for ?

"The North-East Pakistan is ten times more fantastic and a hundred times more fragile," said Mr. Baksh. "In the conception of the North-Western Pakistan or the Punjab, there is at least a possibility of its being linked up with more powerful Afgan or Russian Muslim neighbours, but the Bengal and Assam Pakistan will be an isolation quarantine, with no superfluity of martial races to its credit, and which, therefore, may not take long to be quickly absorbed by its more enterprising neighbours. But if the League does not contemplate anything better than Burma and Ceylon, the credulous should not be deceived into thinking of an independent Islamic State but they should be frankly told that another Palestine is sought to be created under the British mandate. Let us not waste time on this part of the grotesque scheme.

"It is a matter for some satisfaction that responsible spokesmen of the British Government have scotched this scheme at the outset. We may, however, hope that the indirect and subtle encouragement some influential individual Englishmen have so far given to the sponsors of the scheme, for obvious reasons, will not continue to vitiate a perfectly straight issue. It should be carefully noted that no responsible Minister of the Punjab cared to lend the slightest support to the scheme nor has any popular support been forthcoming from either the Punjab or Bengal. It is quite obvious that if ever a decision along these lines was ever likely to be taken, it would rest not with a political organisation or a party but with the accredited representatives of the population concerned and, therefore, it is difficult to understand the League's objection to a Constituent Assembly in which Indian Mussalmans should decide the question of the form of constitution under which they would be prepared to live peacefully. If the population of the majority provinces do not want the League's Pakistan and if the Muslim minority in the Hindu majority provinces cannot dictate to the Muslin majority province, it is difficult to see on what constitutional basis the League can possibly advance its demand. To my mind it is perfectly obvious that a political personality of Mr. Jinnah's distinction cannot but admit the force of this argument and therefore I am inclined to believe that the Pakistan scheme is about the most indircreet approach to a serious problem and as such has torpedoed the very basis of a reasonable settlement."

Referring to the world situation, Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh described the present world war as the birth pangs of a new world order. He said that the aggressor had been condemned by all right-thinking men as a menace to human freedom and civilisation. "Where ultimately all this will lead none can clearly foresee, but one thing is certain beyond a shadow of doubt, that unless the brutal and ruthless methods of the aggressor are checked and also the ambitious maps of all the empires are rolled up, whether they are based on democratic or totalitarian ideologies, the peace and prosperity for which the vast bulk of mankind has been pining for will not come into sight."

Resolutions—Second Day—New Delhi—28th. April 1940

INDEPENDENCE AS GOAL OF MUSLIMS

The second day's sitting of the Conference commenced to-night at 11 p.m. with *Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh* in the chair. The proceedings opened with a recitation from the Quoran. Two condolence resolutions touching the deaths of Mr. *Yakub Hasan* and *Maulana Mohiuddin Ajmeri*, put from the chair, were passed.

The third resolution repudiating the charge that the Mussalmans were opposed to India's freedom was moved by *Mufti Kifayatulla*, President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind :—

"This Conference of representatives of the Indian Muslims who desire to secure the fullest freedom for their country consisting of delegates and representatives from all provinces, after having given its fullest and most careful consideration to all the vital questions affecting the interests of the Muslim community and the country as a whole declares the following :—

"India, with its geographical and political boundaries, is an indivisible whole and as such it is the common homeland of all the citizens, irrespective of race or religion, who are joint owners of its resources. All nooks and corners of the country contain the hearths and homes of the Muslims and the cherished historic monuments of their religion and culture which are dearer to them than their lives. From the national point of view, every Muslim is an Indian. The common rights of all the inhabitants of the country and their responsibilities in every walk of life and in every sphere of activity are the same. The Indian Muslim by virtue of these rights and responsibilities is unquestionably an Indian national and in every part of the country he is entitled to equal privileges with all other Indian nationals in every sphere of governmental, economic and other national activities. For that very reason Muslims owe equal responsibility with other Indians for striving and making sacrifices to achieve the country's independence. This is a self-evident proposition, the truth of which no right-thinking Muslim will question.

"This Conference declares unequivocally and with all the emphasis at its command that the goal of Indian Muslims is complete independence along with the protection of their religious and communal rights and they are anxious to attain this goal as early as possible. Inspired by this aim, they have in the past made great sacrifices.

"This Conference unreservedly and strongly repudiates the baseless charge levelled against Indian Muslims by the agents of British imperialism and others that they are an obstacle in the path of Indian freedom and emphatically declares that the Muslims are fully alive to their responsibility and consider it inconsistent with their tradition and derogatory to their honour to lag behing others in the struggle for the country's independence,"

Mufti Kifayatulla, in the course of his speech, traced the history of the Indian struggle for freedom and said that active propaganda was being carried on at present both in and out of India alleging that Indian Muslims were opposed to Britain granting freedom to this country. It was up to the Muslims, he declared, to repudiate this charge. Referring to the Pakistan scheme, the speaker said that by religion a Muslim was enjoined to preach the message of Islam to the farthest corner of the world. They could not, therefore, shut themselves in zones. The Prophet of Islam came to free the whole world and therefore true Muslims could not be a party to aid others in keeping themselves in bondage.

Mr. *Y. Nurie*, former Minister of Bombay, seconding the resolution, regretted that a section of Indian Muslims was helping Britain to deny freedom to India. A Muslim, he said, was born free and was born to free others. He could not abet Britain to hold India in bondage and it was for the Conference to rebut the charge. He assured the Conference that Indian freedom would secure fullest religious and cultural freedom to everyone, including Muslims. Referring to the Pakistan

scheme, Mr. Nurie asked whether Muslims were prepared to leave behind their religious and other buildings in the non-Muslim zones.

Dr. *Aleem* (Lucknow) moved an amendment by which he urged the launching of a struggle for the country's freedom in which all sections of the Indian people would participate. He said that Indian Muslims were not willing to accept any movement which might strengthen her chains of bondage. His amendment alone would be a fitting reply to the propaganda that Indian Muslims were opposed to the Indian freedom movement. He asserted that the movement would be launched sooner or later and it was their duty actively to support it.

Mr. *Syed Razvi* moved an amendment which sought deletion of the provision, "Along with the protection of their religious and communal rights" in the definition of the goal of Muslims set forth in the resolution. He said that the resolution, as it stood, reduced the Conference to the level of the Muslim League. His amendment was to make complete independence the goal of Indian Muslims.

Khwaja Abdul Majid moved an amendment which, while retaining complete independence as the constitutional goal for India, added explicitly a provision that such freedom should secure and retain the religious and communal rights of Muslims. He said that the idea of complete independence was likely to be misinterpreted or misrepresented by others. They had to go to the masses to remove certain wrong ideas created amongst them. Their goal, therefore, must be correctly defined so as to prevent their co-religionists in rural or urban India from being under a wrong impression. His amendment would secure the desired effect.

Mr. *Razvi* withdrew his amendment.

Dr. *Ashraf* opposed all the amendments. He said that Mr. Abdul Majid's amendment appeared to have some support among the audience. He, however, thought that the amendment did not clarify the definition of independence or make it more explicit. Nor did it improve the condition or status of Indian Mussalmans. The Indian Muslim not only loved his country or freedom but also the right of religious observances. A Muslim knew that India was a land of different races and creeds. Therefore, he wanted an assurance that freedom would also ensure for him communal and religious freedom. The demand was real but it had been magnified by the League. "Let us leave the old nationalism and let us make clear what we want in a free India", he concluded.

Mr. *Zia-ud-din*, President of the All-India Momin Conference, further supported the resolution.

Maulana Hafizur Rehman, opposing the amendments, said that the organisations which had convened the conference, had always participated in the stuggle for freedom and would again participate when an occasion arose. The resolution was a reply both to Lord Zetland and the All-India Muslim League. For he would like to tell Lord Zetland that Indian Muslims were in no way behind others in urging the demand for freedom. Similarly, he would tell the League that India was one and indivisible whole and Muslims were its co-owners along with other communities. The partition scheme, he feared, would retain British rule and might create a buffer state for the benefit of Great Britain.

Maulana Nusti Mahomed Maen, supporting the resolution, said that the Lahore resolution of the League had embarrassed Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, whose non-Muslim colleagues had since then been asking him (the Punjab Premier) to declare what his own policy was in regard to the Pakistan scheme. The League resolution, however, had enabled Lord Zetland to say that Indian Muslims were opposed to their country's freedom. He asked the audience whether they were opposed to Indian freedom. (There were cries of "no, no" from the audience.)

The speaker said that that was their reply to Lord Zetland. If India was to be partitioned on a religious basis, what right had they to prevent the Sikhs from asking for a Sikhastan ?

Dr. *Abdul Aleem*, replying to the criticism against his amendment, said that he was not convinced by the arguments of his critics. At the same time, he realised that the mere passing of his amendment by a majority would not clarify their demand for freedom for India ; it was not their words but their deeds which would be effective. His object was not to frustrate the object of the conference by dividing the House. He, therefore, desired to withdraw his amendent.

The House granted leave and he withdrew his amendment.

Mr. *Ali Bahadur Khan*, speaking on behalf of the Majlis-i-Ahrar, said that his organisation was already taking steps to protect and safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims. The organisation, he said, would fulfil the prediction of their

Prophet and Nabi Mohd. that as far as India was concerned if Islamistan were ever to be established, it would be by the Majlis-i-Ahrar.

Khan Bahadur Samad (Baluchistan) said that the Pakistan scheme had been created at the behest of the British and for the benefit of the British.

Mr. *Jan Mahomed*, after describing conditions in the Frontier Province, said that it was already a Pakistan. He asked Mr. Jinnah to see for himself what price the North-West Frontier Province was paying for this Pakistan.

The resolution was passed unanimously and the Conference adjourned.

Resolutions—Third Day—New Delhi—29th. April 1940

PAKISTAN MOVE DENOUNCED

After a discussion lasting over a hundred and thirty minutes, the Conference passed unanimously to-night the resolution on the Pakistan scheme characterising it as impracticable and harmful to the country's interest generally and of Muslims in particular. *Maulana Habibar Rehman* moved the following resolution :

"This Conference considers that any scheme which divides India into Hindu India and Moslem India is impracticable and harmful to the country's interest generally and those of Moslems in particular.

"This Conference is convinced that the inevitable result of such a scheme will be that obstacles will be created in the path of Indian freedom and British Imperialism will exploit it for its own purpose."

The mover said that the Conference was one of the most representative gatherings held in India in recent years. Tracing the history of political agitation in India, he said, "We want a democratic government, which would have representatives of all communities and interests. We want a government of the Indian masses and not of the British or the Rajas or Nawabs or of any religious group. Proceeding, the Maulana said that communalism had been inflamed not only by Muslims but by Hindus also. Muslims were in the front rank in the freedom struggle as was seen in the Frontier in 1930. The Government of India Act, 1935, had enhanced the power and prestige of Indian masses and electorates. It was alleged that under the present constitution, Muslims were oppressed by the Congress. But that was framed by non-Congressmen and by those who stood for separate electorates and safeguards for minorities. He challenged Mr. Jinnah to come out in an open meeting and put his case before the audience. They would also put their case before the audience. "We will leave the verdict to the community as to whether Mr. Jinnah or we served the Muslims best."

Criticising the Pakistan scheme and the cry of "Islam in danger", the speaker said that the demand for exchange of populations had now been given up and Muslim minorities would have to remain in Hindu India. He declared that the Pakistan scheme would never be accepted by any sensible Muslim as it would reduce autonomous provinces to the status of Indian States. Proceeding, the Maulana said that it was Hindus who were responsible for making the Muslim League strong. The Hindu press did Mr. Jinnah's propaganda and weakened the cause of Nationalist Muslims. The Maulana asked the audience whether any one was in favour of Pakistan. The audience signified their opposition to the scheme. The speaker, continuing, said that he did not want protection for Islam either from Hindus or any other community. He would protect it by his own strength and sacrifice. "I could not be protected by Pakistan.

The resolution was seconded by Maulvi *Abdulla Ulkazi* of Bengal, who said that no Muslim in Bengal was in favour of the partition. He added that the proposal was likely to deprive two to three crores of Muslims living in Hindu zones of their rights. The same would be the fate of Muslim buildings of worship and shrines.

Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim, ex-Minister of the United Provinces, further supported the resolution. He said that the allged oppression of Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces was claimed to be the reason for the partition scheme, but the question was whether oppression of Muslims, if any, would cease even under the Pakistan. He did not think so. Further, the allegation of oppression, he declared, was baseless and without any foundation. But the Muslim League had propagated these allegations amongst the Muslim masses, because some of the Leaguers were not included in the Ministries. Mr. Ibrahim claimed that even if the League Ministries had been in power, they would not have done as much for the Muslims as the Congress Governments had done.

Mr. *Abdur Rehman Khan* (Frontier), in lending support to the resolution, described the Pakistan scheme as a ruse to keep India under British domination.

The resolution was passed.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Maulana Hafiz-ul-Rehman moved the following resolution on Constituent Assembly :—

"It is the considered opinion of this Conference that the future constitution of India should be framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage. In that constitution, the safeguards for protecting the rights and interests of the Mussalmans should be determined by the Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly. The representatives of other communities or any foreign power shall have no right to interfere in that decision".

Maulana Hafiz-ul-Rehman said that the political awakening in India had reached a stage when she could not allow a foreign Power to determine her future constitution.

The resolution was supported by Mr. *Mohammed Amin Khoto* (Sind), who said that the resolution demanded the right of self-determination for India and the drafting of the constitution by the representatives of the masses and not by self-elected leaders. The Pakistan scheme, he asserted, would not benefit the masses but only vested interests.

Mr *Ansar Harroni* moved an amendment seeking to summon a Constituent Assembly only after power had passed over to the Indian people. This, he said, would give the sanction of action to the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. *Ghulam Mohammed* (Frontier) moved another amendment by which he wanted to make a provision that the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly would demand nothing less than complete independence.

Maulana Nooruddin Bihari by a third amendment, wanted the representatives of each community to determine and safeguard its own rights and interests.

Maulana Hafiz-ul-Rehman replying to the debate, said that he did not see his way to accept any of the amendments.

Two amendments were withdrawn, while the third was rejected and thereafter the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Dr. *Ashraf* said that five years ago they were not strong enough to demand the right of self-determination. Its first basic principle was that no outsider would interfere or determine India's constitution. This, for the present, had been denied by Lord Zetland. Dr. Ashraf gave instances where Constituent Assemblies functioned in U. S. A., France and Soviet Russia and observed that their demand would be irresistible, if they organised and made themselves strong. The Conference then adjourned.

Resolutions—Fourth Day—New Delhi—30th. April 1940

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

When the open session of the Conference met to night, the fourth and the last day of the session, *Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh* presiding, Mr. *Asaf Ali* moved, on behalf of Chair, the following resolution :—

"Whereas in the future constitution of India it would be essential in order to ensure stability of Government and preservation of security that every citizen and community should feel satisfied, this Conference considers it necessary that a scheme of safeguards as regards vital matters mentioned below should be prepared to the satisfaction of Muslims.

"This Conference appoints a Board consisting of 27 persons. This Board should, after the fullest investigation, consultation and consideration, make its recommendation for submission to the next session of this Conference so that the Conference may utilise this recommendation as a means of securing a permanent national settlement to the communal question. This recommendation should be submitted within two months. The matters referred to the Board are the following :—

"(1) Protection of Muslim culture, personal law and religious right ; (2) political rights of Muslims and their protection ; (3) the formation of the future constitution to be non-unitary and unavoidable powers for the Federal Government ; and (4) provision of safeguards, economic, social and cultural rights of Mussalmans and their share in the public services.

"The Board will be empowered to fill up any vacancy in a suitable manner. The Board will have the right to co-opt other members. It will be empowered also to consult other Muslim bodies and, if it considers necessary, any responsible organisation in the country. The 27 members of the Board will be nominated by the President. The quorum for the meeting of the Board will be nine.

"Since the safeguards of the communal rights of different communities will be determined in the Constituent Assembly referred to in the resolution which this Conference has passed, this Conference considers it necessary to declare that Muslim members of this Constituent Assembly will be elected by Muslims themselves."

Mr. *Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim*, former Minister of the United Provinces, speaking on the resolution, said that they wanted full freedom of religious observance without any outside interference. Muslims, he declared, were prepared to take part in the struggle for freedom and would continue to do so until complete independence was achieved by the united efforts of all communities. Mr. Ibrahim proceeded to explain that they wished to frame a constitution for India under which every individual would be free to live a harmonious life and would have faith in the government. Referring to the failure of efforts for communal unity, Mr. Ibrahim said that the Congress had on three occasions in the past tried to ascertain from the leaders of the Muslim League the nature of the safeguards they considered necessary for the protection of the cultural, religious and political rights of Muslims. But the insistence of the League leaders that the Congress should recognise the League as the only representative organisation of Indian Muslims was responsible for the failure of this move. He asked what was the relation between the two, the safeguards for Muslims and the recognition of the League as the only organisation representing Indian Muslims ? This attitude on the part of the League leaders showed that they did not want communal unity in the country. The Pakistan scheme, sponsored by the Muslim League, indicated the failure of the leaders of that organisation to protect the right of Muslims. Mr. Ibrahim then explained that the Board would formulate the demands of Muslims and place the same before the Congress.

Mr. *S. A. Brelvi*, seconding the resolution, expressed satisfaction at the decision of the conference. He felt gratified in particular with the unequivocal declaration that Muslims were prepared to fight with other communities for Indian freedom and support the demand for summoning a Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for India. The idea of establishing a Hindu Ram Raja or Muslim Raj in India was absurd. Had Mr. Jinnah not insisted on the recognition of the Muslim League as the authoritative body of Indian Muslims, a communal settlement would have been possible. Mr. Brelvi concluded by pointing out that the only course open to them under the existing circumstances was the one indicated in the resolution. He felt confident that the resolution would receive unanimous support.

Maulana Ahmed Saeed, General Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, criticised the attitude of the Muslim League to the question of a communal settlement and declared that the conference and not the Muslim League was representative of Indian Muslims.

Mr. *Abid Jaffarbhai* (Bombay) opposed the resolution.

Mr. *Abdul Ghani* and Mr. *Syed Razvi* supported Mr. *Jaffarbhai*. They said they should rely on their own strength to secure their rights and needed no safeguards. They reiterated their belief in the Constituent Assembly as the only solution of the Indian political problem.

Mr. *Asaf Ali*, in a brief speech, explained the necessity for the resolution and said that the resolution could not be taken to mean that they no longer believed in the system of joint electorate. The Conference had already accepted the principle that the future constitution of India should be framed by a Constituent Assembly, which was also to determine the safeguards for the protection of the communal rights of the various communities. The resolution sought to make it clear that the representatives of Muslims to the Constituent Assembly should be chosen by the Muslim community. Mr. Asaf Ali pointed out that the resolution was based on the principle of self-determination which had been accepted at the Conference.

Mr. Asaf Ali declared that there need be no doubt that Muslims would fight for the freedom of the country. He pointed out that in 1919 the national movement organisations like the Khilafat, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema had joined the Congress. He assured them that they were ready for any amount of sacrifice to win freedom. He referred to the good work of the Muslim Mass Contact Committee set up by the Congress and said that this body was doing its best to help the Muslims. Mr. Asaf Ali assured the conveners of the Azad Conference his full co operation in the matter of giving effect to its discussions.

Mr. *Obeidulla Sindhe* made a fervent appeal to Indians and particularly to Muslims to join the Indian National Congress. He said that they could not attain freedom so long as Indians, irrespective of creed, did not extend full support to the Congress and come under its flag. They must remember that they had no arms to fight. Paying a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Sindhe said that Gandhiji had introducted a new technique, the non-violent method of conducting a struggle. Muslims, he declared, should prepare themselves to fight for freedom through this non-violent method. He, however, said that the Muslim view-point was not fully understood by Congress leaders. He commended the resolution to the House and hoped it would be passed unanimously.

The resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority.

Resolution on War

The following resolution on war was moved by Dr. *Ashraf*, seconded by Mr. *Fakharuddin Ahmed*, ex-Minister of Assam, and was passed unanimously :—

"This Conference is strongly of the opinion that the present European war is the outcome of the imperialist tendencies of European nations. Moreover, the treatment of subject nations by the British and French democracies themselves, since this war has made it absolutely clear to India that even these democratic countries, in spite of their declarations to the contrary, have clearly shown up their imperialist nature. A war of this nature is evidently contrary to the legitimate interest of the down-trodden poor masses.

'This Conference is of opinion that in this war, the European Imperialist Powers are making special effort to use the people in Islamic countries as tools to gain their own ends as is evident from the activities of these Powers in Egypt, Morocco, Palestine and Syria.

"In these circumstances, this Conference is clearly of opinion that Muslims in India should remain neutral in this war and dissociate themselves from rendering any support to the imperialist Powers and to help not only their own countries but also other subject countries. They should fully participate in the struggle for freedom and be prepared to offer every kind of sacrifice."

The following resolutions were also passed by the Conference :—

Baluchistan

"This Conference expresses its deep regret that Baluchistan is still kept deprived of the form of government which already obtains in other provinces. This Conference is empatically of the opinion that Baluchistan is entitled to those rights and powers, which other provinces enjoy. This Conference very strongly supports the movement that is being carried on to bring Baluchistan to a position of equality with other provinces and assures the freedom-loving inhabitants of Baluchistan that it will give them every possible help."

Support to Handloom Industry

"This Conference notes with regret the depressed state of the handloom-weaving industry and in order to encourage and stimulate this industry appeals to all Indians generally and Muslims particularly that they should only use cloth that is hand-woven."

President's Concluding Speech

Khan Bahadur *Allah Baksh*, President of the Conference, winding up the proceedings, declared that the Pakistan scheme was impracticable and would never become a reality. The Conference, he said, had provided him with an opportunity to witness, for the first time in recent years, the spectacle of seven influential Muslim organisations coming on the same platform and giving expression to their views on problems affecting their community. He emphasised that Muslims did not lag behind Hindus in their demand for freedom. He assured Muslims that they had nothing to fear in a free India, but freedom would be theirs only when Hindus and Muslims reached an understanding. Speaking for himself, Mr. Allah Baksh made a suggestion that Ulemas should be elected to the Constituent Assembly and whatever their verdict, it should be binding on the Muslim community.

Answering the critics of the Congress Ministries, Mr. Allah Baksh said that if parties were deputed to Sind and the Punjab, it would not be difficult to find fault with their administration. Finally, he reaffirmed that the system of joint electorates was conducive to cordial and harmonious relations between the different communities. He exhorted all to strive their utmost to attain their goal. The four-day session came to an end amid shouts of "Allah-o-Akbar" and "Inquilab Zindabad".

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Working Committee Meeting—New Delhi—10th & 11th Feb. 1940

CONSIDERATION OF VICEROY'S OFFER

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha commenced at New Delhi on the 10th. February with the President, Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, in the chair. Dr. B. S. Moonje and Bhai Paramanand were among the members present. The meeting adopted the following resolutions :—

"In view of the facts (1) that the mischief sought to be created by Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League by their observance of the so-called 'Deliverance Day', has been nipped in the bud by the refusal of the Government to appoint a Royal Commission as desired by them ; (2) that H. E. the Viceroy has announced in clear terms that Dominion Status in terms of the Westminister Statute shall be the basis of the constitution for India to be achieved 'at the earliest possible moment' and that he has further given the assurance 'to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power' ; and (3) that the Viceroy, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha are all of one opinion in making provision for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities in any constitution that may be drafted ;

"The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a spirit of responsive co-operation, is prepared to give its helpful considerations, as an immediate step to its goal of independence, to the proposals contained in the Viceregal communique, namely :

"(1) that His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with the representatives of all the parties and interests in India when the time came.

"(2) that the Federal scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping stone to Dominion Status ;

"(3) that the offer put forward by H. E. the Viceroy in November, 1939, of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the lines and on the basis then indicated, remained open and that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give effect to that order."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS TO SETTLE COMMUNAL ISSUE

As regards the communal problem "which is now the only hurdle in the way to further constitutional progress", the Hindu Mahasabha was of the definite opinion that it should be immediately referred for settlement to the League of Nations.

As for the problem of the defence of India, the Hindu Mahasabha was of opinion "that a period of transition of ten years at the most be fixed, during which the scheme of Indianisation of all the different branches of the Army such as the Air Force, the Navy, etc., should be quickened and finished and that, at the end of the period, Defence also should be made a transferred department."

The Hindu Mahasabha welcomed the publication of the correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and Lord Linlithgow "in that it has brought into light the conspiracy which Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League are organising to create facilities for the Moslem Powers and Moslem countries for aggression against India by demanding on the one hand, that Indian troops should not be used against any Moslem Power or country and, on the other, that the present proportion of the Moslems in the Indian Army should not be reduced."

It was also resolved that a deputation of the Hindu Mahasabha be sent in time to England so that any agitation that might be started there prejudicial to the interests of the Hindus be effectively counteracted and an agitation be initiated for the annulment of the Communal Award.

Resolutions—Second Day—New Delhi—11th. February 1940

RECRUITMENT TO ARMY

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, at its meeting to-day, adopted a resolution urging the removal of the artificial distinction between martial and non-martial classes and acceleration of recruitment from Hindus of all provinces in India, which offered an excellent material for the rank and file and officers.

The Committee pointed out the necessity of preserving Hindi as national language and called upon the Government of India to introduce a better system for safeguarding the Hindi language in the programmes of the All-India Radio and the appointment of Hindi artistes in larger numbers.

The Sind Government was requested not to hand over the administration of the Manzilgah buildings to Muslims and the Governor of Sind was asked to withhold sanction to such restoration, in exercise of his special responsibility.

The meeting drew the attention of the Government of India to the disturbed condition in the North-West Frontier due to tribal raids, kidnappings, etc., and urged them to take effective steps against the miscreants.

The following committee was appointed to give effect to the resolution passed at the last annual session of the Mahasabha at Calcutta in respect of establishment of a Hindu militia :—Dr. B. S. Moonje (Chairman). Mr. J. P. Verma (General Secretary). Dr. Savarkar (Bombay), Capt. Keshab Chandra (Punjab), Mr. G. V. Subba Rao (Bezwada), Mr. Nalvade (Maharashtra), Mr. Chand Karan Sharda (Ajmer), Pt. Bharat Mishra (Bihar). Mr. Khemchand Gunnamul (Sukkur), and one representative from each of the remaining provincial Hindu Sabhas.

Working Committee Meeting—Bombay—18th May 1940

DEMAND FOR DOMINION STATUS AFTER THE WAR

The Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee passed a number of resolutions arising out of the international situation and the political situation in India, at its meeting held in Bombay on the 18th. May 1940.

The committee reiterated that the Congress cannot speak on behalf of the Hindus, and called upon the Government to give a definite undertaking that no pact entered into by the Congress and the Muslims between themselves, to which the Hindu Mahasabha is not made a party and which is not sanctioned by it, can be binding on the Hindus as a whole.

The committee authorised the president, Sir M. N. Mukherji. Dr, B. S. Moonje, Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji to place the committee's resolutions before the Viceroy, secure a definite reply to the issues raised and submit to the working committee, not later than July 31, a report, on receipt of which the committee would consider what further practical steps should be taken in case the Mahasabha's demands are not granted.

MILITARY TRAINING TO INDIANS

Other resolutions regretted that adequate steps had not yet been taken to give military training to the Indians for the defence of India, and, in view of the developments in Europe, impressed on the Government of India the urgent necessity of raising a national militia on a large national scale and on a voluntary basis without distinction of caste or creed, which should be equipped in an up-to-date manner both on land and air, and which should serve as a force reserved for Indian defence.

The committee further reiterated its demand for a declaration by the Government that Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster will be granted to India immediately on the cessation of the war, guaranteeing the indivisibility of India as a political unit. This, the committee urges, should not be conditioned on any Hindu-Muslim pact as an indispensable pre-requisite nor should the future constitution be based on the present communal award.

The committee also reiterated that it is prepared to accept Dominion Status as the immediate step towards the attainment of absolute independence.

CO-OPERATION WITH CENSUS AUTHORITIES

A resolution urging the Hindus to cooperate whole-heartedly with the census authorities to get their real numerical strength well registered in the coming census, was adopted.

The committee also emphasized the need to popularise the definition that every one 'who recognises this Bharat Varsha as his or her fatherland or holy land is a Hindu.' It was also decided that the hill tribes should be advised to return themselves as Hindus.

Another resolution passed by the committee referred to the declaration of the Muslim League with regard to Pakistan, and called upon all Hindu princes the necessity of taking immediate steps to awaken and consolidate the Hindus in their States by extending every support to the Hindu Sangathan movement in general and the Hindu Mahasabha in particular.

A third resolution which was on the Bidar riots criticized the policy of the Nizam's Government in this respect.

The working committee discussed in detail what attitude the Hindu Mahasabha should adopt in respect of the Pakistan movement.

Resolutions—Second Day—Bombay—19th May 1940

CULTURAL CONTACT WITH BURMANS

A resolution exhorting all Hindus in Burma to develop close cultural and patriotic contact with the Buddhist Burmans 'who are our co-religionists and cultural allies' and stand by them in weal and woe as against any common aggression, was passed by the working committee of the Mahasabha which concluded the two-day session today after passing four more resolutions.

SYMPATHY FOR HINDU SUFFERERS IN BURMA

The committee recorded its sympathy for the Hindu sufferers in the recent anti-Hindu Muslim riots in Burma and declared that the helplessness of the Hindus in these riots was due to their not having consolidated their position. The resolution also warned the Buddhist co-religionists in Burma to beware of the danger they were rapidly getting exposed to by the 'alarming increase of the Muslim population' which was bound to lead to the Muslims demanding 'a separate existence and attempt to create a culturally, religiously and politically hostile state within the state'. The committee advised the Burmans to take a lesson from the history of Hindustan before it was too late.

BOSE-LEAGUE PACT DETRIMENTAL TO HINDUS

By another resolution the working committee supported the Bengal provincial Hindu Mahasabha in its resolve to maintain an independent Hindu Sabha party in the Calcutta corporation 'untainted by any humiliating alliances' and condemned the pact formed between Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and the Muslim Leaguers in the corporation 'under conditions which are highly detrimental to Hindu solidarity and interests in Bengal.'

The working committee authorised the president to take necessary action concerning Mr. B. C. Chatterji, the general secretary of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, for his activities in connection with the election to the aldermanship of the corporation.

PAKISTAN SCHEME CONDEMNED

The Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League came up for condemnation when the following resolution was adopted :—

'This meeting of the working committee strongly condemns the Pakistan scheme as adopted in the resolution passed by the Muslim League at Lahore last March aiming to break up India into a number of Muslim States and Hindu States, as fundamentally anti-Hindu and therefore anti-national. The committee reaffirms the determination of the Hindu Mahasabha to maintain with all and every means in its power the integrity of Hindustan as an organic and indivisible national and political unit.

'The committee further repudiates the statements made by certain Congressite leaders to the effect that "if the Moslems unanimously press their demands of Pakistan no power could withstand it", or 'that the Moslem rule would after all be an Indian rule and therefore must necessarily be preferable to a foreign rule", or, "that the Moslems alone had the right to dictate what safeguards they want and these should be accepted by the Hindus as the basis of any compromise to secure Hindu-Moslem unity".

The resolution further pointed out the communal incidents in various parts of the country and declared that Muslim rule was bound to be dangerous to Hindus and as unacceptable as any foreign rule.

The Tamil Nad Hindu Mahasabha Conference

Presidential Address

The first session of the Tamil Nad Hindu Mahasabha Conference was held at Salem under the presidency of Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha on the 23rd. March 1940. who in the couse of his address said that the objective of the Hindu Mahasabha was the consolidation

of the Hindus with the ultimate goal of absolute independence for India. Hindus did not mind if Moslems considered themselves a separate race, but the proposal to divide the country could not be permitted."

Mr. *Savarkar* said that he had read with grief an extract of an article from the pen of Gandhiji, in which it was stated that he (Mahatmaji) would be ruled by them (Muslims) because it would still be Indian rule. Mr. Savarkar deplored this attitude on the part of Gandhiji and the Congress. If Gandhiji would prefer to live in the divided India of the Muslims under Mr. Jinnah's rule, why not, asked the speaker, live under the British ! If the argument that Mr. Jinnah's rule was Indian rule was quoted, it would be equally true to say that British rule was human rule. He could not understand this "defeatist" mentality and he for one refused to allow the division of India into two. Mr. Savarkar differed from Gandhiji fundamentally and added that the Hindu Mahasabha would never be a party to such arrangements. The Hindus too were Indians and why should the Muslims ask for their own part of the country ?

The Congress might try to compromise with the League, continued Mr. Savarkar, but the Mahasabha would not do it. No compromise which sacrificed the self-respect of the Hindus would be agreed to by the Sabha and he appealed to the Hindus to resist the proposals of Muslims who wished to restore Muslim rule through various means. Muslims had understood the weakness of the Congress and were bluffing. The Mahasabha was prepared to take up the challenge and to fight for the preservation of Hindustan. Let all minorities live in Hindustan and they would all receive equality of treatment. Let them not, however, arrogate any superiority of strength to themselves and try to befool the others who were equally wide awake and quite determined to safeguard their rights and privileges.

Mr. Savarkar refuted the theory of Mr. Jinnah that there were two major races in India. He pointed out that the Muslims had now come to regard themselves no longer as a minority, but as a major race and, perhaps, as the more powerful of the two major races. The Hindu Mahasabha was prepared to face this issue and would allow the Muslims no more rights than their population would justify. If they wished to fight out the issue, the fight would not be refused. He was very sorry that Mr. Jinnah was becoming no better than Nadir Shah or Aurangazeb. Swaraj in India, Mr. Savarkar concluded, could only be Hindu Raj since the Hindus were a majority and others could not object to it. It existed in other countries and Hindustan was no exception to the rule of the majority being in power. Mr. Savarkar reiterated his point and added that the Hindus could not agree to Gandhiji's readiness to be under Muslim domination, even if it was Indian Raj. He appealed to the Hindus to join the Sabha and consolidate their ranks prepared for any fight which the Muslims might force on them encouraged by the British policy of "Divide and Rule" and the weakness of the Congress in yielding to the Muslims and giving them a blank cheque in the name of nationalism which, however, was not true nationalism.

Proceeding, Mr. Savarkar emphasised that Hindustan had a right to exist on the map of the world even as other countries existed, and he would exhort the Hindus to remember his appeal and to work for the Mahasabha. He could not see how Hindus of Hindustan could submit to Muslim rule. Hindus were awake to the real danger and were ready to fight any power to save their independence to the last drop of their blood. He was sorry for Gandhiji's statement, but felt amused by what Mr. Jinnah had said in his speech at the League Conference at Lahore. Mr. Savarkar also explained at the Conference the term "Hindu" and defined the view of the Mahasabha as to who was a Hindu and what constituted the qualifications for being a Hindu.

Mr. Savarkar observed that in South India there was some misunderstanding about the word "Hindu". The Mahasabha did not mean by the word "Hindu" anything connected with mere religion or theocracy. Even those who did not believe in the Vedas were Hindus, as for instance, the Jains. The Sikhs, the Brahmos, the Reformers, the Sanatanists and others, who had their own special religious dogmas and books, were also Hindus. A Hindu was one who considered Hindustan as the land of his birth and as the land of his religion, whatever it might be. That India was his "Pitribhoomi" and "Punyabhoomi" were the two essential constituents of the word Hindu. A Hindu ought to remember always that he was born in India and that India was his holy land, i,e., the land where his Gurus had their birth. The definition held good of the various denominations

of the Hindu race, the Sikhs, the Jains and Lingayats. The Muslims, Christians and Jews, even if born in India, looked to Arabia as their Holy Land and, therefore, they did not come within the meaning of the word "Hindu."

Mr. Savarkar also touched upon the question of the Dravidian movement in South India and added that whether one was an Aryan or a Dravidian, he was a Hindu, since India had given birth to him and his religion had its origin in India. The Mahasabha was, therefore, for all Hindus, irrespective of all differences of caste or philosophy or other beliefs. He was glad to inform the audience that the Jains had agreed to be put under the main classification of Hindus in the ensuing census and he appealed to all Hindus—Aryan and Dravidian, Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, Mahratta, Madrassi or Punjabi—to join the Sabha and to consolidate its ranks.

Mr. Savarkar then referred to Mr. Jinnah's suggestion to bifurcate India into Hindu and Muslim India, and hoped that as a result of the efforts of the Hindu Mahasabha, the Hindus would all stand united in common cause, namely the preservation of their race, culture, religion and political rights in the land of their forefathers. That was what he called "Hindu-dom" namely, the Hindu Nation, which comprised Hindu religion and all the other concomitants which were necessary to keep the race in a position of strength and influence. He appealed to Hindus to abolish untouchability, to relax the rigour of the caste system, to be united as one man and prevent the spoliation of Hindustan by any artificial divisions.

The Bihar Provincial Hindu Mahasabha

Presidential Address—Ranchi—14th. April 1940

The ninth session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Mahasabha was held at Ranchi on the **14th. April 1940** under the presidency of Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee*, who in the course of his address said :—

"Nothing will be more disastrous than failure by the British Government to rise equal to the occasion and settle the present constitutional deadlock in India consistent with India's legitimate demands.

"It is unquestionable that whatever constitution may come into existence, the bulk of the people to be affected will be Hindus. It is equally true that unless Hindus throughout India combine, the fate of the Hindus in provinces, where they are in a minority, is sealed. It is necessary for us to be fully satisfied that the freedom movement in this country will lead not merely to the disappearance of any foreign domination but will also bring peace, happiness and prosperity to our society and will give to the Hindus the fullest scope for playing their part in the attainment of national welfare. The future State must be so organized as to give to Hindu culture and civilization their appropriate place in the social order, subject to any changes which the altered conditions of this world may rightfully demand.

The Indian National Congress which for 50 years has claimed to be representative of all classes of Indians finds itself in a most perplexing situation. Much though we wish that truth were otherwise, it is no use concealing the fact that the Congress has not succeeded in bringing within its fold any very large number of Moslems. And yet the Congress dares not openly fight for the protection of Hindu interests even though they are deliberately trampled underfoot. The danger to the future of India and specially of Hindus, of the Moslems consolidating themselves into a separate entity drawing its inspiration from Moslem countries abroad is obvious. None can tell what the future will be. But none can say to-day that it will be a fairy tale to assert that some future Moslem leaders of the Pakisthan movement may dream of a possible alliance with some independent Moslem State for the preservation of Moslem interests or for the spread of Islam in India.

"As Hindus our position is perfectly clear. We want communal harmony and amity. We fully recognize that this country must continue in future, as it has been in the past, the home of many peoples other than Hindus. We beg of them to treat this country as their fatherland and identify themselves with the joys and sorrows of the people of India. The Hindus who are numerically the strongest must be true to their past traditions of tolerance and forbearance and allow the fullest liberty to all communities residing in India. Such tolerance and understanding must

have special application in the fields of cultural, social and religious pursuits so that the legitimate rights of other communities in these essential spheres of life may be scrupulously respected."

He continued :—"The Hindu Mahasabha claims to revive the Hindus in the land of their birth. As an immediate programme we have to take up the solution of those obstacles which stand in the way of Hindu solidarity particularly in social sphere. Once we succeed in rousing Hindu consciousness, artificial barriers, such as untouchability, created by the exigencies of time amongst different classes of the Hindus will automatically disappear.

"In the next order of society that we contemplate the Hindu Mahasabha must be the meeting ground of all classes and castes of Hindus, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, capitalist and labourer, employer and employee. One of the tasks of the Hindu Mahasabha will be to build up a national militia. Extensive volunteer corps must be organized and every healthy young man must be encouraged to become a member of one unit or another. This army of volunteers should mainly be utilized for social and economic service for which there is ample scope in our society to-day. In the political field the Hindu Mahasabha must capture every seat of power that may be available to it. So long as separate electorates continue, so long as an organised conspiracy exists for crushing the Hindus at any cost, the Hindu electorates must be trained to send to all assemblies and local bodies only such persons as are pledged to support the Hindu cause without detriment to the larger interests of national advancement.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Ranchi—15th. April 1940

Resolutions were passed on the next day the 15th. April when a declaration was made that, at the present moment and in the present state of the country, the Hindu Mahasabha was prepared to accept Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminister variety. The resolution, however, reiterated that the ultimate goal of the Mahasabha was complete independence of Hindusthan.

By another resolution, the conference characterised as "preposterous, fantastic and impracticable" the idea of dividing India into two. Disapproval was also expressed of some of the recent utterances of Mr. Gandhi in this connection.

Finally, the conference passed a resolution demanding the initiation of a movement for the restoration of the Hindu temples that had passed into other hands during Muslim rule.

The National Liberal Federation of India

Council Meeting—Bombay—18th. February 1940

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India which met at Bombay on the 18th. February 1940 passed a resolution welcoming the Viceroy's announcement about the intentions of the British Government to introduce in India Dominion Status of the Westminster variety at the conclusion of the war. Dr. *R. P. Paranjpye*, President of the Federation, presided and among those present were Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Principal G. S. Mahajani, Rai Saheb Vaidya, Mr. S. G. Vaze, Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Mr. N. C. Bharucha and Mr. Dalvi. The following is the full text of the resolution passed by the council of the Federation :—

(1) While welcoming the recent announcement of H. E. the Viceroy about the intentions of the British Government to introduce into India Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety, so soon as practicable after the conclusion of the war, the Council deplores that the announcement was not followed up by an endeavour to rally all reasonable political opinion in the country for the purpose of a general political appeasment. The Council also regrets that the Congress rejected the offer of the Viceroy by sticking to its impracticable demands for complete independence and a constituent assembly without taking into consideration the favourable reactions of Indian public opinion towards the Viceroy's utterance.

(2) The Council is of opinion that it is impractical in the present international situation of the world to talk of complete independence of India and to attempt to sever the ties which bind India to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

(3) The Council considers the proposal of a constituent assembly based on adult suffrage as thoroughly unpractical and as one that will retard the country's progress. The Council further considers that the modified proposal of convening an assembly of all the present members of central and provincial legislatures will not be acceptable to several parties and from various points of view.

(4) The Council repudiate the suggestion that India consists of two separate nations based on difference of religion and will always oppose any attempt to divide India on such lines. The Liberal Party, however, is always ready to ensure a square deal to all minorities.

(5) The Council considers that the present political impasse in India can best be solved by having truly representative coalition cabinets in the various provinces It notes with pleasure the readiness of the Premiers of Bengal and the Punjab to agree to such coalitions and trusts that the Congress majorities in the seven provinces will also show the same readiness in order to ease the present extreme political tension in the country as an emergency measure. The Council is aware that such coalition cabinets will require some spirit of compromise on the part of the several parties and can be formed only on the basis of an agreed programme and on the basis of responsibility to the legislatures and the electorate. It earnestly trusts that such a spirit of compromise will be forthcoming in view of the larger interests of the country.

(6) The Council will welcome the immediate enlargement of the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the inclusion of some of the representative leaders of the various parties and interests of the country, as an interim measure for the duration of the war, till the entire question of the constitution of India can be seriously taken in hand.

(7) The Council urges the Government, as an earnest of its genuine determination to make India a full-fledged Dominion, to devise measures to render India capable of undertaking its own defence in certain serious eventualities and for this purpose to take leaders of the people into confidence with the object of laying down a definite plan for organizing the vast man-power and natural resources of the country. In particular, the Council urges the rapid Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the army, a large increase in the Indian Air Force, the opening of recruitment for all defence services to all classes in all parts of the country, and a considerable expansion of the territorial forces so as to provide an adequate reserve in case of need and to revive the martial traditions of the people. It also calls upon Government to take more adequate measures for the manufacture of munitions and other war equipment including aircraft in the country itself and to encourage Indian industries, especially those which may be converted to war purposes when necessary.

(8) The Council hold the view that Indian public opinion should have a determining voice in framing a new constitution of India after the close of the war. The council now suggests that a small conference preliminary to the one suggested by the National Liberal Federation at its Allahabad session last December, be called by his Excellency the Viceroy of about 150 members elected by recognised organizations of several parties, communities and interests in the country to determine the principles of the future constitution of India.

The President be authorised to cooperate with other political parties and interests in furtherance of the above object.

Council Meeting—Poona—23rd. June 1940

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED

An appeal to the Government and leaders to sink differences and to unite to form national Governments both in the provinces and at the centre, thus securing the Indian national interests and ensuring the full cooperation of India in the prosecution of the war, was the crux of a resolution passed by the council of the Federation which met at Poona on the **23rd. June 1940**, *Dr. R. P. Paranjpye*, president, presiding. The following in the text of the resolutions on the political situation and Indian defence :—

In view of the intensely critical situation caused by the entry of Italy in the war and the collapse of France, the council of the National Liberal Federation of India urges the Government and all the political parties in the country to sink their differences at least for the time being and appeals to the leaders to unite so that National Governments can be formed both in the provinces and at the centre thus securing Indian national interests and ensuring the full cooperation of India in the prosecution of the war.

(A) The council is of opinion that while the new proposals of the Government in the matter of defence, involving an increase in the strength of the Indian army, navy and the air force, the abandonment of the eight Indianising units scheme and of the substitution of Indian commissioned officers for Viceroy's Commissions, are moves in the right direction, still these proposals are far too inadequate to meet the defence needs of India ; the council considers that the policy of Indianisation should be carried out in the fullest measure and that the manufacture in the country of aeroplanes, tanks and other equipment should be undertaken without avoidable delay and that military training should be extended to all classes so as to provide a second line of defence and in other ways devise and immediately carry out so far. The council urges the Government of India to secure the unrestricted admission of Indian pilots to the R. A. F. on the same basis as applies to dominion pilots.

(B) The council feels that India's war efforts as elaborated in (A) will not be sufficiently effective unless an Indian Defence Minister commanding the confidence of the people is appointed.

The council condemned the policy of the Ceylon Ministers in seeking to reduce the number of voters by administrative action which was inconsistent with the Secretary of State's despatch of June 10, 1930.

By another resolution, the council appealed to the Governments of Great Britain, the Dominions and the Colonies to take immediate steps to eliminate all discriminations based on race and colour, as such discrimination was a negation of Democracy. They also appealed to General Smuts and the South African Government in particular, to take all possible steps to implement the uplift clause in the Cape Town Agreement or at any rate do nothing which would aggravate the apprehensions of the South African Indias.

The A. I. Forward Bloc Conference

Second Session—Nagpur—18th. June 1940

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The All-India Forward Bloc Conference commenced its second session at Nagpur on the **18th. June 1940** under the presidency of Sj. *Subhas Chandra Bose.*

Welcoming the delegates Mr. *R. S. Ruikar*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, declared that the Forward Bloc under the leadership of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was alone capable of leading the country along the right lines.

Criticising the Congress policy and activities, the chairman said that they were incongruous in view of the present world situation when every country was threatened with the menace of mechanical warfare against which chharkha and handloom had proved most ineffective. India, however, should be concerned firstly with her own affairs namely, struggle for independence rather than what happened in other countries. The Forward Bloc was prepared to follow Gandhian leadership to this end provided the Congress decided on direct action immediately after the present meeting of the Working Committee.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose then delivered the presidential address. In the course of his speech, he observed, 'If India can win freedom now, and then save herself, she will best serve the cause of humanity."

Justifying, at the outset, the formation of the Forward Bloc and detailing its achievements so far, Mr. Bose claimed that the Forward Bloc had successfully resisted the tendency towards constitutionalism and compromise within the ranks of the Congress. It was due to their efforts that the Congress leaders had to vacate offices, as a protest against the policy of the British Government. If they had not done so, they would have been carrying on the war policy of the Government of India as agents of British Imperialism. Inspite of efforts made hitherto, no compromise had yet been made with the British Government, and for this they, of the Forward Bloc, could legitimately claim some credit.

Secondly, they had so far frustrated all attempts to secure the co-operation of the Congress in the prosecution of the war. Following his meeting with the Viceroy in September last, Mahatma Gandhi had given out that he was of the view that India should give unconditional help to Great Britain during the present war. But the

Congress Working Committee, which usually followed Mahatma Gandhi blindly, had ignored his views on such an all-important issue. This had happened only because of the attitude of the Kisan Sabha and the Forward Bloc. The Forward Bloc claimed to have succeeded in creating an atmosphere of struggle, which they had launched at Ramgarh, and which since then had been steadily gaining in strength and volume.

The struggle, Mr. Bose said, had made considerable headway in Bihar and the United Provinces. In Bengal, they had restored in a large measure the *'status quo'*, which existed prior to September, 1939.

Continuing, Mr. Bose said, "In order to fully utilise the opportunity which international events have presented to us, we must have sufficient unity and solidarity among ourselves. If India could speak with one voice to-day our demand will indeed be wellnigh irresistible. It follows, as a consequence, that we should try to develop national unity and solidarity to the maximum limit. National unity will presuppose unity within the Congress and, at the same time, unity between the Congress and other organisations, like the Muslim League.

"If we can develop sufficient unity and solidarity among ourselves in good time, we may very well hope that even if the country passes through a struggle and even if catastrophic events take place in Europe, the transference of power from the hands of British Imperialism to those of the Indian people will take place to a peaceful manner. It is not necessary that the Indian revolution should be a bloody one, or that it should pass through a period of chaos. On the contrary, it is desirable that it should be as peaceful as possible and a peaceful transition can be ensured if the people are united and are determined to have their freedom."

Mr. Bose suggested that they should immediately go out into the country with the rallying cry—"All power to the Indian people." This would galvanise the masses in a moment. In order to put forward this demand in an effective and irresistible manner, they should leave no stone unturned in their effort to attain national unity. This effort would necessitate the setting up of a machinery which will preserve harmony and goodwill among the people under all circumstances. Such a machinery would be provided by a Citizens' Defence Crops, organised on an all-party basis. But such a corps should be quite independent of the Government. The Citizens' Defence Corps would only aim at preserving internal peace, harmony and goodwill. The question of defending the country militarily from other force or power was one, which should concern the Government only.

Referring to the international situation, Mr. Bose said, "After reading the outspoken statements of Messrs. Winston Churchill and Paul Reynaud, we cannot blink the prime facts of the situation as they emerge from the quick tempo of war. Everyday makes it more clear that M. Paul Reynaud's summing up of the situation in the Chamber of Deputies was a true measure of the military conditions then obtaining. Dark as was the picture then, it has grown darker since.

"The cause of the Allies' defeat seems to-day lodged somewhere in their system. It was a system which Mr. Clement Attlee, speaking, I believe, for the last time from the Opposition benches, said had failed to meet the need of the crisis. But we are not so much interested in a particular method as in the basic principles of action. And we are not to be dissuaded from pressing home our demand for the admission of fundamental rights by a clouding of the issues.

"We cannot but ask ourselves where we stand in this international flux. Following sombre thoughts of allied statesmen and strategists, we cannot but ask ourselves what we should do if British resistance collapses.

What is England likely to do, with or without France? The answer to this question could be furnished by that inexplicable factor—'the public morale'. The British people are famous for their dogged pertinacity and their unflinching nerves. They are now confronted with what is perhaps the severest ordeal in their history. Let us see how they will acquit themselves. Judged from the realistic point of view, the United States of America cannot go beyond a certain limit in helping the Allies, lest Japan should make trouble in the Far East. And there is no hope, whatsoever, that Sir Stafford Cripps will succeed in dividing Germany and Soviet Russia. It is more than probable that there is a definite agreement between Soviet Russia on the one side and Germany and Italy on the other."

"Such being the situation," concluded Mr. Bose, "India must in this grave crisis think of herself first. If she can win freedom now and then save herself, she will best serve the cause of humanity. It is for the Indian people to make an immediate demand for the transference of power to them through a Provisional National Government. No constitutional difficulties can be put forward by the British Government with a view to resisting this demand, because legislation for

this purpose can be put through Parliament in twenty-four hours. When things settle down inside India and abroad, the Provisional National Government will convene a Constituent Assembly for framing a full-fledged constitution for this country."

The A. I. Anti-Compromise Conference

Presidential Address—Ramgarh—19th. March 1940

The All India Anti-Compromise Conference was held at Ramgarh on the **19th. March 1940** under the presidency of Sj. *Subhas Chandra Bose.* The following is the text of the address delivered by him :—

You have done me a very great honour by inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh to-day. At the same time, the responsibility you have thrown on my shoulders is onerous to a degree. This Conference is intended to focus all the anti-Imperialist forces in the country that are now determined to resist a compromise with Imperialism. To preside over such a Conference is by no means an easy task. This task becomes all the more serious and arduous when the Chairman of the Reception Committee is no less a person than Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. It is in response to Swamiji's clarion-call that we have assembled here to-day.

Comrades, I shall fail in my duty if, before proceeding to discuss the problem of the day, I do not pay a tribute to those who are responsible for organising this conference. I happen to know something of the obstacles and the difficulties that had to be overcome before this conference could meet and I can, therefore, speak with a certain amount of authority. These obstacles and difficulties were of a two-fold character. In the first place, there were physical and material obstacles and difficulties to be overcome at Ramgarh before adequate arrangements for the Conference could be made. In the second place, persistent hostile propaganda all over the country had to be faced and counteracted by the organiser of the Conference. The most surprising and painful part of this propaganda was the determined endeavour of a section of Leftists (or shall I say pseudo-Leftists ?) to make this Conference impossible by openly condemning it and also by trying to sabotage it. As a matter of fact, during the last few months, it has become more and more evident that a number of Leftists have begun to play the role of apologists of the Rightists—but such a phenomenon is not new in history. Man lives to learn and the longer he lives, the more does he realise the aptness of the oft-repeated truism that history repeats itself.

It has been argued by the apologists of the Congress Working Committee that the Congress is itself the biggest Anti-Compromise Conference and that such a Conference is, therefore, unnecessary. The resolution of the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee which met at Patna is held up before our eyes in order to demonstrate that the Congress has adopted an uncompromising policy. One cannot but admire the *naivete* of such an argument, but is it meet and proper for politicians and political workers to be so very naive ?

One has only to go through the whole of the Patna resolution and particularly through the latter portion of it in order to realise that there are loopholes which detract from the intrinsic value of that resolution. No sooner was this resolution passed than Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the statement that the door had not been banged on future negotiations for a settlement. Mahatmaji's subsequent lengthy remarks on Civil Disobedience do not assure us by any means that the period of struggle has commenced. In fact, what has distressed and bewildered us during the last year and a half is the fact that while on the one hand red-hot resolutions are passed and statements issued by members of the Congress Working Committee, simultaneously other remarks are made and statements issued either by Mahatma Gandhi or by other Rightist leaders which create a totally different impression on the average mind. Then there is the moot question as to whether the Patna resolution would have been passed at all, but for the pressure exerted by the Left during the last six months.

The country eagerly awaits a clear and unequivocal declaration from the Congress Working Committee that the door has finally been banged on all talks of a compromise with Imperialism. But will this declaration be forthcoming ? If so, when ?

Comrades, those who aver that the Congress is the biggest Anti-Compromise Conference perhaps suffer from shortness of memory and their brains consequently need refreshing. Have they forgotten that as soon as the War began, Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to Simla without caring to consult the Congress Working Committee and informed His Excellency the Viceroy that he was in favour of rendering unconditional help to Great Britain in the prosecution of the War? Do they not realise that Mahatma Gandhi being the sole Dictator of the Congress, his personal views necessarily have a far-reaching implication? Have they forgotten that since the outbreak of war, the Congress Working Committee has side-tracked the main issue, namely, our demand for Purna Swaraj—by putting forward a demand for a faked Constituent Assembly? Have they forgotten that some prominent Rightist leaders, including members of the Congress Working Committee have been continuously whittling down the implications of a Constituent Assembly and that they have gone so far as to accept separate electorate and the existing franchise for the Legislative Assembly as the basis for electing the Constituent Assembly of their dreams? Have they forgotten that after the resignation of Congress Ministries, several Congress Ministers have been showing an inordinate desire to get back to office? Have they forgotten the consistent attitude which Mahatma Gandhi has adopted during the last six months in the matter of a compromise with the British Government? And do they not know that behind the smoke-screen of hot phrases, negotiations for a compromise have been going on apace?

Unfortunately for us, the British Government have ceased to take the Congress seriously and have formed the impression that however much Congressmen may talk, they will not ultimately show fight. Since September 1939, there has not been any dearth of resolutions or statements. Some members of the Congress Working Committee opine that these resolutions have impressed the world. But whether they have impressed the world or not, they have certainly not impressed the British, who are essentially a realistic race. During the last six months we have offered them only words and words and we have received the time-worn reply that so long as the Hindu-Muslim problem remains unsolved, Purna Swaraj is unthinkable.

Since September last India has been passing through a rare crisis when men's minds have fallen a prey to doubt and vacillation. The first to fall were the leaders themselves and the demoralisation that seized them has been spreading as a contagion throughout the land. A determined and widespread effort is needed if we are to stem the rot. To make this effort really effective, our activities should be focussed at an All-India Conference of all those who are determined to have no truck with Imperialism.

The crisis that has overtaken us may be rare in Indian history, but it is nothing new in the history of the world. Such crises generally appear in periods of transition. In India, we are now ringing down the curtain on an age that is passing away, while we are at the same time ushering in the dawn of a new era. The age of Imperialism is drawing to a close and the era of freedom, democracy and Socialism looms ahead of us. India, therefore, stands to-day at one of the cross-roads of history. It is for us to share, if we so will, the heritage that awaits the world.

It is not to be wondered at that men's minds should be bewildered when the old structure is crashing under its own weight and the new structure has yet to rise out of the ashes of the old. But let us not lose faith in ourselves or in our countrymen or in humanity in this hour of uncertainty. To lose faith would be a calamity of the first magnitude.

Such crises constitute the supreme test of a nation's leadership. The present crisis has put our own leadership to the test and the latter has been unfortunately found wanting. It is only by analysing and exposing the causes of its failure that we can learn the lesson of history and lay the foundation of our future effort and achievement. But such analysis and exposure will necessarily be painful to all concerned, though there is means of avoiding it.

I may digress at this stage and draw an analogy with similar crises in other climes and ages. When the October Revolution broke out in Russia in 1917, nobody had a clear conception as to how the revolution should be directed. Most of the Bolsheviks were then thinking in terms of a Coalition with other Parties. It was left to Lenin to denounce all Coalition and give out the slogan—"All Power to the Soviet." Who knows what turn Russian history would have taken, but for this timely lead of Lenin's during a period of doubt and vacillation? Lenin's

unerring instinct (or intuition) which ultimately proved to be prophetic, saved Russia from disaster and from a tragedy similar to that which overtook Spain the other day.

Let us now take a contrary case. Italy in 1922 was to all intents and purposes, ripe for Socialism. All that she needed was an Italian Lelin. But the man of the hour did not arrive and the opportunity slipped out of Socialist hands. It was immediately seized by the Fascist leader, Benito Mussolini. By his march to Rome and his seizure of power, Italian history took an altogether different turn and Italy ultimately went Fascist instead of going Socialist. Doubt and vacillation had seized the Italian leaders and so they failed. Mussolini had one supreme virtue which not only saved him but brought him the laurels of victory He knew his mind and he was not afraid to act. That constituted the essence of leadership.

To-day our leaders are wobbling and their vacillation has demoralised a section of Leftists as well. "Unity," "National Front," "Discipline"—these have become cheap slogans which have no relation to reality. Befogged by such attractive slogans, they seem to have forgotten that the supreme need of the hour is a bold. uncompromising policy leading us on to a national struggle. Whatever strengthens us for this purpose is to be welcomed. Whatever weakens us to be eschewed. Unity which ties us to the apron-strings of Rightist politicians is by no means a blessing. We might as well induce the Congress to effect unity with the Liberal Federation—if unity is to be desired under all conditions and circumstances.

In the present crisis, the most distressing phenomenon is the disruption within the ranks of those who were hitherto regarded as Leftists. The immediate future will prove to be the acid test of Leftism in India. Those who will be found wanting will be soon exposed as pseudo-Lettists. The members of the Forward Bloc, too, will have to demonstrate by their work and conduct that they are really forward and dynamic. It may be that in the ordeal that is shead of us, some of these who are branded as Rightists to-day, will prove to be genuine Leftists—Leftists in action, I mean.

A word is necessary here in order to explain what we mean by Leftism. The present age is the anti-Imperialist phase of our movement. Our main task in this age is to end Imperialism and win national independence for the Indian people. When freedom comes, the age of national reconstruction will commence and that will be the Socialist phase of our movement. In the present phase of our movement. Leftists will be those who will wage an uncompromising fight with Imperialism. Those who waver and vacillate in their struggle against Imperialism—those who tend towards a compromise with it—cannot by any means be Leftists. In the next phase of our movement, Leftism will be synonymous with Socialism—but in the present phase, the words "Leftist" and "Anti-Imperialist" should be interchangeable.

The problem of the hour is : "Will India still remain under the thumb of the Rightists or will she swing to the Left, once for all ?" The answer to this can be frunished only by Leftists themselves. If they adopt a bold uncompromising policy in their struggle with Imperialism—regardless of all danger, difficulties and obstacles, then the Leftists will make history and India will go Left.

To those who may still be thinking of a compromise, the recent history of Ireland and the sequel to the Anglo-Irish Treaty should prove highly instructive and edifying. A compromise with Imperialism will mean that an anti-Imperialist national struggle will soon be converted into a civil war among the people themselves. Would this be desirable from any point of view.

In the event of a compromise being effeced with Imperialism in this country Indian Leftists will in future have to fight not only Imperialism, but its new-fangled Indian allies as well. This will necessarily mean that the national struggle against Imperialism will be converted into a civil war among the Indians themselves.

Let us take time by the forelock and let us act while it is not too late. *Swami Sahajanand Saraswati* has sounded the clarion call. Let us respond to it with all the strength and courage that we possess. From this Conference let us send out a warning to both Imperialism and its Indian Allies. The success of this conference should mean the death-knell of compromise with Imperialism.

Before we part, let us also set up a permanent machinery for implementing the resolutions of this Conference and for waging an uncompromising war with Imperialism. Everybody now realise that if the Working Committee of the Congress does not give the call for launching a national struggle—others will have to do so. It would therefore be in the fitness of things for this Conference to set

up a permanent machinery for undertaking this responsibility—should the Working Committee fail us in this crisis. I hope and trust that the deliberations of this Conference will be a prelude to work and struggle on a nation-wide and on an All-India front. "Inquilab Zindabad."

Resolutions—Second Day—Ramgarh—20th. March 1940

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The main resolution before the Conference—that dealing with the "forthcoming struggle"—was passed on the second day, the **20th. March 1940.**

The resolution requests Mr. *Subhas Chandra Bose*, the President of the Conference, and *Swami Sahajanand*, the President of the Reception Committee to bring into existence an All-India Council of Action with a view to launching and directing their struggle. The resolution lays down that April 6, the beginning of the National Week, should be the signal for the intensification of local struggles and the commencement of a struggle on an all-India front, and adds that this movement should symbolise the resolve of the Indian people to withdraw themselves from participation in the war and make final efforts for the achievement of India's independence. "Once this struggle begins," declares the resolution, "there should be no rest and no break, nor should there be any side-tracking of the struggle as happened in 1932 when the *Harijan* movement was started".

While affirming the "inalienable and indefeasible right" of the Indian people to complete sovereign independence, the resolution points out that since the suspension of the Civil Disobedience by the Congress in 1933, while on the one side there has been a drift towards constitutionalism, there has appeared on the other side an unexpected and unprecedented mass awakening. The resolution adds that the Indian people are hungry for freedom to-day and objective conditions are also ripe for the attainment of their political objective.

ATTITUDE TO WAR

The resolution adds that while the ideals of freedom and democracy have been trumpeted by the Western Imperialist Powers as their war aims, the war has meant for India a further suppression of civil liberty and exploitation of the Indian people. War conditions had brought about a closer association between British Imperialism and the Rulers of Indian States and capitalists, resulting in a further sharpening of class consciousness. Characterising the war as an imperialist war, the resolution observes that though the Congress attitude towards the war had been laid down at Haripura and further affirmed at Tripuri, "unfortunately for the Indian nation when the war started in September 1939, doubt and hesitation seized a section of our national leadership. As a consequence, valuable months have been lost in carrying on useless negotiations with the British Government and in seeking a clarification of the British war aims." Instead of taking a forward step after the resignation of the Congress Ministries, steps have been taken only to confuse and bewilder the mind of the ordinary man.

Condemning the emphasis laid on spinning and constructive work, the resolution respectfully warns the Indian people "not to be misled or confused by the demand for a fake Constituent Assembly."

Exhorting lovers of freedom to stand up boldly and courageously for the ideals of political, social and economic emancipation, the resolution advises the people to launch a counter-offensive against the onslaught on civil liberty and also come forward to identify themselves with the toiling masses of India, kisans and mazdoors, and join them in the struggle for their economic independence.

The resolution adds, "We have waited long enough, for nearly seven months, for a timely lead in the matter from the Congress leadership and to no purpose ; and we find from experience that the longer we wait, the greater the vacillation and demoralisation in our own ranks. Consequently, no further time should be lost."

The resolution then refers to local struggles that have been going on in various parts of the country during this period and observes : "The time has now come to intensify local struggles that have been going on and to start new ones wherever necessary and possible. At the same time, these innumerable local struggles should be linked up and pooled together to culminate in one common struggle for the achievement of India's independence."

Swami Shahajananda Saraswati, moving the resolution, said that it was

self-explanatory. He reviewed recent political events and the declaration of war and said that the masses would have to suffer greater hardship and exploitation in future, such as increase in taxation. The Congress, he said, withdrew the Ministries from the Provinces after the out-break of war but took no step to bring about amelioration in the conditions of the masses.

Criticising the Patna resolution of the Congress, the speaker said that the demand for a Constituent Assembly was "a fake and hypocritical one." That resolution had created confusion in the people's mind what their future course of action should be. The present leadership of the Congress shirked the main issue before the country. He urged the gathering to launch a struggle without losing any time. All minor struggles, he added, should merge in one mass action. April 6, which commemorated the Jallianwalla Bagh incident, would be the most appropriate day for the declaration of a struggle. Criticising Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Shahajananda said that a "pilgrimage" to Delhi and Simla would not help the country nor the insistence on the Charkha. What right had Gandhiji to stake the sustenance of the masses and the fruits of their labours for arriving at a compromise with the British Government ? (At this stage there were shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai" and many people left the meeting.

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveesher, seconding the resolution, declared that there would be no more talk of compromise until the country had achieved independence. Criticising the Congress Working Committee, he observed that it took them six months to find out that the present war was being fought for an imperialist end. Congress leaders were repeatedly declaring that the country was not prepared. How could any army win if its general instead of encouraging it said that the army was useless ? When that was the case, the general should be displaced by another.

Mr. *Suleman Shah* and Mr. *Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar* supported the resolution, The latter contended that there was no question of preparedness for a struggle as the country was already in it and there was no going back now. They had to go forward even if it meant defeat. It was more honourable to suffer defeat than surrender or compromise. After two more speakers had addressed, the resolution was declared carried, only one voting against.

Ahrars Congratulated

The Conference passed six other resolutions, including one relating to the the "repressive policy of the Government", and another demanding dear food allowance for the working classes. The third congratulated the Majlis-i-Ahrar on the policy it has been pursuing since the outbreak of war and added, "It is a matter of gratification and pride for every Indian that, while the Congress High Command has been marking time by the last six months, the Majlis-i-Ahrar has gone forward in its endeavour to implement the war resolution by the Haripura Congress."

Other Resolutions

Another resolution extended support to States' people's legitimate demands and condemned the policy of the Rulers of Indian States.

The Conference affirmed that the time had come when the problem of the kisans should be treated as the most important internal problem of India and urged, among other things, the abolition of the zamindari system without compensation and 50 per cent reduction in rent revenue and canal rates.

After the resolutions had been adopted. Mr. *Subhas Chandra Bose* addressed the gathering. He said that the Conference had decided a momentous issue and that its decision had thrown a great responsibility on them. The call for action made by the Conference, he hoped, would assume a nation-wide aspect. The present leaders of the Congress, he maintained, were doubtful about the strength of the masses because they were not in touch with the masses. The awakening among the masses, he said, was greater than it had ever been. The Indian demand for freedom was not an isolated one but part of the world movement and it was in the fitness of things that India should contribute her share to the movement set afoot by subjected nations.

Referring to the Hindu-Muslim question, Mr. Bose said that the Muslims would enjoy the same privileges and freedom as all other communities in a free India.

Concluding. Mr. Bose appealed to the andience to be ready for the call for action.

The Conference which commenced to-day with the singing of Mahomed Iqbal's "Hindusthan Hamara", concluded with the singing of "*Bande Mataram*" amidst anti-compromise slogans and cries of "*Subhas Bose-ki-Jai.*"

The All India Women's Conference

14th. Session—Allahabad—27th. January 1940

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The fourteenth session of the All-India Women's Conference met in the Senate Hall of the Allahabad University on the 27th. January 1940 under the presidency of *Begum Hamid Ali.* Rani Luxmibai Rajwade, the outgoing President, formally proposed Begum Hamid Ali to the chair.

Mrs. *Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit,* President of the Reception Committee, read her address of welcome in the course of which she said :—

"It is up to Indian women to endeavour to bring about harmony in the country based on real understanding and mutual toleration. Towards this end, we should create a civic consciousness. The essential condition for the development of a strong civic spirit is the cultivation of tolerance". Condemning separate electorates, Mrs. Pandit said, "I consider separate electorates as the greatest stumbling block to the creation of a real civic sense and to national progess. So long as we think in terms of separate electorates, so long will the seeds of distrust and mutual suspicion remain hidden in our hearts."

Mrs. Pandit, continuing, said that the Women's Sub-Committee of the National Planning Committee had been doing good work under the chairmanship of Rani Laxmi Bai Rajwade and a report of the work done would soon be ready. Efforts had been made to tackle important questions relating to women's disabilities in the social, economic and legal sphere.

Mrs. Pandit pointed out that somehow the contacts between the conference and the masses remained exceedingly few. The Conference should try to be a truly representative organisation of the women of India and not only of the educated and leisured classes. It should try to make more mass contacts ; and for this purpose, should take up such work as literacy and rural uplift.

In conclusion, Mrs. Pandit said that the conference was deprived of valuable workers because the proceedings were carried on in English.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

In the course of her presidential address *Begum Hamid Ali* said :—

"For 1940, I beseech you all to make contacts with women of all shades of political opinion, to form friendships with women of the labouring classes and to try to become one in mind with every woman who is your neighbour". She exhorted the women to help in spreading literacy, to come out of their conventional grooves and to make their interest in life wide enough to encompass the interests of all women without distinction.

Begum Hamid Ali emphasised the necessity of people studying Hindustani for creating such an atmosphere. She said that standardised Hindustani must be accepted by all those who belonged to Hindi or Urdu-speaking provinces as a second language, and it must be learnt by all those who did not belong to either. The choice of the script must be entirely individual, but the Government of each province should accept both scripts. Describing Hindustani as the greatest common factor of both Urdu and Hindi, Begum Hamid Ali laid stress upon a basic scheme for it. Referring to the liaison group of the Conference in England, and to friends at Geneva, in America and France and other countries, the President said that the Conference had their unstinted support and many of them looked towards India and India's great apostle of peace and non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi, to find a solution which would mean peace for the world.

The President said that the objects of the Liaison Committee of the conference was to enable women all over the world to work together for a common aim. The Committee would also study the legal position of women in different countries. The President continued that in spite of the fact that the presence of women in the legislatures had helped much useful work in making the women's point of view felt, the rights of women in India were a minus quantity still. She said that the status of women could be considered adequate only when she was looked upon as a free and equal partner. "I would remind our brothers that they cannot and will not gain swaraj until they have set their house in order and given one half of the population of India its due share of rights and privileges."

Referring to the present war, Begum Hamid Ali said : "Since September 1939

the world has been living in an atmosphere charged with hatred, bloodshed, lust for land and power and recrimination. We have seen enemies become friends and friends enemies overnight. The world has become a nightmare such as was experienced only in the Great War. All honest minded citizens of every country, including Great Britain, acknowledge the right of India to demand that a clear and unquestionable declaration should be made of the principle for which this war is being fought and the policy will be pursued in future by the Powers now fighting against Nazism."

Begum Hamid Ali paid a tribute to the work done by the Congress Ministries while in the office and the valuable contribution which they made to the welfare of India. This, she said, had proved that Indians were capable of governing themselves. She said: "We must wait with patience and depend on the people, worthy of our trust to bring about an honourable settlement. But now, as never before, is the need for us, women, to get together and give a lead to the country to show unity which has no mental reservations and to hold the good of the country above any other consideration."

Proceedings & Resolutions—28th. to 31th. January 1940

Casually an interesting discussion took place on the question of labour's partnership in industry at the Conference.

With reference to the report of the Conference Association 'findings committee' on the 'minimum wage', a delegate declared that recognition of labour as part owner in industry along with capital was economically impossible ; the ideal should be that labour and capital should both belong to state and there should be no question of co-operation between labour and capital. The Conference, however, retained the clause in the findings committee's report, with which this delegate and some others, disagreed.

The 'war resolution' was the main achievement of to-day's labours of the Conference. Sympathising with China the Conference also suggested exchange of goodwill deputations of the women of the two countries

Fund for the relief of the Turkey earthquake sufferers was also started.

The following special resolutions which appeared to be inspired by Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* or his lecture on his visit to China delivered at the Conference delegates' camp, were put from the chair :—

SYMPATHY WITH CHINA

I. "The All-India Women's Conference sends greetings to the women of China and expresses its deep appreciation of the heroic part they are playing in the struggle for China's unity and freedom.

"The Conference condemns the invasion of China by Japanese forces and the brutality and inhumanity that have accompanied it.

"The Conference expresses its solidarity with the cause of China and its belief in its ultimate triumph. The women of India would welcome closer contacts with the women of China in the furtherance of the many ideals and objectives they hold in common, and extend a cordial invitation to the women's organisations in China to send a delegation to visit India. The Conference is also of opinion that, if and when circumstances permit, a delegation of Indian women should visit China to convey their sympathy and goodwill.'

APPEAL TO WOMEN OF WARRING COUNTRIES

II. The All-India Women's Conference sends a special message to the women in all the warring countries. It believes that women the world over could not be in tune with the doctrine that might is right. It appeals to them, therefore, to do all within their power in their respective countries to persuade their Governments to end the war both in the East as well as in the West. In this connection they make a special appeal to the women of Russia, Germany and Japan.

In connection with the suggestion to send a women's goodwill deputation from India to China it is proposed to ask the Chinese consul in India to find out from China whether it would be convenient for them to receive a delegation and if so on what dates ; and to inform the Consul that the declaration would like to go *via* Rangoon by air over Burmese route.

FINDINGS COMMITTEE REPORT

The Conference next proceeded to consider the report of the 'Findings Committee' and the following recommendation about 'Labour' of the Findings Com-

mittee based on the report of the Economic Reconstruction Group Committee, was thrown open for discussion :—

The principle underlying the policy adopted in resolution 15 on labour, last year, was reaffirmed—namely, 'that labour must be recognised as part-owner in industry along with capital', and that 'this ideal be worked for by more co-operation between labour and capital'.

Realising (i) that minimum wages should be regulated in relation to the standard of living which itself is dependent on prices and other local conditions, and (ii) that minimum wages vary according to different types of industry and of facilities afforded to the labourers, we recommend that each branch of the A. I. W. C. undertake to investigate and adjudge the lowest desirable standard of living for Indian women in that area. Further we urge the Central, Provincial and State Governments to appoint special investigation committees with an adequate number of women on their personnel, with a view to fix the scale of minimum wage for all labour.

We are of opinion that a more equitable balance would be maintained between employers and employees if housing conditions were controlled by Government on the local bodies. This would eradicate that fear of being turned out of the home which would otherwise govern the minds of the employees in the event of differences or disputes between capital and labour.

Miss *Khandwala* inquired what were the duties of the findings committee, when *Begum Hamid Ali*, the president, said that the findings committee had been appointed to collate the reports sent by the chairwomen of the various group committees and to write out a report on points completed by groups and to mention anything new that might be suggested by any group. Thereupon Miss Khandwala said that she belonged to Group III, to which the report under consideration of the findings committee related. Her group had made many suggestions and also recommended a few things but she found that either the findings committee had not accepted them at all or had completely changed the thing. For instance her group did not say that minimum wages 'vary according to different types of industry'. The minimum wage could not vary with industry and that was the view of the sub-committee of her group.

This led to a good deal of discussion over the system of the consideration of subjects by groups, instead of in the open session, which was introduced last year. *Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*, referring to the objection of Miss Khandwala, said that the word 'minimum' in the clause in question was a misprint, otherwise if they studied the reports carefully it would be found that the very things were there which were in the group reports. The findings committee had only to collate all the findings of groups and it was open to any member of any group to make changes.

A prolonged discussion on the question of procedure followed in which, among others, *Hajra Begum*, Miss *Bala Rao*, Mrs. *Brijlal Nehru*, Mrs. *Shiva Rao* and Mrs. *Doctor* took part and Hajra Begum's suggestion that in the findings committee report all common suggestions should be put in as also suggestions which were not common to enable them to pick and choose from different decisions of the groups, was accepted. The president remarked that Mrs. *Dutta* would later move a resolution suggesting how the work of the group committees should be conducted in future but if they liked they could revert to the old procedure of considering everything at the open session instead of through group committees.

LABOUR VS. CAPITAL

The Conference next proceeded to discuss the section quoted above of the findings committee, paragraph by paragraph. Miss *Shah Newaz* took objection to the statements that 'labour must be recognized as part owner in industry along with capital' and that 'this ideal be worked for by more co-operation between labour and capital'. She said that recognition of labour as part owner in industry, along with capital was economically impossible—it might be possible only during the transitional period. Their ideal should be that labour and capital should belong to State and there should be no question of cooperation between labour and capital and labour could not be recognized as part owner in any industry along with capital.

Mrs. Brijlal Nehru emphasized that the question in the report was not new. It had been accepted in the same words last year also and in the name of the conference, she appealed for unanimity, for if there was an argument on every word their work would never finish. She suggested that unless any of the findings

of the committee did not satisfy the conscience of any member, they should be accepted. As regards the merits of Miss Shah Newaz's objection, Mrs. Nehru said that in many places the principle of cooperation between labour and capital was being acted up and in this connection she cited the example of the Bata Company, which was following a system of creating worker's interest in capital.

Miss. Shah Newaz declared that the paragraph that she had referred to was certainly against the conscience and conviction of some of the delegates and, therefore, they could not accept it and she proposed the deletion of that paragraph.

Miss Shah Newaz's amendment was, however, lost by a majority of 28 to 23 votes.

In the clause suggesting the appointment of investigation committees to 'fix the scale of minimum wages for all labour', Miss *Thapar* suggested the deletion of the words 'the scale of' and the insertion in their place of the word 'national' before 'minimum wage'. She agreed that the scale of a wage would vary with local conditions but surely a minimum could be fixed for all India, below which no wage should go.

The *President* said that as there seemed to be a great difference of opinion about the report of the findings committee, she would postpone the consideration of the report and ask the members to give amendments, if any, in writing to the findings committee's report.

Miss Naidu with all humility challenged the ruling of the president. In her view they could not take into consideration anything new which was not included in the group committees' reports, on which the report of the findings committee was based. If that were allowed the object of adopting a findings committee would be defeated.

The *President* did not agree with Miss Naidu and stuck to her ruling and suggested that amendments might be given to her by 3 p m.

The discussion on the 'minimum wage' part of the findings committee's report was, however, continued and the Conference next accepted the amendment of *Hajra Begum*, (moved on her and on behalf of several other delegates and which was supported by *Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*) for the deletion of clauses (i) and (ii) of the minimum wage section of the report. She suggested a few other changes which were also accepted,

The suggestion about insertion of the word 'national' before 'minimum wage' was also accepted, though Mrs. *Pandit* felt that 'basic universal wage' would be better as 'national' appeared to be out of place. She, however, did not press her suggestion.

Mrs. Menon considered the last paragraph of the report under discussion as out of place because the question of housing condition, to which it related, could not come under the heading 'minimum wage' and the house agreed to delete it also. The amended 'finding', of the findings committee on 'minimum wage' would, thus, run as follows :—

"The principle underlying the policy adopted in resolution 15 on labour, last year, was reaffirmed namely, 'that labour must be recognized as part owner in industry along with capital' and that, 'this ideal be worked for by more cooperation between labour and capital.

"We recommend that each branch of the A. I. W. C. undertake to investigate and adjudge the standard of living for Indian women in that arear. Further that we urge the Central, Provincial and State Governments to appoint special investigation committee with an adequate number of women on their personnel with a view to fix a national minimum wage for all labour and that these committees should include representatives of women workers themselves".

War Resolution

After the announcement of the office-bearers' nominations, the Conference discussed the war resolution. Dr. *Natarajan moved* :

"The Conference of Indian women once again expresses its abhorrence of war. It deeply regrets that in spite of the overwhelming desire on their part to avoid war women failed to exert that moral influence which was necessary to save their respective countries from plunging the world into the present grim struggle. As women we sympathise with the sufferings of the people in the warring countries and pray for a speedy cessation of hostilities and for a lasting peace.

"This Conference is convinced that there can be no world peace so long as any nation remains a subject people. It is of opinion that Great Britain should declare the terms upon which it would be willing to make peace,

and include among those terms the recognition of equality of race and of the rights and liberties of the individual and respect for the integrity of small as well as great nations. The women of India not only demand freedom for their own country, but desire it for all those people who are being exploited, or oppressed or are the victims of aggression by the armed might of their stronger neighbours.

"This Conference reaffirms its faith in non-violence as the only means of ushering in a new era of peace and goodwill in the world, and calls on all women, in particular Indian women to try to realise it in their individual as well as their collective lives".

Miss *Zulfikar Ali* seconded the resolution. She said that she had great pleasure in seconding the resolution not only because she was in entire agreement with it but also because she thought that it echoed the thoughts of the young women of her province (Panjab) on whose behalf she was speaking. Their hatred of modern methods of warfare, which entailed unimaginable sufferings, was intense and they heartily sympathized with the sufferers. At the same time they felt that the time had come for Great Britain which was fighting to restore the liberties of some of the nations of Europe, to make no further hesitation in recognizing the right of the Indian people to attain freedom. She added that the best way in which Great Britain could prove to the world that it stood for liberty to India.

Miss *Shah Newaz* supporting the resolution said that she had been asked to speak very mildly but it was very difficult for her to speak mildly because she was not under fifty years of age; because wanton bloodshed was going on; because the men of India and the men of the province, she represented, were being sent every day to fight for the cause which was not theirs; because she saw that during the last few years Japan had invaded China, Italy had swallowed Abyssinia and so on. She asked how countries, which had deprived other nations of their liberty, could say to-day that they were fighting for democracy. She did not want to doubt their word but she wanted them to give proof of it and what better proof could be, she asked, than to give freedom to those countries, whom they had oppressed. Therefore, the speaker said, on behalf of the younger generation and on behalf of the ladies of her province, she had great pleasure in supporting the resolution. Women in this world had always stood for peace; they would still be prepared for sacrifice for freedom but not for power politics. They should all unite and meet the charge that India could not get freedom because she was not united. She felt that in India their points of union were far greater than those of various nations in Europe. In Europe there was greater disunity. Therefore they could not possibly bring out the plea that Indians could not get freedom because they were not united. But since that challenge had been thrown, she appealed to women to meet it and get men united. If the women of the world who stood for peace insisted that there should be no more mutual quarrels the war would end.

Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, supporting the resolution, in the course of her speech, said that the resolution as it stood spoke for itself. She had only to point out that in framing the resolution pains had been taken to arrive at a sort of highest common multiple of the various groups within the Conference. That had been done with the idea to maintain the common front which that Conference had so far preserved. She knew that many of them, including herself, felt deeply on the issues involved—Nazism, international peace, self-determination, India's future, the close connection between Indian self-determination and participation in the war and so on. And she might even risk disagreement to express their full convictions. But the whole point was that such a stage had not arrived and above all the resolution as worded embraced all those issues and yet did not antagonise any other prejudices or preferences.

As to the general question of war the only reasonable attitude was more or less, she said, along the same lines as those followed in the Congress resolution. It seemed to her clear that India should participate only in a war which was based demonstrably on the principle of self-determination and the only demonstration possible was the application of that principle to India. That much seemed to be clear. It was also clear that if that was not possible then India must devote herself to her reconstruction effort until self-determination was achieved by their national effort.

Mrs. Chandrakali Sahi and Miss Chandrawati Tripathi also supported the resolution. *Miss Shepherd* moved an amendment suggesting that in the sentence 'Great

Britain should declare the terms', '*Allies*' should be substituted for "Great Britain" because both England and France were fighting in alliance The amendment, however, fell through for want of a seconder. The resolution was passed unanimously.

SYMPATHY WITH TURKS

The Conference also passed the following resolution :—

"This Conference is grieved at the recent disaster which has afflicated Turkey, and sends its sincere sympathy to the president and people of that land. It calls on its members and branches to contribute liberally towards the Conference fund for the alleviation of distress in Turkey".

Begum Habibullah, moving the resolution, drew up a picture of distress caused by the earthquake in Turkey.

Lady Rama Rao, seconding the resolution, recalled the Bihar and Quetta earthquakes in India and remarked that those calamities being fresh in their minds the Indians could realize the consequences of the calamity of that nature. She wanted that every branch of the All-India Women's Conference Association should contibute to the Turkish relief fund in a somewhat liberal manner to alleviate the suffering caused in Turkey.

Mrs. Faridoonji, supporting the resolution, said that they in India realized what the sufferings of the Turks would be like because they themselves had suffered similarly in different parts of India. But the suffering in Turkey was a great deal more for rain and snow had added to their trouble. Every part of the world had sent contributions and sympathy when Indians were in trouble and it was up to them to help the people in distress in Turkey, though they might be far away from them. The standing committee of the Conference had given practical proof of their sympathy by contributing Rs. 800 to the relief fund and she hoped that the delegates, specially some younger ones, would take up the work of collecting funds from individual delegates.

The resolution was further supported by *Miss Vasant Sukla* and *Miss Khandwala* and passed unanimously.

After full one week's activity and several plenary sittings the session of the Conference came to a successful conclusion on the 31st. January.

The Conference recorded recommendations on a wide range of subjects and drew up schemes of work for the current year.

At the conclusion eloquent tributes were paid to the president *Begum Hamid* Ali, for the efficient conduct of the proceedings and to the chairwoman of the reception committee, Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, whose efforts, particularly, assisted by an enthusiastic band of workers, made the holding of the session at Allahabad possible, very successful, despite short notice.

The result of the election of office-bearers of the All-India Women's Conference Association was announced. The following were elected :—

Vice-president :—Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, Mrs. Sharda Ben Mehta, Mrs. S. C. Mukherjee, Lady Mirza Ismail and Mrs. Hansa Mehta *Secretary*: Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon (unopposed). *Treasurer* : Mrs. Billimoria. The president of the annual session, namely *Begum Hamid Ali*, will be the president of the Association for the year.

The Conference next considered and accepted with slight amendments the scheme of group working in future, proposed by *Mrs. Dutta* and recommended by the working committee.

The discussion on the report of 'findings committee', on the Economic Reconstruction Group, was resumed and the Conference adopted the following 'findings' of the 'findings committee', as amended at the Conference :

MATERNITY BENEFIT SCHEME

"We are strongly of opinion that the maternity benefit scheme would operate more equitably for women if the money were obtained by Government legislation from the employers according to the total number of men and women employed.

"We appeal to the Governments of the Punjab, Bihar, Orissa and of all such States wherein the Maternity Benefit Act is not in force, to take immediate steps towards legislation in this direction having regard to the provision of creches as an absolute necessity where adequate number of mothers are employed. We recommend that the Act should apply to plantations and mines and other wage-earning women."

SPECIAL LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN

"Until such time as India attains to a high level of industrial organization and efficiency, we demand that women be guaranteed adequate safeguards through the

application of special measures in industries involving heavy night and dangerous labour".

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN UNREGULATED INDUSTRIES

"We view with distress the amount of exploitation of women and children extant in unregulated industries and recommend that on the basis of the following, a detailed survey of the present conditions be undertaken by our branches and the respective Governments, of Provinces and States.

"(i) The Factory Act to be extended to all industries where there are five or more workers and where mechanical power may or may not be used. Until such time as this can be effected we suggest that all industrial concerns however small should be registered and allowed to work only on the receipt of a license. This license should impose certain conditions safeguarding the workers and should be able to be withdrawn if these conditions were not fulfilled. Special inspectress would have to be appointed to supervise these unregulated industries and make enquiries on receipt of complaints.

"(ii) All forms of labour to be included and brought within the ambit of existing and future legislation".

CHILD LABOUR

"We recommend that investigations of the conditions of child labour should be conducted through our branches under the close direction of one member in charge. The Conference should agitate for prohibition of child labour along with free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 years.

"The original recommendation of the finding committee was to urge for an economic order wherein the adult, either voluntarily or by legislation, will desist from employing children under the age of 14. The Conference accepted the above amendment of Mrs. Bhella Rao and deleted the original recommendation".

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

"In view of the fact that we have not sufficient data in the matter of women in agricultural labour we recommend that the standing committee appoint either a small committee, or a member-in-charge of the subject, with a view to making close investigation not only of women in agricultural labour but also of the general conditions of life of women in rural areas".

INDIGENOUS INDUSTRIES

"We are convinced of the necessity of the development of 'Home Industries' and would like to stress in particular the importance of khadi in the economic life of women. To this end we recommend our branches actively to increase the sale of khadi by organizing sales depots as well as utilising handwoven and handspun cloth to the largest extent possible in the home. The development and revival of handicrafts and the use of their products is consonant with the progress of women as it has been their special domain the world over.

"We urge active support of 'Home Industries' as a potential means of raising the dignity and status of India's womanhood in national life and ensuring to a large number of Indian woman their economic independence".

Two amendments were moved to the committee's recommendation in regard to 'Indigenous Industries'. *Sardarni Seva Singh Gil* suggested the addition of 'we further urge the use of Swadeshi, as far as possible, to the exclusion of all foreign goods.' The recommendation of the Committee referred to Swadeshi cloth and object of Sardarni Gil was to emphasize the use of all other Swadeshi things as well. Eventually the president was authorised to amend the wordings of the original recommendation, which would incorporate the suggestion of the mover of the amendment, instead of inserting a separate clause. Mrs. *Kripalani* moved the deletion of the last paragraph of the recommendation in question and the substitution for it of the following :—

'As the Women's Conference has sponsored the cause of Swadeshi consistently, it should be obligatory for members of this Conference to be habitual wearers of Swadeshi only'.

Begum *Hamid Ali* ruled out of order Mrs. Kripalani's amendment as in her view it would be against the constitution and she suggested that the mover might send it for the consideration of the standing committee to incorporate such a condition in the constitution. Miss *Naidu* remarked that as the amendment made certain things obligatory on the members, it amounted that it was a qualification

required of members and therefore it ought to be part of the constitution. Therefore such a suggestion should go to the standing committee, otherwise the passing of a resolution by the Conference would be constitutionally ineffective.

As the proceedings were being conducted mainly in English, *Hazra Begum* remarked that as Swadeshi was being considered beneficial for the country, she did not understand why her sisters did not use Hindustani language also ; they might, if they did not want Hindustani, rule that only such women could be members of the Conference, as knew English.

Mrs. *Kripalani* wanted to make a speech to indicate that her object was only to emphasize that the wish to use Swadeshi should also be translated into action, but she was not allowed to make a speech, as the amendment had already been ruled out of order. Mrs. Kripalani accepted the suggestion that her proposal should be reconsidered by the standing committee and she was subsequently asked to give notice of it to the standing committee, as a separate resolution.

Literacy Drive

The Conference next considered the recommendations of the Findings Committee dealing with 'Education,' and accepted them with certain modifications here and there.

In the course of the recommendation dealing with 'Education', the Conference suggested that the branches should formulate a two or three year plan for a 'literacy drive', Government and local bodies were asked to make necessary grants for education and to appoint adult education committees which should include women members.

The Conference deplored the paucity of teachers, asked for an immediate increase in the number of training institutions, and suggested that the Government should ensure that within a period of seven years no teacher 'shall be employed in a school unless she has received adequate training'. It was emphasized that teaching of handicrafts, citizenship and domestic science should be compulsory in training institutions.

Emphasis was also laid on physical education in school, folk dancing and Yoga exercise. It was suggested that midday meal should be provided (free where necessary) for all school children. Stressing on the need of efforts for the regulation of diets, the Conference suggested that demonstrations of a balanced diet should also be held at the annual conferences as well as at branch meetings, to which school teachers might be specially invited to attend.

Vocational Training

"The following recommendations were made with regard to vocational training :—

"The necessity of vocational training for girls is being increasingly realised and more institutions for this purpose are required. Instruction may be given in subjects such as arts and crafts, tailoring, domestic science, hotel keeping, catering, domestic service and house-keeping. Special training should be given to rural workers.

"Special schools mny be established, whether by local or central authority or by the Conference branches, to impart instruction to indigent women in handicrafts which would enable them to become economically independent. Where such institutions are established by public enterprise, Government may be asked to grant them every possible aid, financial and otherwise".

Citizenship

With regard to 'Citizenship" the Conference recorded :—

"We look upon the lack of due civic consciousness in India today as one of the main drawbacks in our national life. Inasmuch as literacy has been made a qualification for women's franchise and the A. I. W. C. has always stood for adult suffrage, it is doubly incumbent on us to train our women to a realization of their civic responsibility, so that they will at the appointed time exercise the right of the vote in an intelligent and impartial manner. Narrow sectarianism and much of the inefficiency in our local bodies would disappear if the civic sense of women were founded on right concepts.

"The Conference is of opinion that the teaching of the meaning of citizenship should go side by side with all literacy and adult education work. All women, not only illiterates, need such teaching. It should include the special significance of the franchise, legal rights and disabilities of women, civic rights and responsibilities,

and such other subjects as the postal system, banking, cooperative movement, sanitation, health, hygiene, homecrafts and mothercraft, etc. Branches should organise this work to be done by both paid and voluntary workers.

'Methods suggested are the teaching of civics in all schools, meetings for women in *mohallas* (invitations given by house to house visiting), posters, lantern slides (health slides already in existence may be used), lectures cinema performances, radio-talks etc".

SOCIAL REFORM

The recommendations of the findings committee on the 'Social Reform Group's report were considered.

The report on social reform section touched a large variety of subjects, legislation relating to women's rights, traffic in women, children's protection, women police, venereal diseases treatment, obscene films, maternity and child-welfare, sanitation and hygiene, family planning, rural reconstruction, housing of labouring classes, social contacts etc.

Among some of the notable recommendations or demands of the Conferenco may be mentioned the following :—

CHILDREN'S PROTECTION

This Conference suggests an enquiry into methods of adopting children and asks for legislation to prevent adoption of children by unsatisfactory people. All provincial Governments are urged to adopt children's protection Acts, which should include penalties for those who use or employ children as beggars. The conference should press for the opening of children's Courts in every Province and state where such do not exist.

WOMEN POLICE

This conference approves of the appointment of women police for work amongst women and children in cities as well as when travelling, and specially urges their appointment for third class passengers on trains and at railway stations. The training of women police should be undertaken by provincial and state Governments.

VENEREAL DISEASES CASES

The present provision of skilled treatment being grossly inadequate, specially for women and children suffering from venereal diseases, this conference urges all health and civil hospital authorities to increase their in-patient accommodation, fully equipped for these cases. We further recommend branches to undertake educative propaganda.

OBSCENE FILMS ETC.

This conference emphatically protests against indecent pictures, cinema shows and stories presented in the name of art, and requests the Board of Censors and the public to demand their suppression. It also demands the suppression of the publication in newspapers and elsewhere of obscene literature and advertisements.

SOCIAL CONTACTS

Believing that social barriers constitute one of the gravest obstacles in the path of India's progress, we make a fervent appeal to all citizens to strive for their removal by (a) making social, intellectual and cultural contacts, (b) removal of untouchability, (c) cessation of communal institutions, (d) comparative study of religions, (e) common observance of all great festivals and (f) promotion of Hindustani as a common language and by all such other means.

Each branch of the Conference might start a relief or help department, with a member-in-charge, whose work would be to receive, and, where possible, secure redress for personal difficulties of women. This would consist mostly in giving advice, or securing legal advice where necessary. Such a department would bring Conference members in contact with under-privileged women and might attract new members. Mohalla meetings, festivals and melas should also be used for making contacts.

FAMILY PLANNING

The recommendation on 'family planning' question gave rise to some discussion. The committee recommendation was as follows :—

This Conference is of the opinion that the subject of family planning is of first importance to India's health and asks that medical officers connected with all

municipal and Government, women's hospitals, dispensarise, and health centres should give advice on contraceptives to married women desiring this'.

Some delegates out of regard for decency did not like the use of the word 'contraceptives' and the expressions suggested for substitution for the word 'contraceptives' were 'spacing or limiting of family'. Mrs. *Urmila Mehta* insisted on training in birth control being included in the curricula of medical colleges. Eventually the Conference accepted the recommendation in the following form :—

"This Conference is of the opinion that the subject of family planning is of first importance to India's health and asks that women medical officers connected with all municipal and Government women's hospitals, dispensaries, and health centres should be authorized to give advice to married women desiring this. To this end we recommend that training in the knowledge of family planning in its various aspects should form a part of the medical education".

EVIL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The committee's recommendation in regard to 'evil social customs' was omitted by the Conference. The recommendation was as follows :—

"This Conference urges that all social customs should be abolished, which prevent women from using their time, skill and energy for work beneficial to themselves and their families, and which have an unfavourable effect on women's health, education, mental development and economic position."

Miss Naidu remarked that the recommendation was put so strongly good or bad, including the parties, would be banned.

Lady Rama Rao agreed that the recommendation was very vague and remarked that they should mention specific evil customs which were sought to be abolished. She suggested deletion of this recommendation altogether for she did not want that women's conference should talk so vaguely.

Miss Shepherd said that if they took to naming evil social customs they would find them to be too many. She herself could name 57 such customs straight off. It was necessary that those evil customs should be abolished gradually and she favoured the retention of the recommendation.

Rajkumari Amrit Kuar said that they had so many resolutions against different evil social customs that a separate paragraph like that was unnecessary and she agreed with the proposal that it should be deleted. The Conference agreed to delete the paragraph in question of the report.

With the conclusion of the consideration of the social reform section report the business of the Conference was completed. The president, in the course of her concluding remarks, expressed her feeling of great joy on the success of the session and specially on the participation in the Conference this year of the younger generation. She expressed her great appreciation of the arrangements made by the reception committee for the conference and for the entertainment of the delegates. Mentioning specially the names of *Mrs. Pandit*, chairwoman of the committee, Mrs. Zutshi, Mrs. A. C. Banerji and Mrs. Purnima Banerji, Mrs. S. N. Ray, acting general secretary also made a thanksgiving speech.

Lady Rama Rao, proposing a vote of thanks, paid a glowing tribute to Begum Hamid Ali. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, seconding the vote of thanks, said that last night a telegram had been received by the president conveying to her the news of the serious illness of her mother, yet she did not leave the Conference and she asked women to follow Begum Hamid Ali's example and put national duty before their personal emotions. Mrs. Faridoonji supported the vote of thanks. The conference then concluded.

The All India Akali Conference

Resolutions—Attari—12th. February 1940

SIKHS AND THE CONGRESS

The constitution of a standing minorities committee by the Congress to inspire increased confidence in the minorities of India in the Congress was recommended in a resolution passed at the All-India Akali Coference held at Attari, 15 miles from Lahore, on the **12th. February 1940.**

The resolution *inter alia* recommended that the nomination by the Congress of candidates from the minority communities to the various Legislatures in the country might be made in accordance with the wishes of the Congressmen belong-

ing to the minority concerned and that definite instructions should be issued to the various Congress organisations to nominate a due proportion of members of the minority communities for election to local bodies. The resolution also recommended that the minorities might be granted, by convention, an adequate representation in the Congress organisation and that a Sikh Congressman might always be taken on the Working Committee of the Congress.

The Conference endorsed the Congress demand for complete independence and the right of the people to frame their own constitution and urged that in any machinery for constitution-making, the Sikhs should get adequate representation. The Conference assured the Indian National Congress of the wholehearted support of the Sikhs in any active struggle for the attainment of complete independence.

The Conference also passed a resolution requesting the Government to take early steps to Indianise the Army and to impart military training to Indian youth on a large scale and make provision for the manufacture of arms in India. The Conference condemned the Communal Award and reiterated the resolve of the "Panth" to carry on a ceaseless fight for its abrogation.

A resolution viewing with deep concern the growing endeavours of certain Muslims to convert the Punjab into a part of 'Pakistan' was also adopted and the Conference decided to resist such a demand by all possible means.

The Conference advised the Sikh Princes to democratise their legislative and administrative machinery in keeping with the spirit of the times and to do all that was possible for the well-being of the State.

A committee consisting of Master Tara Singh, Sardar Sampuran Singh. M.L.A. and Giani Kartar Singh, M. L. A, and Sardar Basant Singh was formed to report on Sikhs' rights in Sikh States.

The Conference criticised the Unionist Government in the Punjab for not having adequately safeguarded the rights of Sikhs in public services.

The Conference expressed the opinion that land revenue should be abolished and in its stead a tax on agricultural incomes should be introduced.

The Khalsa National Party

Resolutions—Lahore—29th. March 1940

PAKISTAN IDEA CONDEMNED

That the division of India into Hindu and Muslim independent States, as envisaged by the recent resolution of the Muslim League, was fraught with the most dangerous consequences detrimental alike to the best interests of the various communities and the country as a whole was the view expressed by the Khalsa National Party, led by Sir *Sundersingh Majithia*, Revenue Minister, Punjab, in a resolution passed at a meeting of the party at Lahore on the **29th. March 1940.**

In the opinion of the party the resolution of the Muslim League has created a situation which may mean a parting of the ways for the Sikhs and Muslims with whom the Khalsa National Party has been co-operating in the Provincial Autonomy regime in the best interests of the province and the Sikh community. The party hopes that saner counsels will prevail and a catastrophe that is staring the country in the face will be averted.

The resolution adds that it would be the height of audacity for anyone to imagine that the Sikhs would tolerate for a single day the undiluted communal Raj of any community in the Punjab which is not only their home land but also their holy land. As a logical consequence of the League resolution the Sikhs, the resolution further states, would be fully entitled to claim back the sovereignty of the Punjab which was only held as a trust by the British during the minority regime of Maharaja Dalip Singh.

The U. P. Sikh Conference

Presidential Address—Lucknow—15th. April 1940

The declaration that the Muslim League by their Pakistan scheme have dealt a blow to Swaraj for India was made by Master *Tara Singh*, President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee, Amritsar, in the course of his presidential address at the first U. P. Sikh Conference which met at Lucknow on the 15th. April 1940 in a spacious pandal erected at the Aminuddaulah Park. A large number of delegates from all parts of the province were present.

Master Tara Singh hoped that the Muslims of India would repudiate the

League scheme. He made it clear that Sikhs did not want to usher in Sikh rule and expressed their determination to oppose any communal or foreign rule. He appealed to his Muslim brethren not to be carried away by these proposals and delay the advent of Swaraj as he felt that any unreasonable attitude taken by them at this moment would prove disastrous not only to the country but also to Muslims. The speaker drew pointed attention to the high ideals of Sikhism and stressed that *Guru Govind Singhji* organised the Sikh Panth for the service of humanity and for affording protection to the weak and not to rule others. He urged the Sikhs to get ready for every sacrifice that they might be called upon to make.

Master *Tara Singh* added that the Akali Sena organised by the Shiromani Akali Dal was not designed to overawe others or establish any communal Raj but to unite the community and make them disciplined so as to meet the menace of atheism which was threatening the community. He appealed to the Sikhs to become devout followers of the faith and assured them that the Guru would bless them with the strength which their forefathers possessed.

Master Tara Singh, concluding, observed that on arriving here he had learnt that Sikhs in U. P. were not given ordinary rights in the public services of the provinces and were being treated as Punjabis. He urged Hindus and Muslims to give the Sikhs their due share, as was conceded in the case of Anglo-Indians and other minorities.

The All India Kshatriya Mahasabha

Resolutions—Patna—15th. April 1940

PAKISTAN IDEA DENOUNCED

The decision of the Muslim League "to vivisect the Indian nation into two separate zones" for Hindus and Muslims was condemned in a resolution adopted by the All-India Kshatriya Mahasabha at Patna on the **15th. April 1940** with Raja *Bahadur Jagannath Baksh Singh* of Rehwan in the chair. The resolution stated that India was one indivisible nation for the protection of which hundreds of Rajput men and women had laid down their lives in the past. The latest pronouncements of Mr. M. A. Jinnah were entirely anti-national, reactionary and unjustified.

The *Maharaja of Dumraon*, moving the resolution, said that the Congress was also responsible for the decision made by the Muslim League since they were shilly-shallying with the League for a long time.

Thakur Harnandan Singh of the Punjab severely criticising the League scheme said that there could be neither Muslim Raj nor Hindu Raj nor Sikh Raj in India but the only kind of practicable government would be one representing all communities and interests.

The Conference urged the Government of India to give the Rajput community adequate representation in the army and grant facilities for recruitment, specially in view of the services rendered by the community in the past.

The steps taken by some Indian Princes "particularly Rajput Princes, to associate with their subjects the administration of their States" was welcomed in a resolution which urged "the rest of their illustrious Rajput Princes to follow their lead."

The *Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh* moved a resolution on the proposed Kshatriya college at Lucknow and utilisation of funds raised for the purpose of educating the community. It was adopted.

Addressing the Conference, His Highness the *Maharaja of Dewas* (Junior) stated that for the Rajputs, the time had now come for action. Their regeneration should be spiritual. The first duty of a Kshatriya was to relieve the sufferings of others. They must also remove faction and disunity which had crept among them.

The Berar Provincial Conference

Presidential Address—Yeotmal—14th. January 1940

"The main task before us is not whether we shall accept office or not, but it is to achieve Swaraj by non-violent means and to evolve a new social order based on perfect equality," observed Mr. *B. G. Kher*, ex-Premier of Bombay, presiding over the Berar Provincial Conference held at Yeotmal on the **14th. January 1940.**

There was no dearth of people within the Congress, said Mr. Kher, who accused the Working Committee of a lack of initiative and an aggressive programme of action and wanted the nation to follow them. However, Mr. Kher thought it was essential that the nation followed the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi. He exhorted the conference to declare its full confidence in Mahatmaji's leadership.

Proceeding, Mr. Kher referred to the new Independence Pledge and commended the constructive programme and the emphasis laid on it. If the Swaraj, which India was to get, was to mean accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few and the masses to remain half-starved, it would not mean full Swaraj. Khadi, Charkha and village industries were the only way to avoid such a state of things They were also calculated to create unity and discipline. If not for anything else at least for its value in this direction, this pledge should be subscribed to by even those who did not in principle accept it.

The Congress, Mr. Kher asserted, was the only organisation that represented all the castes, creeds and classes in the country. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League were communal organisations. The Congress was not. The communal problem was an off-shoot of the communal electorates and it would not be solved until and unless they were abolished and replaced by general constituencies. In this connection, he urged the necessity of increased contact with the Muslim masses, which, from his personal experience, was not a difficult task. The problem of untouchability, said Mr. Kher, was one which Congress was striving hard to solve and efforts in that direction would have to be maintained.

SARDAR PATEL'S OPENING ADDRESS

Sardar *Vallabhbhai Patel*, who opened the Conference, reviewed the present political situation in the country and asserted that the Congress programme alone was capable of winning independence. The Congress forum was open to all, irrespective of caste or creed.

Referring to Mr. Aney's recent declaration that he would refrain from taking the new Independence Pledge on January 26, Sardar Patel made an earnest appeal to Mr. Aney and others to conform to the Working Committee's resolution. The people of Berar looked to Mr. Aney for the lead. He urged him to ply the charkha and thus assure Mahatma Gandhi of this support of Berar. He asserted that the present deadlock was capable of solution only if the Congress demand for a declaration of India's freedom and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly were acceded to. The Congress could go back to office to-morrow if it so chose, but it would not do so until and unless its demands had been met.

Sardar Patel then referred to the appeal made to Mahatma Gandhi by leaders from Madras and expressed wonder how people were easily led away. He was pained to note the silence of the Provincial Governors with regard to the charges levelled against the Congress Ministries by the Muslim League. If only the Governors spoke the truth, the League would be exposed.

Appealing for unity within the Congress ranks, the *Sardar* said that some of them were impatient. The Forward Block had been threatening to do something for the past twelve months though nothing had been done so for. The situation with which the country was confronted was most serious. The only leader who could give a real lead was Mahatma Gandhi, who was pledged to non-violence. If they expected Mahatma Gandhi to lead them, they should demonstrate their faith in him, their fath in non-violence and their faith in the constructive programme laid down by the Working Committee.

Referring to the new Independence Pledge, *Sardar Patel* said that the pledge itself was ten years old. It was a pledge for independence which the country took ten years ago at Lahore. The khadi programme was older still ; the flag they were saluting had the charka in it. He wondered how anybody could be opposed to such a programme in which there was nothing new. He made a fervent appeal to Mr. *M. S. Aney* and others opposed to the new pledge to revise their attitude. The charka was Socialism in practice. He urged Berar Congressmen to sink their differences and stand united behind Mahatma Gandhi.

RESOLUTIONS

A resolution expressing confidence in the wisdom of the Working Committee who had taken the first step in launching the non-co-operation movement by asking the Ministers to resign was adopted by the Conference. The resolution

reiterated the demand for a Constituent Assembly and declared full confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Another resolution moved by the hon. *Mr. B. Biyani* endorsed the additional clause in the Independence Pledge and called upon all Congress members and masses to rally strong under the Congress flag on January 26. *Mr. Biyani* announced that he would shortly issue a circular embodying detailed instructions.

Mr. Gokhale, ex-Minister, seconded the resolution. In a vigorous speech, he supported the scheme adumbrated by the Berar Provincial Congress Committee regarding the formation of a Congress Volunteer Corps and made it clear that volunteers should not be bound to join the Satyagraha movement.

The Tamil Nad Provincial Conference

41st. Session—Chingleput—3rd. February 1940

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The forty-first session of the Tamil Nad Provincial Conference was held at Athur, near Chingleput on the **3rd. February 1940** under the presidency of Mr. *T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.* Welcoming the leaders, delegates and visitors, *Mr. Bhaktavatsalam*, M. L. A., said that Congressmen of the Chingleput District deemed it a great privilege to be able to entertain all the Congressmen of the Province at the place and thanked the Congressmen of Tinnevelly for making such a thing possible for the Chingleput District. A poor district, further impoverished by a famine, Chingleput might not be very foward in carrying on the constructive programme of Congress. But Congressmen of the district were behind none else in their desire for Swaraj and eagerness to welcome Congressmen from all parts of the country.

The Conference, Mr. *Bhaktavatsalam* continued, was meeting at a time when the country was passing through a momentous phase of its history. Indeed, they were going through the last chapter of India's struggle for freedom which, he felt sure, was bound to end in only one way—in complete success for India. The enthusiasm with which the Independence Day was celebrated recently was an unfailing index of the determination of the people to win freedom. The cause was in the safe charge of Mahatma Gandhi who was now preparing them for the coming struggle. The Government were, clearly, "climbing down"—a sure indication of the efficacy of the method of Satyagraha. But there was still a gulf between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's promise, though his latest utterance was certainly an advance on his earlier pronouncements.

The Congress demanded, *Mr. Bhaktavatsalam* went on, that the future of India should be settled through a Constituent Assembly and assured safeguards for the minorities. No minority community which stood by democracy could with justification oppose this demand. Yet there were those claiming to speak for minorities who opposed this demand which provided the best method of deciding India's Constitution. Some radical politicians too contended that a Constituent Assembly could come only after India had succeeded in a struggle but he would suggest that India was at present carrying on the struggle and the Viceroy, on behalf of the British Government, had invited the Congress to discuss a settlement. Even should the discussions between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy result in a settlement on the basis of Dominion Status, with power to sever the British connection, they should remember the pledge they took on the Independence Day that their goal was Purna Swaraj and severance of the British connection. Till that goal was achieved they could not rest quiet.

Referring to anti-Congress combinations, *Mr. Bhaktavatsalam* said that these were the results of the activities of some interested politicians and were at variance with the amity which characterised the relations of the members at large of the different communities. Notwithstanding the reactionary activities of these "leaders" the country was sure to reach its goal soon. With the attainment of Swaraj, the ills that people suffered from were bound to vanish and so they need not regret the resignation of the Congress Ministry which had for its object the furthering of the country's cause. It was for them, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam said, to consider how best to accelerate their march to Swaraj. Gandhiji had undertaken to lead them and it was for them loyally and implicitly to follow him. Let those who did not believe in Gandhism, he said, stand aside or pursue their own way without doing anything

that would weaken the Congress. He would appeal to all Congressmen to attened to the programme that Gandhiji chalked out for them even after they had attained freedom. They had not only to attain freedom by non-violent means but should,—so Gandhiji wanted—sustain it by non violence. Gandhiji urged them to spin and support Khadi, and they had pledged themselves to do so. They had also pledged themselves to respond to the call of the country whenever it should come. Let them try to keep that pledge.

"Let us not waste our energies". *Mr. Bhaktavatsalam* said in conclusion, "in futile argumentations, factious quarrels, unnecessary controversies and discussion of novel theories propounded by so-called friends, but real unfriends, seeking to lessen the prestige of the Congress. Let us steer clear of provincial jealousies and communal squabbles. Let us follow Mahatma Gandhi and act up to our pledge that we may attain freedom early."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, in the course of his presidential address, said that things had moved fast, in recent months, in the political sphere. The War, though expected, burst upon India rather suddenly. The Congress had anticipated the war for many years and passed many resolutions from time to time but the action of the British Government in including India among the belligerents and the despatch of Indian troops abroad without any sort of consultation or consent from the representatives of the Indian people created fresh issues. The grievance of non-consultation became worse when compared to the previous consultations held by the British Government with the people of the Dominions.

Continuing, Mr. *Avinashilingam Chettiar* said that the Congress Government had achieved great success in the many reforms they had enunciated, like Prohibition, abolition of untouchability and reducing the indebtedness of the agriculturists. Prohibition was only half done. The generality of the people wanted Congress Ministries to continue their beneficient activities. The question arose whether the Congress, as a protest, should withdraw the Ministries and start again a non-violent war against the British Government. Mr. Chettiar then dealt with the attitude taken by the Congress Working Committee and the A. I. C. C., and the resolutions passed by them, the resignation of Congress Ministries and said that instead of congratulating Congress Ministries on their courageous act of patriotism, Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* came forward with an appeal to celebrate a Day of Deliverance. For sometime before, virulent propaganda was carried on to the effect that the Congress Ministries had been unjust to Muslims. Even when the allegations in the Pirpur Report had been disproved, the allegations were still made. It seemed, as if they had faith in the statement of Herr Hitler that falsehood ott repeated would come to be believed as true. The Congress President's offer to refer these items of grievances to the Chief Justice of the Federal Court was rejected and allegations are still being made.

Proceeding, Mr. *Chettiar* said that the Muslims were 7 per cent of the population of the province. According to the statistics for the year 1938-39, their school-going population was 11·3. Among males, the general percentage was 10·3 while that of the Muslims was 15·6. Among the girls, the General percentage was 4·2 but that of the Muslims 6·4. In spite of this, special assistance had been given to Muslims by way of scholarships, etc. The Muslims had free admission to all Government and Local Boards institutions. Besides these, there were separate schools for Muslims. Of these 3,487 were elementary schools, 18 secondary schools (including Municipal, Government and Aided) and one College in Madras. Besides, for Muslim boys and girls in all schools only half fees were being charged. One concession, which was denied to all other communities, was being allowed to Muslim girls in towns like Madras and Madura, that is, free conveyance of girls to their schools. In local bodies, it would be seen that while a certain percentage of seats were reserved for Muslims they had a right to stand in general constituencies also rarely exercised. Here Mr. Chettiar gave figures of their actual population and the percentage of seats they occupied. He showed that the percentage of seats that Muslims held in excess of the proportion of their population. Further, after capture of local boards by the Congress, in many Municipalities and District Boards Muslims had been elected as Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and as Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

Special consideration was shown to the Muslims in the matter of appointment of Government services, Mr. Chettiar added. The usual age limit for Government

services was relaxed. Besides, there was the rule of communal rotation followed in the recruitment to most of the Government departments. According to that they got two Jobs out of every 12, and that came to about 17 per cent.

From the figures it would, he said, be clear that the propaganda of ill-treatment of Muslims by the Congres Government was, "false, untrue and wanton." Mr. *H. C. Mukherji*, presiding over the All-India Christian Conference said that the Muslims had not suffered any sort of disability by virtue of their being in a minority but in all places they had received concessions at the expense of their Hindu brethren and that the more the concessions shown them, the more unreasonable their demands became. He did not, however, suggest that Muslims had no grievances at all. Where they had any, it was up to them all to find out the real reasons for their grievances.

For some years past, Mr. *Avinashilingam Chettiar* said, the Muslims had been forming a separate communal party on the basis of their religion. Because it was communal and religious and other communities could not join the organisation, they had always to remain in a minority. This disability had created lot of heart-burnings amongst Muslims. Separate electorates had made matters worse. The real solution for this state of affairs was formation of parties on political and economic issues, with the liberty of all people who shared opinions to become members of the party. "The present communal bickerings," the President said, "have created a lot of pain and hopelessness. But our conviction that we have treated Muslims with fareness and even generosity must sustain us. The only way out to solve this communal question is to directly approach the Muslim masses and explain to them the real facts of the situation. I know it is difficult to spread the truth in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion but difficult as the thing is, it has to be done. We must make up our minds that in our personal lives and action we spread feelings of brotherhood and love amongst all communities."

Referring to the suggestion for composite cabinets, Mr. Avinashilingam said that the history, the basic principles and the ideology of the Congress were quite different from the League and he wondered how it would be possible for the followers of two such different ideologies to work together. The example of England during the War was quoted in this connection ; but they should not forget that there was no third party in England interested in making the two parties quarrel. Under the present circumstances these joint Ministries would be an absolute failure and would not help in any way to solve difficulties.

The Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly elected on adult suffrage, he continued, had met with opposition from some quarters. There were those who said the Constituent Assembly would be a replica of the legislatures of the various provinces and that the Congress would come in a large majority in the Constituent Assembly also. But he asked what they could do if the people gave such support to the Congress and returned only Congressmen ? Surely, that could not be a valid grievance against the Congress. There were others like Sir Maurice Gwyer and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan who thought that an Assembly like the Constituent Assembly would be of no use in the matter but only a small body could conveniently do this work. But, he wished to point out that the idea of a Constituent Assembly did not preclude the idea of a smaller committee. There could be committees even like the Select Committees in the legislatures and they would be fully representative of all opinions in the Constituent Assembly.

"Swaraj is our birth-right", Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar said, "and we only have the right to determine the constitution of our country and the British Government, which proclaims that it is fighting for the freedom of the nations of the world, must concede this claim, if they want our co-operation. The resignation of the Congress Ministry is but the first step in our non-violent warfare. Whether there is going to be a bitter struggle ahead of us or whether there will be a peaceful settlement it is too much for me to say. We must be prepared for contingencies. It augurs ill for a nation if it is unprepared with a war looming ahead. That is not the way of success. Our struggle will be non-violent. Our leader is Mahatma Gandhi. Let us make ready and follow his behests and orders in every particular and every minute. That is the way to strength, discipline and success.

"What does he want of us ? He wants us to show in our lives a spirit of brotherhood towards all communities to work for the depressed and downtrodden and wear khadar. He wants us to take a vow to spin regularly and keep up the vow. Let us have an unquestioning faith in all that he says and give him absolute obedience.

"The world is in the throes of a war," said Mr. Cheittiar in conclusion. "If it continues, it may destroy a large portion of the world and its civilization. India has a message to offer in these troublous times. Our non-violent war shall be not only for achieving our independence but also to show the world a higher way of peace and love for the solution of the world's difficulties.

"Liberty is a jealous Goddess. She does not bless us unless we are ready for the greatest sacrifices. We are having the world's greatest man as our leader and if we fail it shall not be because of him. Let me humbly appeal to all, old and young, to follow in the footsteps of this greatest man of the country and that way lies our victory."

MR. DESAI'S OPENING SPEECH

After Mr. *M. Bhaktavatsalam*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, had extended a cordial welcome to all in the assembly, Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* formally inaugurated the proceedings.

In the course of his speech, Mr. *Desai* reviewed the political developments leading to the resignation of the Congress Ministries and the Congress demand for a declaration from the British Government. He referred at length to the claim of certain sections of the people to be a separate nation and said that while this was a futile theory the Muslims had no substantial grievance but had created this "emotional grievance."

Conditions in India to-day, Mr. Desai said, were such that it was incumbent on them to reorganise themselves and their energies and concentrate on the task of drawing in together "all the threads of the Indian people" in order that they might stand united in the struggle, if it was to come. The time was long gone by when one could say that India consisted of many nations even though there were a few who were foolhardy enough to assert so. Mutual contact and frequent meetings on common platforms would strengthen them in a manner which they could not fully measure. It was in that feeling that he had accepted the honour conferred on him. They met that day in an atmosphere in India which was not merely full of hope but even fuller of confidence. Congressmen were above all else idealists and it was not for them to measure the time taken for their achievements in terms of standards obnoxious to their own creed. Being idealists, and Satyagrahis they could know no faint-heartedness or defeatism.

He had often been asked, Mr. Desai continued, as to when Gandhiji would be starting a Satyagraha campaign. The reply he gave to the enquirers was that the answer must come from the people and not from anywhere else.

The first step in non-co-operation viz., resignation of the Congress Ministries, Mr. Desai said, was taken after deep and thorough consideration. Office was only an intermediate stage in their march to their goal. Being thus only a provisional stage in their onward march, even if the war had not precipitated it, resignation from office was bound to come sooner or later; for, indeed, they could not have held on to Ministries in the provinces. If they had done, Britishers would surely have said that the Indian people were content with their own powers and administration and one need not be so foolish as to disturb their equanimity or be so aggressive as to give them more than what they wanted. It was, therefore, inevitable that they should so shape their activities as to continue and keep up the "vital sense of struggle" for Purna Swaraj which was now "not merely the goal but the immediate next step forward." Besides there was also the outstanding event by which the world was shocked—the outbreak of the war—and immediately the question arose whether Indians who were called upon to fight for the freedom of Poland should not seek their own freedom. The issue became at once a test of the sincerity of Great Britain and the earnestness of the Indian people for Swaraj. It was the latter test they had to stand up to and that was the pledge they had recently taken on Independence Day. If the freedom of other people had any value, the freedom of India had greater value for them. The demand of the Congress was quite plain. The earnestness of the Congress demand and its inevitability were quite plain to the Britishers to-day.

Mr. Desai then referred to the discussions of the Viceroy with prominent Indians and subsequent Viceregal pronouncements and said that if the Viceroy was intent on finding out Indian public opinion, he should have found it in the huge electorate which voted for the Congress in the central and

provincial legislative elections. Not only had the Congress a majority in provinces where the Congress Ministries functioned, but even in the other provinces the Congress could easily have formed Ministries if certain courses, which the Congress did not feel it dignified to adopt, had been resorted to.

Indians, Mr. Desai continued, constituted one nation just as the Japanese, the German or the English or the French were. It was amazing, therefore, that people should suddenly suggest that they had become more than one nation. The two merits of the last reforms were the extension of franchise and the recognition that India was one nation bound by ties of material, geographical and political interests and for whom democracy was going to be real. It was amazing that on the Congress Ministries resigning, they should be told that India had been transformed into a welter of nationalities. How could they retrace the steps they had taken for a long period and certainly within the last sixty years? The ideal of one nation had been kept up before them until it had become a reality. To go back would be to undo all the good work of the Congress. It was also amazing that those who helped to build up this nationhood should, even for propaganda, propound the new theory. How could Mr. *Jinnah* re-write his past speech, go back on his past record as member of the Home Rule League? It was a futile effort to talk in the language which certain Muslims indulged in. It was a methed which would recoil with increased force, a boomerang of which he wished to warn and caution Mr. Jinnah. But for the resignation of the Congress Ministries, this matter would not have come up. It was better indeed that when the whole constitution was to be recast and India was demanding greater freedom, this question should also be faced finally by them all. It was up to those who raised the ghost to lay it. It was idle to ask the Congress to make terms with those who wanted to rewrite the history of India, and take India back sixty years, undoing the great political work of these years. The Britishers had ultimately to acknowledge the fact that the "Muslim grievances" were either exaggerated or in most cases non-existent and indeed designed to rouse communal bitterness. The grievances were not substantial but, as a European visitor to India, a politician of consequence, recently remarked, "an emotional grievance". The desire underlying was to divide authority, to destroy the principle of democracy and to upset the principle of joint responsibility in the provinces. Now that this was known, it was better to face this issue. There was none among Britishers who said that the Instrument of Instructions which posited joint responsibility of Ministries as a requisite should now be altered. Muslims in 1935 accepted the Constitution and the Communal Award. Whatever other objection they formulated, the principle of democratic government, for all India was one to which the Muslims, as well as the rest of the Indian people were committed and to which, more than all, the Britishers were committed. He had no fear at all for the future of India nor that the difficulties could not be solved. He had no fear that these grievances would go on multiplying.

Let alone consideration of prestige; was it, Mr. *Desai* asked, possible for them to go back to office with less solid power than they had so far? It was not without a serious sense of responsibility or consideration that they resigned. The right to agree to war or remain at peace, so far as the Dominions were concerned, whatever the view of theorists, was practically conceded. Otherwise, could there have been in the South African Parliament a resolution moved by General Hertzog that in this particular war the South African Union should stand neutral? This right was implicit in the constitution of the Dominions. India could not accept a position less than what the Dominions had. In this concrete case of independence or the substance of independence it was not the word but the content that mattered. He hoped and trusted that whatever progress be made or not made in forthcoming talks, they should not be impatient. Britain must make up her heart to prove her earnestness and sincerity. If it was true that in this war she was fighting for the freedom of other races, *a fortiori* she must concede freedom to all those under sway. Let not India be in a hurry or be hurried. Those who were impatient should search their own hearts and their own capacity. In the attitude he had put forward in regard to this war of force, Gandhiji had reconciled pacifism, the interests of the future of the world, the good of mankind and the immediate objectives of Indian freedom on the material basis on which the world at present rested.

There were, Mr. Desai continued, some who thought that there was "a nation in every village" or almost in every candidate defeated in an election (Laughter). There was some limit to folly; there seemed to be none for "criminal conduct"

of such a character of persons who took opportunity and obstructed the path of Indian progress. It was amazing how individuals, groups and minorities called themselves separate nations in order that they might not get less. The only cure for all this was a genuine democratic government and "one electorate" or joint electorate. There was no other country where there were distinct electorates for different sections of the same people, bound by common economic, political and geographical ties. His appeal to Muslims was that they should go back to the only true ideal that India could have, the only proper system for a truly self-governing country to have, viz., a system of joint electorates wherein provision would be made for their own life and safety and the best representing the community would be elected.

Congress having accepted methods other than force, and having no ambition except to gain Swaraj for India, Mr. Desai continued, they were not likely to see in the "apparent peaceful atmosphere" that they were right in the midst of a grim struggle. "Let us not," he said, "be strong in the weakness of others. Let us not be courageous in the misery of others. Let us be strong in the means we have adopted for ourselves. Let us realise that peaceful though it is, non-violent as it is, because it is of our own choice, founded as it is on truth, our struggle is as grim as any other, and that small considerations of loss and gain are but ripples on the ocean and the great wave passing over the land of a unified nation coming into its own sooner than most people imagine. Let us have trust in ourselves. Let us trust in our methods, in our measures and in those who lead us and above all in Mahatma Gandhi (Applause)".

Resolutions—TEMPLY ENTRY REFORM

The following resolutions were passed by the Conference :—

Mr. *O. P. Ramaswami* Reddiar moved a resolution expressing appreciation of the work done by the Harijan representatives in the Legislature, refuting the reactionary propaganda against Congress Harijan work and belittling the temple-entry programme. The resolution also laid stress on the need to throw open more temples and requested the trustees of temples to co-operate in this work. It tendered thanks to Mr. A. Vythianatha Aiyar and others for their efforts in throwing open the Meenakshi Temple, the Prince of Tanjore and the authorities of the Palni temple.

Resolutions—Second Day—4th. February 1940

LOYALTY TO CONGRESS

The main resolution of the session, endorsing the resolutions of Congress Working Commitee and expressing loyalty to Gandhiji's leadership, was moved by Dr. *P. S. Srinivasan*. The resolution was as follows :

"This Conference places on record its whole-hearted approval of the statements issued and action taken by the Al-India Congress Working Committee regarding India's position in the present war between Britain and Germany and to protest against the action of the British Government without the consent of her people. In particular, it approves the first step of non-co-operation taken by the resignation of Congress Ministries though they were engaged in important tasks to improve the well-being of the masses and endorses the demand for a Constituent Assembly to draw up the Constitution of a free and independent India. It rejoices that at the request of the Working Committee, Mahatma Gandhi has agreed to take up the leadership of the Nation in this crisis and assures him of unqualified support of Tamil Nad."

MADRAS MINISTRY FELICITED

The following resolution was then put from the chair and carried unanimously : "This Conference expresses its grateful appreciation of the great work of the late Congress Ministry in Madras, under the Premiership of Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*, during their short term of office and congratulates them on their achievements of Prohibition, debt relief and temple entry and even-handed justice to all sections of the people regardless of religion, caste or creed. It has further no hesitation in declaring that the propaganda of unjust treatment by the Congress of the Muslim or any other minority is altogether untrue and absolutely refuted by facts."

EXTENSION OF PROHIBITION

Mr. *N. Annamalai Pillai* next moved a resolution concerning the resignation of Congress Ministries. The resolution ran as follows :—As the resigna-

tion of the Congress Ministries occurred on major political questions concerning all India and had no relation to the provincial policies of the Ministries, this Conference is strongly of opinion that it is the clear duty of the present temporary administration in Madras to continue the policies which had been laid down with the overwhelming support of the Madras Legislature. In particular, this Conference urges upon the Governor of Madras to extend Prohibition in this province in accordance with the plans of the late Ministry to the extent permitted by the proceeds of the new taxes levied specifically for that purpose. It has, further, no doubt that the diversion of the proceeds of the Sales, Tobacco and other new taxes to other purposes will be a gross breach of trust and demands that if for any reason Prohibition is not to be extended as planned, these taxes should either be temporarily remitted or funded till another popular Ministry can utilise them for the purposes for which they were levied."

Appeal to South India Muslims

Mr. *S. Satyamurti* next moved an important resolution condemning separate electorates. The resolution is as follows :

"This Conference repudiates utterly the new myth sought to be propounded by the President of the Muslim League that the Muslims and other minorities form separate nations and that they cannot live together as a united people under a common democratic government. It is fully convinced that the propagation of such ideas will ruin the future of the minorities themselves as their lives are inextricably up with the lives of the majority communities by history, tradition, language, economics and every other common interest which goes to make up a nation. While every just right of the minorities should be safeguarded, this Conference points out that the enforcement of these safeguards must, in free India, depend upon the mutual goodwill of the people of this country and it is inconsistent with their honour and self-respect to permit the interference of any alien power for the purpose. It feels that the system of communal electorates has promoted separatist tendencies and for the unity of this country, this system should be replaced as speedily as possible by joint electorates with due provision for the election of minority representatives in proper proportion. It earnestly appeals to the Muslims in Tamil Nad, who have secured by centuries of goodwill a position of importance and influence, which cannot be measured by their numbers, not to jeopardise it by ill-considered communal stunts which tend to alienate them from the other sections of the people."

Patriotic Attitude of Indian Christians

The resolution congratulating Indian Christians on their patriotic attitude, assuring them of their just due in national life and advance "to the extent warranted by their ability and patriotism" and appealing to them to join the Congress was next moved from the Chair and passed unanimously.

Another resolution moved from the Chair called upon the people of the province to help to make successful the efforts of Gandhiji to advance production and use of Khaddar and urged the Provincial Congress Committee and Congressmen of the Province to effectively prosecute the programme.

Mr. *Omandur P. Ramaswami Reddiar* moved a resolution emphasising the importance of organised efforts for village uplift by the villagers themselves and suggesting that a substantial part of the land revenue and cesses collected from villages should be utilised within the village for its upkeep and improvement and a proper system of panchayats with necessary powers in this behalf be constituted.

The next related to promotion of village industries and popularising the use of products of village industries.

Introduction of Hindusthani

Mr. *Malai Ratnasabhapati Mudaliar* moved the resolution urging the Madras Government to introduce Hindustani in all Secondary Schools where it had not so far been introduced. The opposition to Hindustani, he said, was born of political and personal jealousy and the so-called champions of Tamil by their behaviour and writings cast a slur on Tamil Nad and Tamil culture. Mr. Rajagopalachari was a great servant of Tamil and no one in Tamil Nad need fear that he would do anything which at all would injure the cause of Tamil.

AGRICULTURAL PRICES

Mr. *S. Ramanathan* moved a resolution noting with great regret that in spite of the War booms in the prices of many articles, the prices of paddy and other agricultural commodities continued at the depression level, causing a further deterioration in the position of the agricultural population and urging that prompt steps should be taken by the Central and Provincial Governments to establish a proper equilibrium by raising the price of paddy by levy of import duty on imports from Burma and other countries and by restricting the rise in the price of other articles which had risen abnormally and requesting the Government to grant war allowances to labourers and workers in factories and mills.

The next resolution adopted by the Conference was moved by Mr. *K. Bashyam.* The resolution stated that since the Hindu Religious Endowments Board Act, as at present enforced, tended to create costliness and confusion in the administration, the Conference was of opinion that the Act should be amended so as to ensure economy and efficiency in the administration of temples.

REMISSION TO CULTIVATORS

From the Chair the following resolutions were put and carried :—

The Conference pointed out that the recent remission rules were wholly unsatisfactory and did not give relief to the cultivators who had lost the bulk of their crops by drought and flood or other causes and urged that they should be liberalised so as to afford relief to all those who had lost more than half their annual crops. The next resolution expressed regret that the amounts set apart by the Congress Ministries for the issue of loans to indebted agriculturists had not been disbursed owing to the illiberality of the rules made in that connection and urged that they should be liberalised. The Conference was of opinion that in order to enable the ryots to reap the full benefit of the Agriculturist Relief Act, fair prices for land, sold at court auction, should be fixed and that the right of paying by instalments should be given to the debtors and that where this right was given the instalments should be recoverable like land revenue.

THE PALAR DISPUTE

A resolution emphasising the need on the part of the Government to constitute a committee to enquire into the dispute between the Mysore Government and Madras Government regarding supply of water to the Palar river was also passed. The Conference requested the Government to carry out repairs to old and silted tanks and not to give greater acreage for cultivation till this was done and that aya-cuts should not be extended till the sources of water-supply in various parts were improved. Another resolution urged the necessity to bring forward legislation for the abolition of horse-racing and crossward puzzle competitions.

The Bengal Provincial Conference

Special Session—Dacca—25th. May 1940

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The necessity for the formation of a national government (cabinet) in the province, responsible to the electorate and the masses, was stressed by Prof. *Jyotish Chandra Ghose*, presiding over the special session of the Bengal Provincial Conference, which commenced at Dacca on the 25th. May 1940 under the auspices of the suspended Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was among those who attended the conferenee.

The suggestion that an All-Bengal Volunteer Corps should be organised and that steps should be taken to give that body the necessary training so that they may take up the work for organising the masses and mobilising mass energy preliminary to the establishment of a National Militia to take up the defence of the country when the time comes for establishing a national government on a stable basis, was put forwad by Prof. *Jyotish Chandra Ghosh.*

Enunciating the implications of complete independence accepted by the nation in successive sessions of the Indian National Congress, Prof. Ghosh stressed the necessity of an all round clarification of issues so that it might connote (a) severance of British connection, (b) emancipation from economic servitude and exploitation, (c) social emancipation from bondage, tyranny and conventionalism, mainly based

on the establishment of complete equality between man and woman in all spheres of social and political activity, (d) complete freedom of the individual so that he might be free to develop along normal lines of evolution without fear of frown or favour from anybody. He urged that it should be the duty of all irrespective of caste, religion, and creed to work for the political independence of the country primarily without neglecting the other issues involved.

Prof. Ghosh then dwelt on the necessity of observing as inviolate the four cardinal principles of independence—the right of forming free association, the right to a free press to work for national salvation, the right of a free platform (delivery of speeches) and the right of self-defence and the carrying of arms for that purpose. In his opinion one had the perfect right to start civil disobedience if one's fundamental principles was encroached upon by the authorities.

Prof. Ghosh surveyed in detail some main problems, which were working as obstacles in the path of the attainment of freedom and suggested some remedies: (1) the international situation, (2) split in the Congress, (3) the Hindu-Moslem tangle, (4) starting of communal organisations, e.g., the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Mission, (5) the Bengal Ministry formed on a communal issue and (6) formation of too many rival organisations in the country, mainly on ideological differences and as an expression of power politics, which had become the present phase of political development in the country. As a general remedy, he urged the establishment of unity on a basis of complete understanding and adjustment of relation by establishing a composite cabinet to lead the movement in all its phases and adjusting all interests by arbitration.

The speaker outlined a united programme of action based on mass contact between youngmen of the middle class, belonging to student and youth organisations and the peasants and labour belonging to Peasant and Labour organisations in the country. The programme should be one of mass action on a basis of establishing their right to freedom in various spheres of correlated activity and the work should be mainly on a basis of organising and mobilising mass energy for a dynamic move at the earliest opportunity which find expression in launching a national fight for independence.

In conclusion, Prof. Ghosh offered two alternatives to the British Government, either to accept the Indian terms and give complete independence immediately and accept India as an equal partner in return for unconditional co-operation or failing that to be prepared for a tough struggle with the Indian nation, with the masses fully mobilised.

Mr. Subhas Bose's Speech

Mr. *Subhas Chandra Bose*, inaugurating the Conference, said that he expected that all Congressmen would be united in order to decide upon the course of action at the present juncture. He regretted that a meeting of the Congress Working Committee had not yet been convened to consider the situation. He and the Forward Bloc members, however, could not remain silent and inert. The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc had met recently in Calcutta, and adopted resolutions which would in turn be placed before the conference for its consideration. Mr. Bose hoped that the conference would take a decision that would enable India to gain independence shortly.

Resolutions

A number of resolutions were adopted by the Conference which concluded its sesession on the **26th. May 1940**, Prof. *Jyotish Ghosh* presiding.

The conference endorsed the resolution on national struggle passed by the Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh and the All-India Kisan Conference at Palasa and hoped that all anti-imperialist organisations and individuals would organise and continue the struggle on all possible fronts through councils of action set up in every district, town and village.

The conference congratulated the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (suspended) on the struggle launched on January 31 under the leadership of Mr. *Subhas Chandra Bose* for the restoration of civil liberty and expressed gratification at the signal success of the B. P. C. C. in that struggle. The conference deplored the conduct of the Leftists and the Rightists.

The conference thought that the time had come to extend the scope of their struggle and the "task of intensifying the struggle and extending the scope had been rendered more imperative by the rapid change in the international situation, by India's speedy advance towards Purna Swaraj and the professions of the British

Government. These developments had brought about such a change in the sitution that the Indian people to-day could not but think and feel and act in terms of a free nation."

The conference supported the Bose-League Pact in the Calcutta Corporation and urged the people to form a citizens' defence crops, and declared that Congress men in Bengal would ignore the *Ad Hoc* Committee appointed by the Congress Working Committee and urged the people to stand solidly behind the B. P. C. C. (suspended).

The conference also requested the B. P. C. C. to devise methods to launch a struggle for securing the release of political prisoners.

Other resolutions adopted condemned the Communal Award, appealed to Hindus and Muslims to settle the communal problem and requested Congressmen to sink their differences and restore unity so that they might present a united front to British imperialism.

The B. P. C. C. was requested to take the necessary steps, including a campaign of civil disobedience, for securing the demolition or removal of the Holwell monument, "which is, to the people of Bengal, Hindus and Muslims, a symbol of of national humiliation."

Mr. Rajendra Chandra Dev, on behalf of the delegates, thanked the President, the organisers and volunteers of the conference. The conference terminated at 1 a.m.

The Gandhi Seva Sangha Conference

Sixth Session—Malikanda—20th. February 1940

MAHATMA GANDHI'S SPEECH

The seven-day session of the Sixth Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference commenced at Malikanda (Dacca) on the **20th. February 1940** with the opening of the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition by *Mahatma Gandhi* at 9-30 a.m. A great reception was accorded to Mahatma Gandhi on his arrival here to-day. From early morning people from neighbouring villages came in batches carrying flags and occupied every available inch of space at the temporary steamer station constructed for the conference week. Mahatma Gandhi on arrival was conducted to the rostrum from where he addressed a huge gathering and opened the exhibition. Before Mahama Gandhi began speaking, hostile slogans were raised and a number of anti-Gandhi pamphlets were also distributed. Referring to the incident Mahatma Gandhi said :

"I believe my voice is reaching you. Please listen quietly. I have just now heard some people shouting 'Gandhism be doomed' (*Gandhibad Dhawangs Howk*). Those who want to destroy Gandhism have the full right to say so. Those who have come to hear me will please keep quiet and not get excited by hostile slogans nor shout counter-slogans of Gandhi-ki-jai.

"If you are peaceful, you should calmly tolerate such slogans. I have written on the subject and now I have declared before you that if there is untruth in in it, it will not perish depite lakhs and crores of voices shouting for its destruction.

"Allow freedom to those who want to say anything against Gandhism. No harm will be caused by that. Do not bear any grudge or ill-feeling against them. You cannot realise *ahimsa* unless you can peacefully tolerate your opponent.

"To speak the truth, I do not know myself what is meant by Gandhism. I have not given to the country anything new. I have only given a new form to what already existed in Hindusthan. So it would be wrong to call that Gandhism.

"We have not come here on any political mission. We have come for the Gandhi Seva Sangh and its fulfilment. I cordially invite those who have come to shout hostile slogans to say whatever they like and to fully express their views. Why should we regard one another as enemies. There is difference of opinion between us. Notwithstanding that, we should remain friends, because we all love Hindustan. We want the independence of Hindusthan. One party may follow one path and another party may follow a different path, but our goal is the same. So why should there be any enmity ?

"You have come in such large numbers. You have conducted me in a peaceful way and maintained order and discipline. I hope your discipline and orderliness will be an example to others. Without discipline we cannot hope to attain *Swaraj* for the millions of the country.

"Now I am going to open the exhibition. I have not yet seen it myself. It is right and proper that I should have seen it first. The exhibition is being

opened first because if you go there you will see that there are many industries in India the revival of which will bring prosperity to the country. When we understand what we can do with the hand and head that God has given us we will realise that these have been given to us for the service of humanity and not for mutual bickerings and enmity, and even communal differences.

"There are many industries in India the revival of which will mean immense good to the country. It is my conviction that man, the machine created by God, is the best machine. The man-made machine has got no life. I do not understand why people should have pride in such a machine. The ten fingers and two hands of the man with the brain he possesses can do wonders. I want every man and woman of Hindusthan to realise what strength and skill lie in the hands and head of man. I hope you will visit the exhibition in your thousands and be immensely benefited. I declare the exhibition open."

The Presidential Address

"If we want to attain, not individual non-violence, but non-violence on a mass scale, we need the association of persons believing in non-niolence," said Mr. *Kishorelal Mashruwalla*, President, Gandhi Seva Sangh, in his presidential address to the sixth session of the Sangh conference. He added : "If necessary, Seva Sangh members must resign from Congress committees and offices. They should do constructive work and should strive to compose differences and settle disputes by non-violent means. The Gandhi Seva Sangh is a non-political organization, yet it is not aloof from politics. Its inner objective is the organization of the State on the foundation of non-violence and the creation of a non-violent civilization." "Members must," he continued, "work to reap the benefits of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings." Mr. Mashruvalla added that by following Mr. Gandhi, all difficulties could be surmounted. The Sangh should co-operate in all good programmes, social, economic or political, but should not accept offices in institutions where one had to resort to violence even out of necessity.

Second Day—Malikanda—21st. February 1940

Sangha to Forget Politics

Members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh were advised to "forget politics" and to cease taking part in politics as members of the Sangh by *Mahatma Gandhi* in his speech at the conference this morning. The speech was taken to be the forerunner of stricter regulations regarding membership of the Sangh.

No member of the Sangh, *Mahatma Gandhi* said, should be a member of any Congress committee. The reason was that members of the Sangh were apt to depend upon the strength of that body for their own strength in the political sphere. In the cases of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, however Mahatma Gandhi made an exception. He said that those members who wished to continue their political activities, and felt confident of being able to do so irrespective of their membership of the Sangh, should resign from the Sangh.

At the Hubli session of the conference, it may be recalled, it was decided to take part in politics, but on the basis of strict adherence to the principles of truth and non-violence. The last session of the conference, held at Brindaban, placed certain restrictions on the activities of the members.

Contributing to the discussion, *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel* suggested that the Sangh should be so re-organised as to consist only of those who would do constructive work. He had wanted to resign from the Sangh some days ago. The reasons for his doing so, as mentioned in press reports, were, however, entirely incorrect. He was a member of the Working Committee of the Charkha Sangh and also a member of the Gram Udyog Sangh. But, as far as the Gandhi Seva Sangh was concerned, several people seem to think that it was a political organisation designed to keep the Congress under the control of the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had once in a press statement referred to the Sangh as a political organisation. Pandit Nehru later admitted that it was a misconception of his, but the Sardar had found it to be a common belief and even some members of the Sangh believed it to be a political organisation of the followers of Mr. Gandhi. One member even went to the extent of urging establishment of branches in different parts of the country.

Proceeding, Mr. Patel said that when Seth Jamnalal Bajaj originally conceived the idea of establishing the Sangh, he intended it to be a purely constructive body.

Coming to the subject of his resignation from full membership, Mr. Patel

pointed out that when the European war broke out, his membership of the Sangh came into conflict with the position he took in the Congress Working Committee while considering the question of giving help to the British Government, if the latter conceded the Indian demand for independence. To clarify the point, he added that it was true what the Congress aimed at was to win independence by peaceful and legitimate means and the only help they could give was moral support. "From a practical point of view," declared Sardar Patel, "our moral strength was not so great as to influence the decision of the British Government concerning India." And on that account Mr. Patel wondered if the offer of moral support did not clash with the principle of truth. Mahatma Gandhi alone had the courage to offer moral support. The Congress Working Committee, not having that courage and being unable to decide whether it could independently give moral support, requested Mahatma Gandhi to show the way out and lead the Congress. This Mahatma Gandhi had undertaken to do. The Gandhi Seva Sangh was by no means a miniature Congress, as people thought. It should have an entirely constructive programme, adhering strictly to truth and non-violence and as this was not quite compatible with his political activities, the Sardar had decided to resign from full membership.

Third Day—Malikanda—22nd. February 1940

RE-ORIENTATION OF SANGHA

All members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh except the new executive committee appointed to-day ceased to be members of the Sangh in accordance with the decision arrived at unanimously this evening. The Conference then concluded.

The resolution, an English translation of which stated that past experience had shown that participation in politics by members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh was undesirable. The conference is of the opinion, therefore, that under present circumstances such members of the Sangh as are connected with political organisations and wish to continue to do so should cease to be members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh.

The decision, of course, does not mean, states the resolution, that those who are working for political organisations do not deserve to be members of the Sangh or that political work is inferior to any other kind of work. The specific reason for taking this decision is that participation in politics by certain members of the Sangh has created feelings in enmity. This has proved that the non-violent behaviour of Sangh members is either incomplete or faulty. The character of non-violence is such that it should in no case encourage violence.

The Gandhi Seva Sangha has always held that amelioration of the masses in the country can be achieved only by constructive work. It is the only kind of work in which the people can take part. The future policy of the Sangh will, therefore, be limited to a constructive programme, and that part of the constructive work which is not included in the programmes of the All-India Spinners' Association and such other institutions will be the sphere of activities of the Sangh.

For instance, observing, studying and discovering the relationship subsisting between non-violence and constructive work and how it affects society.

It is the opinion of the Sangh that it has not at present a sufficient number of workers to make deep study or research into that part of the constructive work which is not included in the programmes of the All-India Spinners' Association and such other bodies. So long as, therefore, the Sangh has not the requisite means for that study or research, all activities of the Sangh, excepting financial transactions and the scheme of "Sarvodaya", the monthly journal conducted by the Sangh, should be suspended and excepting members of the new Executive Committee all members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh should cease to be so. Full powers to make any changes in the constitution of the Sangh and all other rights of the Sangh are vested in the new Committee.

Addressing the Conference again, *Mahatma Gandhi* said that his view that the Sangh as an institution should be out of politics had been hardened since yesterday. He did not want Gandhism to live as a sect. Gandhism had really to be destroyed. What was immortal was truth and non-violence. If after this death the Gandhi Seva Sangh or any other organisation degenerated into a sect known after him and made one more

addition to the many sects already prevailing in the country with the blind faith of those who had started them, his soul would be grieved. Even now he had no followers as such. He had only colleagues and co-workers. He had found that participation in politics by Congressmen had led to mutual ill-feeling in various places. For instance, the Congress Municipal Party in Nagpur seemed to consist of three groups, each having grievances against another.

Lest such an atmosphere should creep into the Gandhi Seva Sangh it had to be closed in its present form. It must develop into an institute doing research in non-violence, which had unlimited strength.

The world had seen what violence could achieve, judging from the achievements of the European Powers. It was the duty of the members of the Sangh to prove its strength. Even a small number of devoted members, by doing research or what he would call post-graduate research, could achieve admirable results.

"Ahimsa and Truth," Gandhiji said, "should not remain as mere ideals but these should be practised in reality by the members of the Sangh. Fight for "power politics" within the Congress for the Sangh members is undesirable. The field of activity of the Sangh members is constructive work and service. Power politics involves dissension and conflict which hamper constructive wook and stand in the way of the practice of Ahimsa. The Charkha Sangh, the *Harijan* Sevak Sangh, the Village Industries Association, the Talimi Sangh are all doing constructive work without dabbling in politics. The Gandhi Seva Sangh should be run at the centre of post-graduate study of these constructive works. The members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh could try to be specialists in these constructive works. For the members of the Sangh Charkha should be not merely an instrument of spinning but as means of realising truth and Ahimsa. Unless the members of the Sangh can be true votaries of truth and non-violence the Sangh would have no justification for its continuance.

New Executive Formed

The decision affected among others Dr. *Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj*. Mr. *Shankarrao Deo*, Dr. *Prafulla Ghosh*, Mr. *Gangadharrao Deshpande* and Mr. *Gopichand Bhargava*.

The new Executive Committee of the Sangh consisted of Mr. Shrikrishnadas Jaju, (*President*) Mr. R. S. Dhotre, Mr. Kishorelal Mashruwalla, Mr. Gopabandhu Choudhury, Swami Abhaydeo, Mr. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, Mr. S. P. Patwardhan, Mr. Dilkush Diwanjee and Mr. Krishnadas Gandhi.

Following the passage of the resolution, the Sangh as an institution was reduced to the size of its executive committee. The institution would now develop on the lines of a new constructive programme to be chalked out by the committee.

The Viceroy's Declaration

Orient Club—Bombay—10th. January 1940

Dominion Status as Government's Objective

A declaration that his Majesty's Government's objective for India has been made clear as full Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety, an assurance that their concern was to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and Dominion Status, and a fervent appeal to 'the leaders of the great political parties of India to help terminate as early as possible the present deplorable state of things, these were the highlights of a political pronouncement made by his Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a luncheon in his honour at the Orient Club, Bombay, on the 10th. January 1940.

After referring to the resignation of Congress ministries in some of the provinces and the consequent application of the emergence provisions provided in the Government of India Act, 1935, to carry on the day-to-day adminis-

tration of the provinces concerned, his Excellency said : 'We can but trust that the interruption will be temporary and that the re-establishment of the normal working of the constitution in the provincial sphere will before long be practicable.'

Turning to the minorities, particularly the Muslims and the scheduled castes, his Excellency referred to the difficult position of the Viceroy and the British Government who had been faced with strong and conflicting claims from bodies and interests whose position must receive the fullest consideration. Justice must be done as between the parties and his Majesty's Government were determined to see it done.

'I would ask my friends in the various parties to consider whether they cannot get together and reach some agreement between themselves which would facilitate my task and the task of his Majesty's Government in dealing with this vital question of Indian constitutional progress and I would venture again to emphasize the case for compromise, the case for avoiding too rigid an approach to problems such as those with which we are dealing to-day.

His Excellency added : 'I am ready to consider any practical suggestion that has general support, and I am ready, when the time comes, to give every help that I personally can.'

The following is the full text of His Excellency the Viceroy's speech :—

I thank you most warmly, Mr. chairman, for your kind words. I should like to say how very grateful I am to you and to the members of the Orient Club for their very kind invitation to me to be present here to-day. I am delighted to be able to see Bombay again, and I shall always remember the warm welcome which you, gentlemen, and Bombay, were kind enough to give me when I came here a year ago.

A great deal has happened since we last met. The first thing, and the thing that must be most prominent in the minds of everyone of us, is the outbreak of war, with all its consequences for good and for evil of every kind. So far as India is concerned, there has indeed been a noble response. I have been inundated with offers of men, of money, of material assistance of every kind ; and the fullest advantage practicable in the circumstances in which this war is being fought has been taken of those very generous offers. It has been a great happiness to me to know how widely and how fully they have been appreciated at home and throughout the empire, and I am glad to think that the magnitude of our war effort should be so fully recognized. We have, I suspect, a long way to go yet. We may have to face many very difficult and awkward situations. It may well be that the real test still lies ahead of us. But we may be thankful that all the preparatory work done in our own restricted field in India has proved to have been on the right foundations : and every day that passes makes the position of the Allies stronger, as it makes, I believe, that of the enemy weaker. Every day, too, makes clearer to the world the inevitability of the decision which we took at the beginning of September, and the vital necessity of our attaining our objectives, and of our protecting and securing the position of those high ideals for which we are fighting to-day.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

When I had the pleasure of meeting you a year ago, gentlemen, I spoke of the working of Provincial Autonomy, and the success which the scheme of Provincial Autonomy under the Act of 1935 had achieved in this great presidency. I said, too, that Provincial Autonomy was only one part of the scheme. I emphasized the importance of bringing into effect without any delay the scheme of federation which was the coping stone of the constitutional structure embodied in the Act. I said that it was all the more important that we should secure federation with as little delay as practicable because of the deterioration in the international situation, and I urged that we should press on with it with all the energy in our power, since, whatever its shortcomings, the federal scheme was the scheme that held out the best hope of swift constitutional progress and of the unity of India.

We meet to-day in very different circumstances. To my deep regret there has been in this province a temporary interruption in the normal working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy. We have no longer in power ministers backed by a majority in the legislature ; and the administration is perforce being carried on under the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935. No one regrets, I am sure, more than you do yourselves that this should be the case, or that at a time

when the burdens and the responsibilities to be carried on behalf of the public are greater than they have ever been, ministers should not be in power to assist in carrying those burdens. We can but trust that this interruption will be temporary and that the re-establishment of the normal working of the constitution in the provincial sphere will before long be practicable.

SUSPENSION OF FEDERATION

But in the provincial field we have, at any rate, been able to bring into being, and to test by practical application, those portions of the Act of 1935 which devolve great powers and responsibilities on elected ministers. We had not reached that point in the Centre when the war broke out, though our preparations were being pushed on with all possible energy. At the beginning of the war, which we had every reason to believe would develop on lines which would make it immediately necessary to concentrate every atom of our energy on the prosecution of the war to the exclusion of all other matters, the course of wisdom, much as all of us might regret it, was clearly for the the time being to suspend the preparations afoot for the establishment of the federation of India. I deeply regret myself that that should have been necessary, since whatever criticisms on one ground or another have been levelled against the scheme of federation in the Act, could it but have been brought into operation, it would, as I remarked recently elsewhere, have provided us with the solution of almost all the problems that confront us to-day—the presence of Ministers at the centre; the association of the Indian States—a point of such vital importance to British India—in a common government; representation of all minorities on the lines elaborated after a consideration of the claims and proposals of the minorities themselves; and the unity of India. You know only too well how things have gone since September. I do not propose to dilate on that to-day.

WAR AIMS

As you know, in response to requests for a clarification of the aims of his Majesty's Government and of their intentions towards India, his Majesty's Government have made it clear, both through statements issued by myself, and in Parliament, that their objective for India is full Dominion Status, Dominion Status, too, of the statute of Westminster variety; that, so far as the intermediate period is concerned (and it is their desire to make intermediate period the shortest practicable), they are ready to consider the reopening of the scheme of the Act of 1935 so soon as practicable after the war with the aid of Indian opinion: that they are prepared in the meantime, subject to such local adjustments between the leaders of the great communities as may be necessary to ensure harmonious working, and as an immediate earnest of their intention, to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the inclusion of a small number of political leaders: and that they are ready and anxious to give all the help they can to overcome the difficulties that confront us and that confront India to-day. But those assurances have not, to my profound regret, dissipated the doubts and the uncertainties which have led to the withdrawal from office of the Congress Ministries, and which have made it necessary in seven provinces to make use of the emergency provisions of the Act.

NO QUESTION OF GOOD FAITH & SINCERITY

The pronouncements made on behalf of his Majesty's Government since the beginning of the war make clear, I think, beyond any question whatever, their intentions and their anxiety to help. The federal scheme of the Act was itself designed as a stage on the road to Dominion Status: and under that scheme, devised, I would remind you, long before there was any question of a war, very wide and extensive powers were to be placed in the hands of a Central Government representing the Indian States as well as British India, and constituted on a very broad basis indeed. There can be no question of the good faith and the sincerity of his Majesty's Government in the efforts they have made to deal with the constitutional future of India. I well know that there are many people who press for swifter and more radical solutions of the problems before us. I do not question the sincerity or the good intentions of those who feel that way. But all those of us who have to deal with problems of this magnitude know only too well how often we are attracted by apparently simple solutions; how often those apparently simple solutions, when more closely investigated, reveal unexpected difficulties, and difficulties, too, of unexpected importance, anxious as we may all be to take what seems to be the shortest course.

Short cuts, as many of us know to our cost, are too often prone in experience to lead to a considerable waste of time. Nowhere I fear is that truer than of the political problems of India, for there are difficulties, of which we are all aware, and which we all regret. But they will not be avoided or disposed of by ignoring their existence. The wise course is to face those difficulties and to try to find a solution of them that will result in the subsequent cooperation of all the parties and interests concerned. We are, after all, dealing not with one political party only, but with many, nor must we forget the essential necessity in the interests of Indian unity, of the inclusion of the Indian States in any constitutional scheme.

Claims Of Minorities

There are the insistent claims of the minorities. I need refer only to two of them—the great Muslim minority and the scheduled castes—there are the guarantees that have been given to the minorities in the past ; the fact that their position must be safeguarded and that those guarantees must be honoured.

I know, gentlemen, that you appreciate the difficulty of the position of the Viceroy and the difficulty of the position of his Majesty's Government, faced as they are with strong and conflicting claims advanced by bodies and interests to whose views the utmost attention must be paid, and whose position must receive the fullest consideration. Justice must be done as between the various parties, and his Majesty's Government are determined to see justice done. But I would ask my friends in the various parties to consider whether they cannot get together and reach some agreement between themselves which would facilitate my task, and the task of his Majesty's Government, in dealing with this vital question of Indian constitutional progress : and I would venture again to emphasize the case for compromise, the case for avoiding too rigid an approach to problems such as those with which we are dealing today.

No Dispute As To Objective

As to the objective there is no dispute. I am ready to consider any practical suggestion that has general support, and I am ready, when the time comes, to give every help that I personally can. His Majesty's Government are not blind—nor can we be blind here—to the practical difficulties involved in moving at one step from the existing constitutional position into that constitutional position which is represented by Dominion Status. But here, again, I can assure you that their concern and mine is to spare no effort to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the achievement of Dominion Status.

The offer is there. The responsibility that falls on the great political parties and their leaders is a heavy one, and one of which they are, I know, fully conscious. They have helped me in the past. I ask today that they will help me again and help India, and I ask for their cooperation and their assistance in terminating at as early a date as possible a state of things which all who have faith in the virtue of constitutional progress must deplore : a state of things which every lover of India—everyone who is concerned to advance her interests—must feel today to be a bitter disappointment.

Gentlemen, I thank you once again for the honour you have done me in inviting me to be your guest today, and for the opportunity you have given me of meeting you again. It has indeed been a great pleasure to me, and not for the first time I shall carry away happy recollections of the hospitality and the kindness of the Orient Club.

The Indian Economic Conference

23rd. Session—Allahabad—2nd. January 1940

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The 23rd session of the Indian Economic Conference opened at the Senate Hall of Allahabad University, at about noon on the **2nd. January 1940** under the auspices of the Indian Economic Association, and the presidentship of *Dr. L. C. Jain*, Professor of Economics of Punjab University. Mrs. *Vijoy Lakshmi Pandit* inaugurated the Conference in the absence of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, who could not be present.

"Politics, Philosophy, history, religion, psychology, economics, commerce, all these so constantly act and react on each other, that it is difficult to disentangle one from the rest and impossible to treat it an independent unrelated unit", said Professor *Amarnath Jha*, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, and Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address of welcome.

Speaking of the need of a proper scale of values, Professor Jha emphasised that the basic truth that must once again be recognised was that the welfare of all human beings should be of equal importance to man. "One of the truths that must be accepted is that, all human activity must be calculated to perform the two-fold function of giving to the doer the highest degree of satisfaction and of being beneficial to mankind".

Referring to money, specially money as the source of power and the cause of waste, as the root of the major ills of to-day, Professor Jha said that whatever classification of money we made the fact remained that, money had come to occuphy an entirely disproportionate share in the affairs of men and nations, and the old warning against the worshippers of Mammon might once again be repeated. "I am not concerned with the disputes of capitalism, Socialism, Communism or the older Liberalism of the classical economists. What I object to is the philosophy that the only basis for a new and stable civilisation is connected with the means of production. What I am concerned about is—and what I think economists and scientists and politicians and all who matter, should resist,—is the tendency to abolish all standards of public and private conduct, to set up a purely materialistic code and to deprive mankind, if possible, of an unfailing source of inspiration and comfort and stimulus to noble and unselfish conduct."

In conclusion, Professor Jha referred to the vital problem of planned economy. He said that we must avoid the mistake made by other countries and evolve a plan suited to the conditions of our country and not at variance with the genius of our race. Mere doctrinnaire reproduction of schemes intended for other peoples would not do.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. *L. C. Jain*, the President, then read out his presidential address in the course of which he said :—

Enonomists the world over would be doing mankind real service, if they could think out lines on which industrial activity could develop without such disastrous consequences as we see around us to-day. If modern machinery, which is threatening to become an all-consuming monster, could be made subservient to a noble purpose—that of providing universal leisure for the pursuit of things of permanent value, beautifying life and making it a source of joy—the world may still be saved from another Mahabharata.

The world is faced to-day with a situation in which all principles of orthodox economics have been cast to the winds. Nations have been vying with one another in their endeavour to achieve autarky or economic self-sufficiency, and at the same time have been competing to find markets for the absorption of their surplus produce. The rapid industrialisation of Europe proceeded smoothly on its merry course, so long as there were enough markets abroad to take off the surplus produce. As soon as a saturation point was reached, rivalries began to raise ominous heads culminating in the last Great War. The Treaty of Versailles was essentially a victor's imposition on a vanquished enemy. As such it carried in itself the germs of the very disease which it sought to destroy. The result is what promises to be a virulent epidemic of aimless wars.

There are two facts of contemporary economic life which must be faced

squarely. The progressive replacement of human labour by machinery brings about a stage, in every country, when the growth of industrial population outpaces the demand for labour. Thus an ever increasing number of persons are thrown out of employment, unless at the same time there is a correspondingly progressive expansion of foreign markets. Secondly, all the countries that until lately provided dumping grounds for the surplus produce of industrial countries are becoming economically self-conscious and are steadily refusing to continue to play the role of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. The main task which faces the modern economist is, in my humble opinion, to bring about a reconciliation between the conflicting interests of machinery and men, and those of the greedy exploiter and the impatient exploited.

Two things suggest themselves. The economic evolution of modern western society has as its fundamental basis, as the very keystone of its foundation, a progressive increase in material human wants, so that capitalists, present and prospective, may continue to cater for them while adding to their own pelf and power. When the normal growth of such material wants slows down to a pace not to the liking of the capitalists, new forces are set in motion, all too unconsciously perhaps. They tend to create an atmosphere culminating in the creation of a new type of wants, wants not of the individual but of the State, such as the need for increased armaments, in order either to safeguard existing interests against some fancied threat, or to redress a fancied wrong. I do not say that capitalists enter into a deliberate conspiracy to bring about a state of war between nations, but the economic structure of modern industry is such that it must keep moving faster and yet faster or perish. And it is this inherent urge that must periodically lead to armed conflicts.

Economists the world over would be doing mankind real service, if they could think outlines on which industrial activity could develop without such disastrous consequences as we see around us to-day. If modern machinery, which is threatening to become an all-consuming monster, could be made subservient to a nobler purpose—that of providing universal leisure for the pursuit of things of permanent value, beautifying life and making it a source of joy—the world may still be saved from another Mahabharata.

Socialism and Gandhism

Socialism, as it has been conceived so far, has been tried on a gigantic scale in at least one country. The results, from all accounts, are not encouraging. And they could not be, for socialism in the last analysis is not so much a question of a particular economic structure of society as of a change in human nature, the substitution, so to speak, in the human car, of an engine of which the motivating force will be not private gain, but social good. Although I fully believe in the essential goodness of human nature, I find it hard to conceive of a state in man's affairs, when the self will be altogether effaced and undiluted selflessness takes its place. It would thus appear that neither capitalism nor socialism provides us with a sure line for the future economic evolution of mankind. Nationalism has proved to be a curse; internationalism, so desirable in itself, seems impossible of achievement; capitalism is creaking and breaking; communism or even socialism is at present discredited. Is there no way out? Perhaps a solution of the problems which the failure of these two systems has confronted us with, lies in a happy blending of the advantages of both, in the emergence of a new economy in which private gain will not conflict with social good. Mahatma Gandhi's message of non-violence and *charkha*, if its implications are but fully understood, may yet be found to contain in it the seeds of a happy future for humanity.

But the New Order should be achieved by evolution and not by revolution, by the conversion, as far as possible, of wrong into right and of selfishness into selflessness, on the principle that all life is one, and through the practice of *ahimsa* or non-violence. That way there is no conflict of interests, but only unity and harmony. To such a state of economic federation of humanity man will grow step by step and stage by stage. When such a stage is reached all men will work in universal brotherhood.

Recent Trend in Indian Economy

With the rapid changes overtaking the world India no longer has the position of a mere looker-on. Some movement can certainly be discerned in Indian economy; there is at least a greater consciousness of the economic rights

of the people and a growing disposition to recognise them. The establishment of responsible government in provinces and the consequent need of securing the good-will of the rural electorate has led provincial governments to initiate a number of experiments for bettering the condition of our *kisans*, such as prohibition, economy in salaries, rural legislation and national planning. Although a few of these measures are still a matter of some controversy, there is no doubt that something has been achieved towards improving the lot of the tenant and the agricultural labourer. The U. P. Tenancy Act, for example, is a piece of useful legislation, and if full advantage is taken of its provisions, the smaller tenants stand to benefit. The work done by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and at various experimental farms, education provided by agricultural colleges, supply of improved varieties of seeds and other State and semi-State activities of a similar character continued to yield good results, as far as they went, during the last year. But the root problems of agricultural economy are still with us.

May I, in this connection, suggest the establishment by one of our provincial governments of what might be termed as Agricultural Improvement Trust. This Trust should comprise a body of selected men, experts in all kinds of farming, animal husbandry, sericulture, cottage industries and such other activities as form part of our normal rural life. Government should acquire and place at the disposal of this body enough land to permit of large-scale cultivation by means of such modern machinery as is capable of being easily handled in Indian conditions. The Trust should guarantee to the owners, tenants and labourers of the area thus acquired a minimum of what each has earned, on an average, over a period of the preceding three years, requiring in return their fullest co-operation in the cultivation and development of the land. The Trust would then proceed to construct, in place of the existing insanitary villages, a number of model villages, providing all the necessary amenities and start productive operations on a comprehensive basis.

Trade Agreements

Turning from agriculture to our trade, the most important event of the year was the trade agreement made after unduly long talks with Great Britain. Negotiations have been in progress for a new trade agreement with Japan. It is sad to observe, however, that the happy relations which have for long existed between India and Ceylon were disturbed over the enforced repatriation of some Indian labourers. The sore question of currency and exchange continued to agitate the public mind. On the one hand, the Indian National Congress again repeated its strong condemnation of the current rupee exchange and demanded a change, and, on the other, the Indian Government equally emphatically refused to take action. Both sides seek to justify their views as solely in the interest of the country, but both cannot be right at the same time. From a national point of view, such a conflict is to be deeply regretted, and an impartial examination of the whole question by economists is, in my opinion, long overdue, not only to determine suitable action but also to assure the public mind. In currency, more than is often realised, it is very important that the steps taken are scientifically correct, but it is still more important that the people are fully convinced of their correctness.

The contemplated banking legislation is to be welcomed. The operation of the new Insurance Act has checked the hasty growth of ill-conceived concerns and helped in the rehabilitation of confidence. With this Indian insurance may be said to have started on a career of sound progress, but the future need is the amalgamation of many weak into a few strong institutions.

National Inst. of Economic & Social Research

In this connection, I would strongly suggest an early establishment of a National Institute of Economic and Social Research, endowed by private generosity and supported by public beneficence. Such an Institute would stimulate the scientific investigation of many economic questions—for instance, the growing problem of unemployment—which so much affect the numerous aspects of Indian life, and base all economic research on reliable statistics.

With regard to the National Planning Committee appointed for preparing a comprehensive plan for the economic development of our country, no plan can, however, be of any real value unless it is related to actual data—data not already collected by indifferent or incompetent agencies, nor data as we would sometimes

wish them to be, but data as they are I hope I am not exaggerating if I say that at present economic statistics either do not exist in this country or, if they do, in not a few cases they make one think of "lies, damn lies and statistics." If economic studies and plans are to be taken out of their present habitat of criticism and controversy, the most urgent need in my opinion is the collection of statistics which should conform to "truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth". The National Institute I have in mind would work in close liaison with the Economics Departments of our Universities.

The need for the development of economic research has greatly increased with the outbreak of war. The economic strength of a nation is no less important to victory than her military power and, in the existing circumstances, the most substantial contribution that India can make must largely be on the economic side.

Industrial expansion offers the greatest opportunity to India for helping not only herself, but also the Commonwealth of Nations in winning the present war. India is undoubtedly in a better position to-day, as compared with the beginning of the war of 1914, in regard to her raw materials, labour and capital resources and the existing state of industries. But a most careful plan is needed to determine what existing industries might be developed and new industries started, so that the gap created by the fall in the imports of manufactured goods and machinery could be most economically and speedily filled up. Among such industries the manufacture of chemical and electrical goods, machinery and ship-building immediately spring to one's mind. The development of what are called key industries deserves immediate consideration. The whole industrial tariff policy and the nature and extent of present protective tariffs need to be examined by a Tariff Board, which should last at least throughout the duration of the war, with a view to securing adjustments necessitated by changed conditions. (Personally I have long held that the policy of ad hoc Tariff Boards for a country like India is entirely unsound. What we need is a permanent Tariff Commission).

PUBLIC FINANCE

There is no doubt that whatever the nature and duration of war, questions of public finance are bound in future to tax increasingly the capacity of finance departments both in the Provinces and at the Centre. Governments both in India and in England are to be congratulated on managing their finances, on the whole, extremely well, but there is considerable scope for reduction in expenditure, and raising the efficiency of administration in this country. I doubt if savings effected by a cut in salaries, even if salaries above Rs. 500 were halved, can be very large, but I have no doubt that the psychological value of such a step in the present temper of India will be incalculable. At the same time, profits arising out of war, whether in the shape of a rise in prices or in share values, should be subject to heavy taxation. The income thus derived, however, might be returned to industries through greater industrial research. This may be supplemented by floating a big loan of say Rs. 15 to 20 crores—only two day's war expenditure of the United Kingdom—for launching approved industrial schemes in various provinces.

Pt. Jawharlal's Opening Speech

"The present structure of the world is breaking up. We may not be always very clear as to what will replace it. But this much is certain that as far as world economy is concerned, the problem of distribution has to be the main pivot in all planning", said Pt. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, addressing the Conference.

"As far as the world is concerned the problem of production has been successfully solved", continued Pt. Nehru. "It may be that in India, due to foreign domination and other causes, we have not been able to solve the problem of production successfuly, but even so the problem of distribution should receive our attention in the main. Distribution has to be planned. This is the main idea before the National Planning Committee."

He said that the people believed that the Committee would build some factories and set up some heavy industries, that is, it would concentrate on production, but with already so many vested interests in India it would be undesirable to add further interests in planning India's economy. In fact, said Pt. Nehru, these vested interests went to the very root of the problem. The Committee must have the power to implement its decisions, which it would be impossible to have without

political freedom. That, in turn, depended upon economic freedom and economic freedom could not be achieved unless we dealt with the vested interests. "Thus, in one sense", said Pt. Nehru, "it may be that the Committee was only thinking in the air and indulging in a good exercise for the mind. But it is preparing for the future. The task before the Committee is very comprehensive and it will be enough if the Committee could indicate the lines for the future and give us something to think about and act upon. The twenty-nine sub-committees will submit their reports in the middle of March. In the first week of April the National Planning Committee will meet to consider these reports and make a draft report. The final report will be ready by the end of June.

"The economic ills of the world are not due to individuals but to fundamental economic causes. The old capitalistic system has broken up and with the end of this war we will finally see the last of it. Some form of State control of production, transport and distribution not only nationally, as due to the exigencies of the war, but also internationally will gradually come to its own."

Talking of the new system, Pt. Nehru said that although many things had tarnished the idealism of the new system which had arisen in Russia and although one disapproved of some of the political trends in Russia, one thing was certain, that the economic foundations of Russia were sound and they did point a way to the final solution. "There is no way out except a socialist economy. Political democracy has failed to make it successful. It must be allied with economic democracy and it must be based on socialism. Of course, to apply every thing blindly to India from Russia will be foolish. The essential thing is to solve the problem of distribution without which everything else will go by the board."

In conclusion, referring to the stress laid by the Congress on village industdustries and Khadi, Pt. Nehru said that some people found a conflict between the place of big industries and that of village industries in the scheme of India's planned economy. But the matter, if gone into deeply, would show that in the present state of India's economy, it was necessary that both village industries and big industries should work and be built up in co-ordination. No country could be free or keep its independence without developing big industries. For one thing, it could not have proper defence services. However, for India the development of big industries did not seem to be near for a generation at least. Village industries were necessary, but they could develop only with State action in the form of protection, which involved economic and political independence, and to retain independence in the economic sense, big industries were necessary. "Thus, I want industrialisation in India as much as anybody else. I also think that village industries are essential and should be developed in co-ordination with big industries."

The All India Statistical Conference

Third Session—Madras—3rd. January 1940

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

His Excellency Lord Erskine, the Governor of Madas inaugurated, on the **3rd. January 1940**, the third session of the All-India Statistical Conference at the Senate House of the Madras University. Prof. *Harold Hotelling* presided.

Mr. *V. V. Giri*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, extended a cordial welcome to the delegates and said that in the present age statistics played an important part in all walks of life,—whether industries, labour or commerce. Whether they wanted to build up a labour policy or to have industrial planning, collection of statistics had to be undertaken, as without such statistics there was bound to be uncertainty as to the facts on which the conclusions were to be based. It was also necessary that periodical statistics relating to all economic questions should be compiled in all provinces and preferably on an all-India basis. It was but right, therefore, that legislation should be adopted both by the Provincial and Central Legislatures enabling competent authorities to collect information where they were available.

Mr. Giri referred to the helpful part that statistical investigation had played in consolidating the gains of Prohibition and promoting national planning and congratulated the University of Madras on giving statistics a place in the Diploma Course in Economics. But considering the great importance of statistics

in all economic studies, it might, he thought, be desirable to have statistics as compulsory part of B. A. Honours and Pass Courses on Economics. It would also be useful if students, after graduating themselves, spent at least six months in practical application of their studies for the advancement of rural economy and collection of statistics relating to the different aspects of village life.

Mr. Giri next emphasised the need for constituting a Provincial Board of Economics with the assistance of the Economics Department of the University, of the various professors and lecturers of the Universities and colleges, and trained investigators. The graduates should come under the supervision of this Board, and the Board, in its turn, must depute them to some villages in the districts to which the graduates belonged and asked to have a survey on the lines indicated. Concluding, Mr. Giri hoped that the Conference, consisting as it did of experts, would give a lead to the whole country in the matter of the development of statistics. It was indeed gratifying that they had as the President of this Conference Professor Hotelling, distinguished Statistician and ex-President of the International Economic Society. The Conference was bound to be a great success under his distinguished presidency.

Mr. Giri welcomed Professor Hotelling and His Excellency the Governor and requested His Excellency to open the Conference.

GOVERNOR'S OPENING SPEECH

His Excellency the Governor, declaring the Conference open, offered them, as Head of the province, a very sincere and cordial welcome to Madras, and heartily associated himself with the sentiments which the Chairman of the Reception Committee had already expressed to the same effect. "Our City and University", His Excellency said, "are honoured indeed by the presence of so many scholars of eminence and we consider it fortunate that Madras has been chosen as the seat of this All-India Conference of first-rate importance."

"So far as India is concerned", His Excellency continued, "advance in the theory and practice of statistical methods has not long passed the stage of infancy. The general public, as a whole, still view the collection of statistics with a very jaundiced eye. The householder, the large scale agriculturist, and the employer of labour lament, or vehemently object, when presented with demands for statistical information. It would be interesting to know whether even statisticians themselves chafe on being presented with forms to fill up at census time.

"But for all that, we must have facts and figures. No efficiently planned progress in the economic field is possible without them. In this disturbed world of ours to-day we are faced with one incontrovertible fact. It is that present day economics seem to have out-run our ability to regulate and control them—or even to sort accurately the perplexing and infinitely complicated economic relationships between one nation and another, or among various interests within the same state. Overproduction, unequal distribution of goods, cycles of depression and such like phenomena are but the symptoms of an economic malady. Its causes must be diagnosed, and a suitable cure devised. The present century has seen several attempts to this end—five year plans, ten year plans and so forth, but unfortunately in some cases there is grave doubt whether the cure has not proved much worse than the disease !

"But this is where the statistician and his studies are of the most vital importance. I would repeat—we need more data and the most scientific use of such data. The growth and movement of population, the effect of taxation and regulation on industry, the factors which control and affect exploitation of agricultural and mineral resources, the fluctuations of trade, banking and exchange ; nutritional, educational and public health trends—to mention only a few—all are susceptible of such statistical analysis as will, if the results be properly co-ordinated, provide the only solid basis for national and international economic planning.

"Your own researches have already been of the greatest use in many subsidiary, yet highly important, aspects of internal administration, and we expect still further advantages to accrue from the work which the Institute is doing and is encouraging others to do.

"Here I feel that I must make a special mention of the services of Professor Mahalanobis, the Honorary Secretary of the Statistical Institute, to statistical progress in India. Commencing his work on a voluntary basis more than fifteen years ago, he gradually gathered an organisation around him. The studies in which he had his helpers engaged from time to time in an advisory capacity to

various Provincial Governments, soon won him a well deserved recognition, and once financial assistance was forthcoming, the Laboratory which Professor Mahalanobis had created developed into the Institute as it is now. It would be difficult adequately to appreciate the value to India of this great piece of creative endeavour.

"Finally, I must congratulate the Conference on having secured as its visiting President for this year a scientist of the calibre of Professor Hotelling. A glance at the list of his publications is enough to indicate the depth of his knowledge and the scope of his achievements in the sphere of statistical research. I feel sure that under his guidance the deliberations of this Conference will be both successful and beneficial. I have now great pleasure in calling upon Professor Hotelling."

Presidential Address

Prof. Harold Hotelling then delivered his presidential address. He said :—

Statistics in India has had a brilliant beginning. The superior standards of work exemplified by the Statistical Laboratory at the Presidency College and by the papers published in Sankhya, have given a solid basis in the ornanisation and activities of the Indian Statistical Institute, have made an impression in all parts of the world where statistics is cultivated as a scholarly subject. Official and semi-official inquiries on a variety of subjects, such for example as that relating to the acreage under jute, bid fair soon to attain a reliability in this country surpassing that of corresponding inquiries in countries in which statistical investigations have been carried on over a longer period.

To a very great extent this development is due to the inspired zeal and scientific talents of one man, Professor P. C. Mahalanobis. His work, and that of members of his laboratory group, have been fundamental not only in exemplifying the use of proper statistical methods already worked out, showing the way for others also to use with confidence these powerful tools of inquiry and inference, but also in developing new methods appropriate to situations not covered by previous methodological research.

Another cause of the auspicious character of the beginning that has been made of statistical work in India is that this country has never been encumbered with the mass of inaccurate, inefficient and obsolete statistical methods and notions that elsewhere have impeded progress. This advantage has an industrial analogy. When Germany and Japan emerged late from their backward feudal conditions and embarked on modern industrial life they astounded the world with the speed of their development and quickly outdistanced long-established competitors. The fundamental reason for this seems to be that they were not loaded down with decrepit old machinery or (what is even more important) decrepit old ideas and methods which in other countries had come by long usage to be regarded almost as divine revelation. India is to-day unencumbered by a great body of superstitions which, in countries where statistical methods of some sort have long been used, stand as a massive barrier against the intrusion of superior methods and ideas. There is reason to think that in the absence of these superstitious barriers, and with the excellent start that has been made, statistical theory and statistical practice will rise rapidly in India to heights not yet dreamed of just as industrial development increased most rapidly where it was newest.

Aid to Improve Human Life

The many ways in which statistical methods and statistical data are capable of improving human life, through the natural and the social sciences, and in industry and economic activities of myriad kinds, are only beginning to be understood in spite of their truly impressive accomplishments. The chaste beauty and intellectual delights of the theory of statistical inference, regarded as the offspring of mathematics and inductive logic, are known at present only to a few devotees ; but this theory is bound in time to receive a wider appreciation and a higher valuation even apart from its practical usefulness in the form of applications. Such appreciation will secure for statistical methods and statistical theory the interest and support which is necessary to enable their full potentialities being realised in bringing new light and new vigour to every department of the national life.

The statistical superstitions of which I speak are the vestigial structures remaining from bygone methods and notions of many periods, but come largely from the empiricist movement in science with which the nineteenth century over-corrected the speculative tendencies of earlier times. This nineteenth-century

empiricism emphasised facts as against theories, and in some minds became hypertrophied into an unwillingness to interpret observations in the light of the theory of errors of observations. The facts, and the facts alone, were regarded as worthy of real consideration, and any imaginative interpretation was to be frowned upon severely. This attitude led for example to the tabulation of official statistics in forms which greatly diminished their usefulness to the seeker after underlying causes and tendencies, sacrificing much of the valuable information inherent in them by such procedures as excessively coarse and irregular grouping, and the neglect of gross-tabulation whose results might have revealed much regarding social and economic forces.

Mathematics and Statistics

Another consequence of the prevalent hypertrophied empiricism has been a separation from the mathematical theory of statistics and probability of the processes of inventing statistical methods and procedures and of choosing among those available. Examples of this unnatural separation will be apparent at a glance at any one of numerous text-books on statistics used widely in colleges in some countries. The boast of these books is that they do not require any knowledge of mathematics and can be understood by any one. Early in the book there is usually an extended discussion of various kinds of averages, such as arithmetic, geometric and harmonic means, the median, and the mode. The choice to be made by the statistician among these various measures of central value is gravely discussed in terms of ease of calculation and other properties of secondary importance, without any mention whatsoever of the vital fact that the most accurate estimate of a central value in terms of observations is a function of the form of the frequency distribution, determinable together with a measure of its accuracy by the mathematical methods of the theory of estimation. Later in the book there is likely to be a long chapter or series of chapters on time series, with many illustrations of procedures but with a total disregard of the problem of making inferences from time series with the help of the theory of probability. Many pages are devoted in some of these books to teaching bad methods of dealing with seasonal variation, secular trend, correlation and regression. One method of calculating seasonal variation propounded in numerous such books, and even to-day being taught to thousands of students by laborious numerical drilling, is not only inefficient in the modern sense of losing a large part of the information intrinsic in the data, but involves an altogether excessive amount of computational work in comparison with simpler and more accurate methods; and besides all this, gives adjustments for seasonality that in many cases leave the adjusted series with obvious traces of seasonal variation. To the great fundamental advances in the theory and technique of statistical inference that have been made in recent decades some of these books remain completely indifferent.

Defect in Teaching of Statistics

What is true of the text-books must be assumed to be true also of a great number of teachers of statistics. In countries where statistics has become an old subject of instruction it is quite common to find it taught by instructors who not only are without any fundamental knowledge of the subject but, through lack of preparation in mathematics and statistical theory, are unable even to read the current literature of the subject they are teaching. Whereas university teaching in most subjects is supposed to be in the hands of those who have specialised in their respective subjects to the extent of contributing to them, it has come to be thought in some places that a sufficient qualification for a teacher of statistics is a knowledge of some field in which statistics is applied.

Mathematics is neglected in connection with the teaching of statistics on the ground that the students would not understand it. Perhaps a better reason is that the teachers and the authors of the books do not understand it. Because of the failure to go through the mathematical derivations of statistical formulae in the process of teaching them, mistakes are perpetuated and multiplied, copied from text-book to text-book, and accepted and incorporated into statistical practice by credulous students who have never learned to examine critically the derivations and full meanings. An instance of this sort of thing is displayed by the so-called standard error of the coefficient of rank correlation. Walter C. Eels, in the Journal of the American Statistical Association for 1929, gave an amusing compilation of numerous versions of this formula taken from different text-books, differing apparently because of accumulated copying errors from each

other and from that given in a paper of Karl Pearson's from which ultimately they were supposed to have been derived. The comedy is heightened by the discovery that this paper of Pearson's is not mathematically rigorous, and we have no very good reason to think that the various authors would have given the correct instruction to their readers even if they had all copied with more care.

Position in India

This phase in the development of statistics from which Western countries are now emerging with considerable difficulty, seems to have been skipped in India. No one in this country, so far as I can find, is engaged in promulgating unsound statistical methods. Moreover, constructive research of a fundamental sort is going on, as is evidenced in the pages of Sankhya where the mathematical contributions of R. C. Bose, S. N. Roy, P. V. Sukhatme, K. R. Nair and others have won recognition throughout the world, and by the very substantial contributions to statistical theory by Indians published in other countries. The pages of Sankhya and of other journals also bear witness to the intelligent application of statistical methods, with frequent minor additions to them, having general value, by workers in the various sciences, in industry, and in agricultural research.

The stage is thus set for a great development of sound statistics in this country. Application usually lags behind theory by a considerable number of years. This lag has been growing smaller. The properties of the conic sections worked out by Greek geometers were not applied until two thousand years later, when they were ready for the work of Kepler and Copernicus and played an essential part in the development of modern science. On the other hand, only a few decades elapsed between the discovery of electromagnetic induction by Faraday and Henry and the establishment of an electric power industry based on the use of this principle in dynamos. More recent discoveries in pure science have found their first applications in still less time, but continue indefinitely to yield new human values, The pure theory of statistics now being developed can likewise be depended upon to bring about, in a relatively short time, an increasing stream of new human value of the most diverse sorts.

The great mistake that is always being made is to undervalue pure science and abstract theory in comparison with the more direct and obvious values of applied science, inventions, machines, and techniques. In statistics this has meant a concentration on practical applications, without troubling too much about the quality of the statistical tools used in them. I have often heard economic statisticians quote the assertion that it is foolish to use a fine razor to do the work of an axe, apparently feeling that this means that their bad data call for the use of bad statistical methods, whereas actually the very fact of the excessive irregularity of economic data requires accurate treatment in order to extract the small amount of valuable information that is in them from the large irrelevant portions. And so the axe is used on a good deal of statistical material that might yield something quite useful under more intelligent treatment. The real reason underlying such wasteful procedures is an ignorance of fundamental theory that leads to an aversion to it. An essential part of the development of statistics should be a close attention and a high regard for the mathematical and logical foundations. It is only in this way that proper teaching of statistics, sound practice, and continued progress can be insured.

Statistical Institutes Work Reviewed

Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis of the Statistical Institute Calcutta, reviewed the activities of the All-India Statistical Conference during the last year and said that they deemed it a privilege to have the opportunity of holding the annual conference in Madras which had "an established tradition for statistical work and a great reputation for mathematical researches," Statistics had its origin in statecraft and had always been intimately connected with public administration ; and they, therefore, felt greatly honoured and encouraged by His Excellency's presence on this occasion as it set the seal of approval of the head of the Government of the Province on the proceedings. He thanked Mr. V. V. Giri for his active sympathy and help as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Dr. Thomas and other members of the Reception Committee for the excellent arrangements made by them for the Conference. Professorially, Mr. Harold Hotelling represented both mathematics and economics—the two disciplines which supplied the very foundations of modern statistics ; but it was as something more than a

mathematician or an economist, namely, as an eminent statistician that they welcomed him that day.

Proceeding, Prof. Mahalanobis said that statistics was becoming more and more an all:pervading subject, because the basic purpose of statistical science was to devise efficient methds by which information might be collected, usually and preferably in a quantitative form, for being used in all spheres of human knowledge and activities. The aim is to gather the largest amount of relevant information with the smallest expenditure of time, energy, and money ; and also to do this in such a way that the information might be used with scientific precision, and the reliability of the material might be assessed with objective validity. Statistical science was a pre-requisite for all other sciences in which information in a quantitative form was necessary, for progress. Statistics was also indispensable in all practical activities of human society in which directed effort must be based on objective knowledge for the achievement of success. Statistics, in fact, had its origin in social needs ; and more than other sciences it had always had its chief source of inspiration in problems of human welfare. Statistical science thus gained its real significance from the social background of man. Whatever success the Statistical Institute had attained in its work was due to its keeping this guiding motive steadfastly in view. It had been their constant endeavour to show that statistics could be directly useful in practical affairs. It had been their good fortune to have succeeded in doing so effectively in some important schemes ; and they were gratified at the increasing measure of public recognition of the statistical science.

Prof. Mahalanobis then dealt at length with different methods of statistical compilation, such as complete enumeration, and random sampling and said that the greater part of the work of statistical institutes during the year under review was concerned with researches in "sampling theory" and "the design of experiments" as well as the practical technique of the sampling method. There was urgent need for developing suitable technique in regard to crop forecasts at reasonable cost and the sampling method offered the only possible line of advance in this connection. The Professor then described statistical investigations conducted in regard to crop cutting, sugarcane pests, labour statistics, diet and health surveys. The forthcoming census, the speaker continued, was likely to afford considerable scope for the application of modern statistical methods. He hoped it would be possible to organise a number of socio-economic sample enquiries to supplement the population census in 1941.

White it was gratifying to find that the need for the use of modern statistical methods was being increasingly realised, there was no arrangement in India to provide whole time training in statistics. The demand for such training was so insistent that a class was opened in Calcutta last year. But there could be no guarantee of the supply of trained statisticians in requisite numbers until satisfactory arrangements were made for training by the Central Government and the Universities.

Dr. P. J. Thomas' Address

Dr. P. J. Thomas, President of the Madras Branch of the Indian Statistical Institute and General Secretary of the Conference, proposing a vote of thanks to His Excellency and the delegates, said that the Madras Branch was only two years old, but University had engaged itself in statistical studies for many years. The Institute at Calcutta, under the able guidance of Prof. Mahalanobis, was doing admirable work, especially in theoretical statistics, and his studies had been helpful in regard to crop forecasting and measuring of foods. In Madras, they were trying to specialise in ecoomic applications of statistics. After all, statistics arose as political arithmetic. From the beginning, it dealt with the measuring of the things that interested the State—population, production, trade, prices, wages, national income, and public finances. It was these chiefly that they had been studying in Madras.

While a certain amount of theoretical analysis was essential for the advancement of knowledge in any branch of science, there was, Dr. Thomas continued, the danger of its being overdone in certain branches of knowledge. If economics was to have any real practical value and economists were to give useful guidance to policy, they had to make statistical analysis of economic problems. With the growth of Government control in many fields of economic activity, it had become essential for governments and politicians to measure the results of policies and this could be done only with the yardstick of facts and figures. Whatever the condition

elsewhere, statisticians in India could not make any contribution to economic thought nor give any assistance to the formulation of policy unless they patiently collected the facts of economic life and analysed problems statistically. It was this conviction that had made the Madras University specialise in detailed surveys of economic conditions, rural and urban and study and interpretation of the statistics of industry, agriculture, and foreign trade published by the Government from time to time.

Reliable primary data, Dr. *Thomas* continued, were essential for proper statistical analysis of economic problems. Collection of such data on a wide scale was really the work of governments and the academic students could only help in using them for economic analysis. The University could—and, he hoped, would—foster the study of statistics by introducing it more widely in its Degree courses and instituting a separate Diploma in Statistics. With the introduction of various measures of economic amelioration, it had become imperative for provincial governments to collect and interpret statistics on a growing range of subjects. It was not enough to make sporadic enquiries. The Madras Government were the first provincial Government to attach a trained statistician to the Industries Department. Much valuable information had thus been collected about family budgets, prices, and trade conditions and was maintaining a cost of living index of labourers in the City. It was time they went further, for there was need for a standing Board or Bureau of Economic Enquiry which would, besides making any investigations the Government might need from time to time, also carry on a continuous interpretation of economic phenomena. He hoped that this question would soon engage the attention of the Government. A more intensive study of economic statistics was essential to-day in India. In Madras, they were working on this conviction and it would, he said, be their endeavour to develop here a School of Economic Statistics. It gave them great pleasure to welcome Professor Hotelling who ably combined the two roles of economist and statistician. From its inception, statistical science had been connected with the work of the State and it was but fitting that the administrative head of the State in Madras should open the Conference. On behalf of economic statisticians he thanked His Excellency for initiating in the presidency various important policies of economic amelioration which they hoped would contribute greatly to the welfare of its teeming millions. The session then adjourned.

Mr. Yeats on aim of Census

In connection with the session of the Conference, a discussion was held on the **4th. January** at the Senate Room, Chepauk, on "Census and population statistics". Mr. *M. W. M. Yeatts*, I.C.S., Census Commissioner with the Government of India, presided.

Mr. Yeatts, in the course of his address, observed that the statistical field of India was crying out for a harvest of information ; but they had to get more reapers into it. Though he happened to be the Census Commissioner, he took a wider view of his position and functions. They should not really look at the past at all. They should observe in the present for the future. He would like to throw a much longer beam ahead and try to see what the developments of Indian economic and administrative life would be and what part the census should play in that life.

His ideal was, Mr. Yeatts continued, that every citizen should be a field observer. One of the drawbacks and weaknesses of statistics in all countries was the distance that so often occurred between the original phenomena to be recorded and the first occurrence or presence of a person with the necessary outlook or training to check, criticise or test them in time. They should aim at narrowing that gap. The idea of accurate observation was a thing which could be taught to students in schools. Children, being usually more detached in their approach than adults, were within their own fields the best observers of all. If their whole body of citizens were observers, then they could replace second-hand or even third-hand by first-hand data. They could follow up individual aspects both for their own and for their typical importance.

He used the word "typical" for a reason, Mr. Yeatts added. They had in India a population of continental dimensions. They wished to have a great variety of information about that population expressed in statistical tables. But the mere physical preparation of a single table for a population of 375 millions

was an extensive and expensive labour. If they could, through improvement in their own equipment or skill, so lessen their error and extend their scope, that they could establish types from which they could accurately project the whole they had before them the possibility of a far more useful application of their limited and relatively inextensible financial resources. That was, of course, sampling and safety first should be the motto of all sampling activities. Once they had a sufficient cadre of reliable observers in close and regular contact with phenomena then they should be able to derive all the information they required from an examination of material regularly produced day by day in the life of the country.

Dealing next with the great potentialities of vital statistics, Mr. Yeatts said that if their vital statistics were even rational in their content, they should be well on the way to a clearer appreciation of what had been called India's population problem. He would like to ask this time such questions as the age of mothers at the birth of their first child and the number of children born. He hoped that this would make the vital statistics authorities in the Provinces and the States to add this information also to their system of birth reporting. Pointing out that the latest report of the Public Health Commissioner was for 1937, Mr. Yeatts said that this was due to the fantastic delays of some parts of the country in sending their reports. Vital statistics related to incidents happening every day and at any hour of the day and a proper system should concentrate on making the report of such incidents as easy and almost automatic as possible. Was there any reason why they should not widen the lists of persons to whom such reports might be made ? At the end of a series of broadcast talks from Delhi he had suggested a synoptic vision which looked at the census not as an activity in itself but as part of the general scheme, of administration and information the country needed and designed to take a proper place in that scheme, linked up efficiently but without overlapping with all the other elements.

Dealing next with the census operations, Mr. Yeatts said that it had two broad and distinguishable spheres. The first was enumeration and the other tabulation. They had to make sure that the entire population was asked the questions decided upon. In England the house-holder was the enumerator and the so-called enumerator was merely a distributor and collector of forms. This system was out of the question in India on account of wide-spread illiteracy nor was it possible to pay the enumerators as in America. The problem had been solved in the past on account of the public spirit of the people who did the enumeration. India had arrived at the great truth that where fundamental matters of social observation were concerned, the citizen should be the observer and be prepared to assist the State in that capacity. This was a spirit which they should preserve for all times. In the roytwari areas, particularly in South India, they had village officers with previous experience of census work. He would like to see constant thought being devoted as to how they could use these factors to bring in regularly the information they wanted.

Mr. Yeatts stated that he proposed to print forms with only numbers for the questions framed on an all-India basis. The actual questions could be made known through local presses. The questions should elicit the sort of information the country wanted now or might require for the future. Certain questions like age and occupation had to be asked. The process of tabulating such essential information would require a lot of money and only a little would be left for other questions. Further every question they prescribed had to be asked by the enumerator. He was the man to bring home the goods and they must study him and see that he understood those questions perfectly.

Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis agreed with Mr. Yeatts that the public spirit in India should be fully utilised for the collection of information. Putting in a plea for supplementing the census by special surveys, he said that there should be a permanent census organisation in the country. If this was not possible the next census should try a few experiments in some things. There was no doubt a good deal of latent spirit in the country ; but the initiative must come from the top. His plea was for conducting sample surveys covering demographic and economic and social enquiries. For such work, non-official statistical workers could be drafted in ; but they must work under the guidance of the Census Commissioner. Finally, he pleaded for the preservation of the census slips for use later on.

Dr. P. J. Tomas said that the ensuing census was going to be a very important one as it was coming after a period of severe depression. An ill-balanced economy in which too many people depended on land had been the bane of this

country for long and students of economics were scanning the occupational tables in successive censuses to see if more of the people had been taking to industrial pursuits. Great progress had since been made in industries and it would be interesting to know how this large industrial advance had affected their occupational structure and level of development.

After pleading for a separate census of production, which would bring in information about organised industries, Dr. Tomas said that in India organised industries accounted for only a fraction of the total industrial population. The great bulk of them pursued hadicrafts in their own cottage and statistics of this larges mass of people could only be gathered through a careful use of the occupational tables in the general census. Owing to the rapid advance in industrial production, unemployment had increased among handicraftsmen. Only a small percentage of these people had been absorbed by the industries. Some of them had gone to land which was already under a heavy pressure and others had migrated to towns in search of work. Those who talked of rapid mechanisation knew little of the misery that it might cause in the peculiar circumstances of India.

Dr. Thomas urged that there should be some uniformity in the classification of occupations from census to census. This had not been the case in India. If the caste column was dropped, occupational tables become more accurate. He also thought that the entries in the column 'infirmities' were of little reliability. For information, relating to deafness, blindness etc., they might utilise the Public Health Department from time to time.

Concluding, Dr. Thomas said that a great deal of valuable information collected at the census was left unutilised. The original sheets, which would provide valuable materials for economic research might be handed over to the Universities.

Mr. *A. C. Mukherjee* of Baroda said that if it was not possible to have a permanent census department, they might undertake special surveys in certain directions. For instance, they might take up the question of fertility in Government servants or in people engaged in certain professions. This could be done easily provided they made a start from now. In the vital statistics, the age of the mother at the time of the first child birth was not given. This was a necessary information. For recording the age in the Census, they might give the completed years and months. Mr. Mukherjee was in favour of the retention of the 'infirmities' column, for he said that this at least gave them some information, regarding blindness, deafness, leprosy, etc., from decade. The meeting then terminated.

---

*

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—New Delhi—30th. March 1940

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The annual session of the federation of Indian Chambers of Commence and Industry was held at New Delhi on the **30th. March 1940** under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur *C. S. Ratnasabhapati Mudaliar*, who in the course of his address observed :—

"The outbreak of the war in Europe has changed the entire perspective against which we are accustomed to examine our economic problems and difficulties in our annual sessions. I do not presume to prophesy the shape of things to come but I have no doubt in my mind that, if properly utilised, the situation created by the present war would enable India to secure her legitimate and fair share in the future redistribution of economic power, and to rise to the full stature of her economic development".

We assemble here to-day against a tragic international political background. During my tenure of office, the growing international tension culminated in another major European conflict for the second time within the life-time of a generation. The political events in Europe were not without their effect on the political situation in India. In so far as His Excellency the Viceroy has pronounced that the political goal of India is the attainment of Dominion Status of the Westminster variety the declaration is, in my opinion, a welcome one. I believe that a considerable section of Indian public opinion would have been satisfied if His Majesty's Government had given a very clear indication of the exact period within which this goal would be realised by India without the least room for procrastination. I still hope that the intentions of His Majesty's Government in this regard would be made fully clear and unambiguous. As representatives of the commercial and industrial interests of the country we are much concerned in the preservation of internal tranquillity. Economic progress becomes impossible without political stability. Unfortunately, events during the recent weeks are making it increasingly clear that unless wiser counsels prevail in time and men of goodwill spare no pains to avert any internal commotion and disorder, the country will be plunged in an unprecedented and serious political upheaval which will be disastrous not only to our political progress and economic prosperity but also to the interests of the United Kingdom in more senses than one.

The outbreak of the war in Europe has changed the entire perspective against which we are accustomed to examine our economic problems and difficulties in our annual sessions. I do not presume to prophesy the shape of things to come but I have no doubt in my mind that, if properly utilised, the situation created by the present war would enable India to secure her legitimate and fair share in the future redistribution of economic power, and to rise to the full stature of her economic development.

GOVT.'S ATTITUDE TO INDUSTRY

Here I cannot but observe that the attitude of the Government of India towards Indian industry and commerce, since the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, does not appear to be very helpful. It is unfortunate that the Government should have thought it wise to impose heavy burdens on Indian industry and commerce, in the form of new taxes, such as the Excess Profits Tax, the increase in the Railway rates and fares and the increases in the Sugar Excise and Petrol duty, at a time when the commercial community looked forward to the Government to give their help for bringing about a rapid advance towards industrialisation.

Another important consideration which I would like to point out is the fact that the ability of the Indian industrialists to seize the present opportunity for forging ahead and making a rapid advance towards industrialisation will depend largely upon the attitude of Indian labour during the course of the war. I have every sympathy for the legitimate grievances of the wage-earners in India but I should like my friends in the Labour Camp to remember that India has much leeway to make up towards full-fledged industrialisation and during the transition period

any extravagant concessions would severely cripple her competitive position *vis-a-vis* the foreign industrialists. In this connection, I would also emphasise the need for co-ordinating labour legislation and making it applicable to all India to arrest the increasing tendency of the industries to shift from the British Indian Provinces to the Indian States.

Trade Agreements

Early in the past year, the Government of India opened negotiations with the Government of Japan for the renewal of the Indo-Japanese Trade Convention and Protocol of 1937. The negotiations between the two Governments are still in progress. As you may be aware, the non-official advisers have submitted a unanimous report and earnestly hope that Government would give their serious consideration to their views while negotiating the new agreement. I also urge upon the the Government of India the importance of an early conclusion of the new Trade Treaty between the two countries. The question of our trade treaties with other countries such as Japan, Burma, Ceylon, and the proposed Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the United States of America remind me of the miserable plight in which thousands of our fellow-countrymen are placed in some of the countries of the British Empire, such as South Africa, Burma, Ceylon and some other parts of the worlds like Belgian Congo and Abyssinia. It is the fundamental duty of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in Great Britain to secure the just rights and privileges of the Indian nationals who have settled abroad and I earnestly request the Government to utilise every means in their power to safeguard the position and status of our nationals abroad who have by their labour and by their resources contributed so much to the development and the prosperity of the countries which they have adopted.

Two other questions which I would like to refer to are : (1) the recent amendment of the Distribution Order in Council of 1936 which embodied the provisions of the Niemeyer Award, and (2) the proposed census of production. It is reported that the Government of India have under consideration a scheme to organise a census of production of all the large-scale organised industries in the country. Most of the progressive industrial countries have enacted laws for the taking of a compulsory periodical census of production. I welcome the belated intention of the Government to take a census of production of organised industries, but I would urge them to extend the scope of the census by applying it also to the minor and small industries in this country. So far as the recent amendment of the Distribution Order in Council (1936), which embodied the provisions of the Niemeyer Award, is concerned, I would very earnestly draw the attention of the Government of India to the fact that the amendment of any important part of the constitution which has far-reaching consequences on the prospects of the successful working of provincial autonomy, at a time when the majority of the responsible Governments have ceased to operate, is likely to seriously undermine the public confidence in the Provinces and to aggravate the difficulties of the Provincial Governments when the normal working of the constitution is restored.

The most obvious effect of the war on Indian economy is that it has created an appreciable increase in the demand for a number of India's primary products and has to some extent enhanced the prices at which they can be sold. In my opinion there is no case for the control of prices of our exportable agricultural commodities and any attempt to check the prices when they are just recovering from the abnormally low levels which have prevailed during the last decade, would amount to deliberately denying to the cultivator his legitimate right to utilise the present opportunity for recouping his resources which were severely depleted as a result of the depression. The rise in the prices of and the increase in the demand for Indian agricultural produce is bound to result in an increase in the purchasing power of our masses. I would, in this connection, urge the Reserve Bank of India to explore the possibilities of encouraging habits of saving amongst our rural population, by the issue of special Savings Certificates for the exclusive benefit of the rural population. To be attractive, the Savings Certificates should carry a relatively higher rate of interest, and be easily realizable, preferably at par, and the Reserve Bank must endeavour to keep a substantial gold reserve as a backing against these Certificates.

Another sphere in which the war has produced striking changes is in the sphere of our foreign trade. Our external trade is likely to benefit from the present emergency as a result of the substantial increase in the demand for India's staple exportable commodities, the prices at which our exports are being sold abroad

and the direct purchases made in India on behalf of the Allied Governments. The increase in the value and volume of our exports is, to some extent, likely to be offset by the complete elimination of our trade with our enemies, by the inconveniences to our normal trade with the neutrals and by the lack of adequate shipping space for our exports to various international markets.

I would urge the Government to set up an Expert Council, consisting of the representatives of Indian industry and commerce and to administer the provisions of the various controls (export, import and exchange) in consultation with such a body.

Accumulation of Sterling Resources

Another problem in the realm of our external trade is the fact that the relatively greater increase in the value and volume of our exports compared with our imports is bound to result in a large favourable balance of trade and lead to an enormous accumulation of Sterling resources held in London on our account. How and in what manner we can convert these Sterling resources with a view to receiving the full value of the payments for our exports which are at present being made in terms of Sterling, is a problem which deserves the most serious consideration and careful thought at the present juncture. I welcome the announcement of the Government to utilize a part of our Sterling resources for the conversion of our present Sterling obligations into Rupee obligations. My only hope is that the Government would bring about this conversion in the light of capacity of the Indian money market to absorb the Rupee securities. I would, in this connection, draw the earnest attention of the Government to a strong feeling in the country that in view of the uncertainty about the future of Sterling, it is advisable that we should utilise part of these Sterling resources to purchase gold so as to build up a large gold reserve and also partly to build up a reserve of an alternate strong currency such as dollar. I would urge the same consideration to the disposal of the proceeds of our silver sales which are at present being kept in the form of Sterling in London. India is a debtor country and her whole financial stability is based upon her ability to export larger quantities relatively to her imports and to maintain an export-surplus which would be equivalent in value to her total liabilities abroad. It is of utmost importance, therefore, that we should utilize this opportunity created by the war to partly convert our Sterling obligations so as to lessen the pressure which the Sterling remittances exert on our Exchange, and mainly to build up a strong Gold Reserve to withstand the difficulties which would arise at the end of the present war. I trust that the authorities concerned would show great caution in managing our currency during the present war and would see to it that the tragic tampering by executive action with our currency policy which deprived India of the major benefits accruing from the last war, would not be repeated during the present struggle.

Importance of National Shipping

While commenting on the prospects of our export trade, I should like to urge the importance of the necessity of developing a powerful Indian mercantile marine. The present war has made every maritime country realise the great importance of national shipping for its economic prosperity in times of peace and for the defence of its coasts in times of war. Our shipping has not been allowed to handle more than one-fifth of the entire coastal trade of India, Burma and Ceylon. It should be remembered that the coastal trade is regarded as the preserve of its national shipping by every maritime country. As the Government of India have accepted their responsibility to help national shipping in making substantial progress in participating in carrying trades, I trust they will use their influence in solving the existing deadlock between the Indian shipping companies and the British shipping companies, so that the just and legitimate claims of the national shipping industry will be recognised and the onward march of Indian shipping ensured. Indian shipping has practically no share in India's overseas trade. This is certainly a serious disadvantage to the large export and import trade of India—a disadvantage which has become more pronounced under the present conditions of the war. I earnestly hope that when the question comes up for further consideration, justice will be done to the cause of Indian shipping by allotting to it its proper quota of the trade.

We have not so far tackled the problem of developing important producers' goods industries, such as machinery-making or heavy chemicals, and every effort must be made to develop these industries during the present emergency.

Another source from which stimulus may be given for the establishment of new industries is the activities of the War Supply Department. This Department is likely to collect valuable data regarding the possibilities of new industries and I would venture to suggest that the Department should make available to the commercial and general public such information in booklet form from time to time. In regard to the establishment of new industries, the first and foremost difficulty of the Indian businessmen at present is the difficulty to secure adequate machinery for the flotation of new enterprises in the country. Government could come to their help by securing machinery from abroad at reasonable prices and by placing at the disposal of the industries whatever technical help and advice they need regarding the establishment of a new industry. Government should help the development of new industries by initial assistance in the case of important key industries as also by giving an assurance to the business community that in the case of new industries which will be established during the war, the Government would be prepared to help by granting a protective tariff for a reasonable period after the end of the war.

The supreme need of the hour, to my mind, is that the Government should take a long-term view of the situation and lay down specific plans for bringing about a rapid industrial development which would be commensurate with the requirements and resources of this country.

Proceedings and Resolutions

PROTEST AGAINST EXCESS PROFITS BILL

The meeting carried a resolution put from the chair strongly protesting against the imposition of the Excess Profits Tax, which in the Federation's opinion will adversely affect the development of industries and commerce and check the flow of new capital badly needed for financing present and new industries. The resolution declared that such a levy at the present time, when Industries and Trade had just begun to recover and conditions were ripe for an industrial expansion in the country, would strike at the root of industrial and commercial development of the country.

SUPPLY REQUIREMENTS

Mr. *D. P. Khaitan* moved a resolution requesting the Government of India to resume the practice of advertising their supply requirments in the "Indian Trade Journal" wherever possible and urging Government to keep in view the necessity of informing the public that the wartime supplies were purchased with due regard to the interest of Indian industries by a periodical publication of how the various tenders were dealt with and the supplies met.

Mr. *M. M. Bhat* (Bombay), Mr. *R. R. Gupta* (Cawnpore) and Mr. *Nauman* M.L.A. (Central) supported the resolution which was carried.

CONTROL OF PRICES

The next resolution reiterated the Federation's conviction that there was no case for the control of prices of staple agricultural commodities at the present juncture in India and urged Government to remember that in the case of exportable agricultural produce, the prices of which were determined by international factors, control of prices without being effective would deprive the Indian cultivators of the benefit accruing to them from the changed conditions of demand and supply in the world markets. The resolution therefore expressed the opinion that Government should not deny this legitimate opportunity to the cultivator to average up his losses of the past ten years. The Federation appreciated the Government's desire to take all measures for the successful prosecution of the war but they wished to emphasise that Government should see that while purchases were being made by the controlling authorities on behalf of the allies, the Indian cultivators received the same consideration as his brother cultivators in the dominions.

Mr. *R. M. Gandhi* (Bombay) moved the resolution which was supported by Mr, *H. S. Bagla* (Cawnpore), Mr. *V. K. Dhange* (Bombay) and Mr. *C. R. Chetty* (Madras) and passed.

PLEA FOR INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE

A lengthy resolution urging the establishment of an Indian Mercantile Marine was passed. It ran :—

"The Federation is strongly of opinion that as national shipping is essential for developing India's economic sufficiency and as India's second line of defence, India should have, without any delay, a large, efficient and fully developed

shipping owned, controlled and managed by its own nationals. The difficulties recently experienced in connection with India's import and exports trade and the disorganisation of its important passenger traffic particularly on the West Coast emphasise more than before the imperative need of India possessing a large and powerful mercantile marine of its own. The Federation, therefore, deeply deplores that in spite of the declared and recognised responsibility of the Government of India for helping India to build up such a mercantile marine in this country, neither have the Government of India taken any effective steps to help national shipping concerns in securing substantial participation in India's maritime trades, coastal and overseas, nor have they laid down a policy or evolved any plan for achieving that object which every maritime country having a national Government has done and has been doing for its own nationals.

"The Federation urges the Government of India to allot a substantial share to Indian national shipping concerns in the distribution of the Haj trafic.

"The Federation welcomes the enterprise of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company for starting a shipbuilding yard in India and calls upon government to give every assistance and encouragement for the speedy development of the shipbuilding industry which is vital to the maintenance of India's position as an important maritime country."

Sir *Abdul Halim Ghuznavi*, in moving the resolution, traced the history of the rivalry between Indian and British shipping and criticised the closing of the Calcutta port to Haj traffic. He urged the Government of India first to insist on British shipping to come to terms with Indian shipping, second, to subsidize Indian shipping industry and third, to subsidize the proposed ship building yard in Calcutta.

Mr. *J. J. Kapadia* (Bombay) supported the resolution. He said that but for the powerful influence of British shipping, the condition of Indian shipping would have been much better to-day. The speaker regretted that the Government of India had not learnt anything from the last war and would do nothing for Indian shipping during the present emergency. He referred to the failure of the Government of India in securing a share for Indian shipping in India's trade with Great Britain and Japan. He voiced the apprehensions felt by Indian shipping about the appointment of Sir George Campbell, as Controller of Shipping.

Mr. *K. L. Narsing Rao* (Madras) opposed the resolution. He declared that before the federation committed itself to supporting the Scindia Company, and before that company claimed the sympathy and patronage of Indians, it must have a national board of management formed on an All-India basis, must have no managing agency system and must give up its present policy of not transferring shares to bonafide Indian investors. The federation should take steps for the eventual nationalisation of the Indian Shipping Industry.

Mr. *Chunilal B. Mehta*, speaking in support of the Scindias, explained that the Board of Management was in fact an All-India one and as regards the managing agency system, it was a matter on which a difference of opinion existed in the country. The Company was against the transfer of its shares in certain cases because it was anxious to ensure that the shares did not pass into non-Indian hands. But he emphasised the question was not one connected with the management of the Company. The shareholders were more concerned with that—but it was whether the Company was Indian and deserved support.

Mr. *Haridas Lalji* (Karachi) dwelt on what he described as the discriminatory treatment of British shipping interests against Indian trade and declared it was the duty of Indians to support national shipping.

Mr. *H. P. Bhagaria* opposing the reference to the Scindias in the resolution asked if that Company had not adopted against another Indian Company the same tactics which it complained the British companies adopted against it (cheers).

The President suggested that in view of the opposition the reference to the Scindias might be omitted.

Lala Shri Ram and Mr. *Kasturbhai Lalbhai* appealing to the House to pass the resolution as it stood explained that the name of Scindias had been mentioned because it happened to be the only Indian Company that had come forward to start a shipbuilding yard. The resolution did nothing to commit the federation to supporting the Company's management. The simple issue was whether national shipping should be supported.

Mr. *Narsinga Rao* withdrew his opposition and the resolution was passed unanimously.

PRESERVING EXPORT TRADE OF INDIA

The meeting passed two more resolutions. One urged upon government the necessity of selecting suitably qualified Indians in making appointments to key posts, which have been created since the outbreak of the war with a view to associating Indians with important departments of supply.

Sardar P. S. Sodhbans (Punjab) Mr. *Balkrishna Munjal* and Mr. *Agarwala* spoke on the resolution.

INDIA'S EXPORT TRADE

The other resolution invited Government's attention to inconveniences to India's export trade resulting from various restrictions such as licence for shipments etc.

"The Federation urged upon Government the supreme importance of preserving India's export markets, finding new ones in place of those lost in the enemy territory and of securing a fair share of the war. The Federation, therefore, requested Government to administer the various restrictions in such a way as to preserve and develop India's export markets : to fix details regarding the various controls in consultation with the 'bona fide' representatives of the business community, so as to ensure fair treatment to Indian businessmen : to secure adequate shipping space to Indian exporters and to examine cases in which hardship had resulted by Government prohibition of exports, and either to buy up the exportable surplus of such industries or allow them to dispose of their surplus in export markets".

The session at this stage adjourned.

Resolutions—Second Day—New Delhi—31st. March 1940

SCIENTIFIC PROTECTION OF INDUSTRIES DEMANDED

Next day, the **31st. March** Mr. *N. R. Sarkar* (Bengal) moved the following resolution :—

"The Federation welcomes the assurance given by the Hon. the Commerce Member that the Government of India contemplate the liberalisation of the conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission, under which protection is granted, so as to encourage the development of industries necessary to meet the requirements of war, and the further assurance that the new enterprises established during the war would not be left unprotected at the termination of hostilities.

"In this connection, the Federation urges upon the Government the necessity of modifying their present procedure of granting protection, in the following manner :—

(a) In the case of minor industries which, by their very nature, are not in a position to establish their case before a Tariff Board, Government should forthwith undertake 'ad hoc' enquiries on the lines of those conducted by Dr. *Meek* or Mr. Nehru, and should grant immediate protection to such minor industries on their recommendations.

(b) Industries which have been found vital in themselves or as auxiliaries to other industries during the war, should be entitled to protection, even if the raw material is not available or skilled labour may not be there during the initial stages.

"The Federation urges that with a view to giving effect to the above, the Government should set up a permanent Tariff Board with such changes in personnel as may seem necessary from time to time in accordance with the nature of the industries applying for protection."

The resolution with the change suggested by the president was passed unanimously.

Mr. *N. R. Sarker* pointed out that the Fiscal Commission formula of 1922 for the grant of protection was devised under conditions which were no longer existent. A new formula suited to the present conditions was necessary, so that India might build up a compact and rational structure of Indian industry which was far more valuable than a number of industries satisfying each of the conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission.

The policy of protection followed in India, said Mr. Sarkar, was unique, because nowhere in the world was the grant of protection hedged round with so many conditions. In England, the policy was to give protection wherever an industry faced unfair competition from foreign exports arising, for instance, from currency depreciation, or inferior conditions of labour.

In India as in the U. K, and the U. S. A., development of industries should be the principal criterion for the grant of protection, and the tariff board should have the power of initiative for the grant of protection. He pleaded for decision and expedition in seizing the tremendous opportunities knocking at our doors.

Mr. *Chunilal B. Mehta* (Bombay) endorsed the declaration that in these days of rapid development, a report made even five years ago was obsolete. Even in 1922, the policy of discriminating protection had its critics, and the need now undoubtedly was for a change from discriminating protection to scientific protection. Whatever industry had a home market should be given protection.

Rao Saheb C. Hayavadana Rao (Bangalore) vigorously criticised what he described as Government's policy of "protecting India against the policy of protection." What was needed, he declared, was not a negative policy which laid on industries the burden of proof of the claim for protection but one which laid the burden on the Government to give protection.

Mr. *K. L. Narsingha Rao*, Mr. *Hussainbhai Laljee* and Sir *Abdul Halim Ghaznavi* further supported the resolution.

INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

The Federation passed next the following resolution :—

"The Federation welcomes the action of the Government in accepting their recommendation and in appointing the Board of Scientifie and Industrial Research for bringing about greater co-ordination between industrial progress and scientific research. The Federation urges the Government to widen the scope of the work of the Board, so that the Board should serve as an organisation for surveying the progress so far made by the established industries, exploring the possibilities of developing secondary industries and suggesting the ways by which more effective and larger use could be made of the raw materials available in India, with a view to develop suitable manufacturing industries."

Mr. *A. L. Ojha* (Jharia) moving the resolution emphasised that industrial research could help India, not only to utilise her large resources in minerals, but ulso her agricultural wealth. He referred to wireless condensers, which he said, could be manufactured in India from Mica, of which India has practically a world monopoly. There was, to give another instance, an oil called 'Gurjan oil' which was obtained from trees growing largely in Bengal, Burma, Assam and the Andamans, and this could be utilised to the paint and varnish industry. It was a happy augury that the Government of India should have set up the research board and should have put on its personnel noted industrialists such as Mr. Kasturibhai Lalbhai and Lala Shriram.

Sir *Rahimtoola Chinoy* supporting the resolution congratulated the Commerce Member on the appointment of the Board, but suggested that the provision of Rs. Five lakhs was extremely inadequate. Taking into consideration the size of the country, he urged that the Government should consider the advisability of having at least two or three provincial branches of the board beginning with Bombay and Calcutta. Though the administrative needs of the board might require its being in Delhi in immediate and continuous contact with the Central Government, the actual work of the Board would be much more concerned with Bombay and Calcutta, the two centres of industry in India. He emphasised that agriculture and industry in India were interdependent, and the real conflict was not between them, but between Indian industry on the one hand, and its foreign competitors on the other.

Lala Guru Sharanlal (Patna) Mr. *K. Goenka* (Calcutta) and Mr. *I. D. Varshanie* (Cawnpore) further supported the resolution which was passed.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

The meeting passed a resolution expressing deep anxiety and alarm at the "rapid deterioration in the status and rights enjoyed by Indians in the various parts of the British Empire, such as South Africa, East Africa, Ceylon, Burma and the other colonies. The Federation recommends necessary steps to safeguard the position and interest of Indian nationals abroad, and to utilise India's bargaining position for securing this end, while negotiating trade treaties with other countries.

They further hold that in negotiating the renewal of the present Indo-Burma trade regulations order, the Government of India should make it a necessary condition that the Government of Burma ensure security of life and

property of Indians in Burma and that the Government of Burma would not enact any laws for compulsory acquisition of lands or other properties of Indians against their will, or take an action that would tend to reduce their annual or capital values in any manner.

Lala Ramsaran Das, Leader of the Opposition, Council of State, moved the resolution which was seconded by Sir *Annamalai Chettiar* and supported by Mr. Begraj Gupta, Mr. R. R. Gupta and Sardar Sodhans and passed.

Customs Draw-backs and Allowances

The following is the next resolution passed :—

"The Federation invites the attention of the Government of India to the system of customs drawbacks and allowances in the customs and excise tariff of the United Kingdom and recommends to the Government to adopt a similar system in the Indian customs and excise tariff, so that in the case of imported raw materials which the Indian industrialists use for the manufacture of goods meant for export, the industrialists should be entitled to receive a refund of duty on the said imported raw materials in order to encourage production for export markets."

The resolution was moved by Mr. Satya Paul Virmani (Amritsar), seconded by Mr. Dewan C. Mehra (Amritsar) and supported by Mr. S. G. Shah (Bombay) and Mr. I. D. Varshanie (Cawnpore). The session then concluded.

British India and Indian States

January—June 1940

The Chamber of Princes

Annual Session—New Delhi—11th. March 1940

VICEROY'S OPENING ADDRESS

The two-day session of the annual meeting of the Chamber of Princes (*Narendra Mandal*) was opened at New Delhi on the **11th. March 1940** by his *Excellency the Viceroy* in the Council House. Over 40 ruling princes attended. The public galleries were crowded with visitors and Ministers of States, and a number of distinguished visitors were present in the galleries below.

VICEROY'S ADDRESS

His Excellency, in opening the Conference, said :—

"Your Highnesses,—It is, as you know, a very great pleasure to me to see you here again to-day, and to preside over your deliberations.

"Since our last meeting, we have to mourn the deaths of two members of the Chamber—His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, and the Thakore Saheb of Dhrol ; and of three members of the representative electorate—the Thakur of Bijanthe, the Maharaja of Kalahandi and the Raja of Miraj (senior). It will, I am certain, be the wish of all Your Highnesses that we should take the opportunity of this meeting to express our deep sympathy with the relatives of the Rulers whose names I have mentioned, and that we should convey to their successors our sincere good wishes for the prosperity and the happiness of their States.

"The most significant and the most important event since we met a year ago, an event of over-whelming concern to all of us here to-day, is the outbreak of the war. His Majesty's Government, as Your Highnesses so well know, continued till the last moment to spare no effort to resolve the difficulties that had arisen in the international sphere by peaceful means. If, in the result, their efforts were unsuccessful, they can at least feel that they had left nothing undone, and that no share of the responsibility for plunging the world into a conflict, the disastrous effects of which must last for many years to come, can fairly rest upon them.

PRINCES AND THE IMPACT OF WAR

"The impact of the war has found the Princes of India, true to their traditions, staunchly loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor. They have placed their forces, their personal services, and all their resources at the disposal of the Crown, and they have contributed in every way open to them to the Empire's cause. Those offers have, I can assure Your Highnesses, been most deeply and genuinely appreciated, and, as you are aware, in every case in which it has been possible to accept them, they have been accepted with deep and real gratitude. Many of the Rulers of the Indian States have expressed the utmost eagerness to be allowed to serve personally in the theatre of war. I sympathise sincerely with them in their disappointment that it has not as yet been found possible to take advantage of the offers of personal service. Your Highnesses will be aware that, so far, the course of hostilities has differed very materially from that of the last war ; up to the present, there has been no substantial call on the manpower of India. If conditions alter in this respect, Your Highnesses may rest assured that your offers, so deeply valued, will be remembered.

FAMINE IN RAJPUTANA AND KATHIAWAR

"Since our last meeting, many of Your Highnesses have had to face difficult problems consequent on the succession of poor monsoons which has visited so many parts of India ; and among those areas which have been particularly affected, have been large tracts of Rajputana and Kathiawar. In the steps they have taken to meet this calamity, the Governments of all the important States concerned have made full and liberal use of their reserves, and they have devised widespread and well-organised plans for the relief of suffering. It is my earnest hope that this year, the States affected will receive a timely and sufficient rainfall, and that the suffering of the people and the anxiety of the States' Governments will be brought to an end.

ISSUE OF FEDERATION

"As Your Highnesses are aware, His Majesty's Government felt on the outbreak of the war that, in the conditions then prevailing and on a review of the

probable course of hostilities, they had no option but to hold in suspense, however reluctantly, the work in connection with the preparations for Federation, while retaining Federation as their objective. But the suspension of those preparations does not mean that His Majesty's Government, to repeat the words which I used a month or two ago at Baroda, 'have in any way modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity—a unity which can only be complete if, in the constitutional arrangements of the future, the historic Indian States, with their great and special traditions, take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy'. Your Highnesses are well aware of my views on the question of Federation, and of its many advantages from the point of view, not only of the Indian States but of India as a whole, and in particular of the unity of India. I am confident that you will appreciate the importance of continuing to apply your minds to this vitally important problem and to the questions that arise in connection with it.

"When we last met, I spoke very frankly and very directly to Your Highnesses on the subject of setting the houses of the States in order. I do not wish to repeat all that I said then. My view of the profound importance of action on the lines which I then indicated remains unchanged. Indeed, if anything, I regard it, in the light of developments over the last twelve months, as of greater importance now than I did when I addressed your in March 1939. I gratefully acknowledge that many Rulers have, of late, made earnest endeavours to improve their administrative standards, that various admirable reforms have been introduced, and that measures have, in many cases, been taken to ensure that all legitimate complaints on the part of State subjects receive due consideration. But I earnestly hope that Your Highnesses will not cease to give your continual and close attention to the perfecting of your administrative machinery. The value of administrative reform remains as great and as pressing as ever, and it would be rash to assume that troubles, where they have for the time being subsided, will not recur.

"That the Crown is anxious to give such help as it is properly incumbent upon it to give is clearly shown by the assistance rendered to various States in different parts of India, and by the establishment of the Crown Police Force the object of which is, as you are aware, to assist the States Governments, should the situation pass beyond their control. But I am sure that it is fully present to Your Highnesses that the maintenance of order in the territories of the Indian States is primarily the responsibility of the Rulers concerned.

"I would like to draw particular attention to the view I expressed last year as to the desirability and the importance of the creation of joint Services where small States in the same group are unable individually to maintain an adequate standard of administration. I can well understand and sympathise with the reluctance of individual Rulers to depart in such matters from the strict path of tradition. But the spirit of the times makes it essential for them, in their own interests, to take a longer view. A beginning has been made in the organisation of joint services. It is, in my judgment, of vital importance that progress should be made in that direction ; and it is my sincere hope that this movement will develop and that I can look to you gentlemen, who are members of this most important body, to do all in your power to encourage its growth. I have kept in the closest touch since we met last year with the action taken by the States in various parts of India consequent on my address to the Chamber. You may be certain that the interest which I have taken in this matter and the care with which I follow all developments in connection with it, will not diminish in the time that lies ahead.

"Since the last meeting of the Chamber, the reforms in its constitution, so strongly advocated by the great majority of its members, have been carried into effect. I earnestly trust that those reforms will lead to greater harmony, to more effective work, and to closer co-operation between all States whether great or small for the good of the Princely Order, and the prosperity and welfare of the subjects of the Rulers. Let me only add that I have, under my consideration, the proposals which have been submitted to me by the Standing Committee for the enlargement of the Chamber.

"Your Highnesses have many items on the agenda, and I will not keep you further from your deliberation. I trust that the session which begins to-day will be in every way successful, and that its results will be of value to Your Highnesses and to your States."

RESOLUTION ON WAR

On the conclusion of His Excellency's speech, the *Chancellor* moved the war resolution which ran thus :

"The Chamber of Princes requests His Excellency the Crown Representative kindly to place before His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor the firm determination of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India to render every possible assistance in men, money and material to His Imperial Majesty and his Government in their heroic struggle for upholding the cause of justice and for maintaining the sacredness of treaties and covenants, and prays that the united efforts of the Empire and the Allies may lead to the early and triumphant vindication of the high principles for which His Imperial Majesty has been forced to take up arms against the enemies".

The *Chancellor* said that it was a declaration of the Princes' unanimous attitude towards the war, and it carried behind it the sanction of their resources and the grim determination of both the Princes and their loyal subjects. The Rulers had already given an earnest of this by spontaneous offers on behalf of their States, supplemented in many cases by their personal services. These offers were not made in a bargaining or calculating spirit. There might be differences of opinion, said the Jam Saheb, as to some aspect of British imperial history in the past, but there were certain basic planks of the present international crisis which must be accepted by all impartial and disinterested persons. The present war was not of the seeking of Great Britain, but had been precipitated by the godless aggression of the Nazi rulers. All the assurances given by Germany that she would respect the sanctity of treaties had been falsified.

His Highness said that, whatever sins of omission or commission might be attributed to the British Government in their treatment of India, surely, no fair-minded person could reasonably expect better treatment from our enemies in the war, to whom neither freedom, self-determination nor the upkeep of pledges was sacred. To his mind, it would be going back on the best traditions of the States and of the history of India, of which they were all proud, if, in the face of this clarion call from suffering humanity, India faltered or hesitated.

There was another aspect of the question that could not be ignored, and, that was, the serious threat to the defence of the country. This called for full preparedness before the crisis actually knocked at our doors. In view of the serious situation, the Indian States had resolved to stand united with their resources in the support of the King-Emperor in the heroic struggle for the protection of humanity and the defence of the Motherland.

Concluding, the Jam Saheb said that the present war would probably be a long one. He had every hope and faith that wiser counsels would prevail in India and that the best and patriotic elements would combine to contribute their best towards the successful prosecution of the war.

In seconding the war resolution, His Highness the *Maharaja of Patiala* said that they had gathered to-day under the shadow of a grim spectre which threatened the very foundations of the world. They saw the spectacle of the ruthless culmination of the totalitarian cult which believed in war as the highest expression of national life. The whole fabric of civilisation was threatened. When Germany was making an assault upon the peace and Progress of the world, when the German Government was attempting the destruction of human society, was it any wonder that the entire body of Indian Princes should stand together in a firm determination to render every assistance to His Majesty's Government for the successful prosecution of the war in defence of human life and civilisation ? The Maharaja felt sure that no sane and sober person could question their obligation, as members of human society, to fight for its preservation and maintenance. There were people in India who believed that the country should remain neutral and that this was the most opportune time for bargaining. India's neutrality in the present crisis, the Maharaja thought, would mean tacit acceptance of the justness and legality of the war waged by Germany against the smaller nations of the world. The Princes were fully alive to the grave dangers which not only threatened Great Britain and her Allies, but also the future existence of India ; and they therefore had spontaneously offered their services to the King-Emperor in this grave crisis. It was in the full consciousness of the sanctity of the treaties and of their rights and obligations that the Princes of India had rallied round the British Crown.

His Highness the *Maharaja of Bikaner*, in supporting the war resolution, said that any impartial and unprejudiced person who had followed the happenings in

Europe must, in fairness, recognise that the war was not of Great Britain's seeking, and that it had been forced on the Allies, who had no alternative but to take up the challenge. Not many words from him were needed to emphasise the unswerving loyalty of the Princes to the throne and person of the King Emperor and of their unshaken and faithful attachment to the Empire. The attitude of the Princes and people of the Indian States, who, with few negligible exceptions were wholeheartedly supporting their Rulers during the war, had been the subject of hostile criticism and even of sarcasm. He himself had been honoured by special attention by a Congress newspaper and been accused of holding imperialistic views. His emphatic reply to the critics was that the Princes had before them the path of clear duty which they would tread unflinchingly, and if by his imperialism was meant his devotion to the King Emperor and his anxiety to render every possible service to the Empire, he felt honoured to be called an imperialist. The Princes were of the Empire, and with the Empire, and they took a great pride in identifying themselves with everything that redounded to the glory and safety of the Empire. The Maharaja of Bikaner assured his critics and opponents that, as against the regrettable attitude by the Indian National Congress, the Princes were once again firmly determined to render the utmost possible assistance within their power and offer their resources to the King Emperor and the Empire in men, money and material. What was more, he added, this contribution of theirs was purely voluntary and entirely spontaneous. Many a prince was eager to have an opportunity of risking his life on the battlefield, where he and his troops could fight for the common cause. These sentiments, concluded His Highness, might not be appreciated by those who were out to bargain and barter, or who were given to bluff and bluster.

The War resolution was seconded by the *Maharaja of Patiala* and was supported by the *Maharaja of Bikaner*, the *Nawab of Bahawalpur*, Their *Highnesses of Dewas* (Senior) *Rampur* and *Sangli* and was passed unanimously.

Standing Committee to Continue

The *Maharaja of Sirmoor* moved that the Chancellor, the Pro-Chancellor, the Standing Committee of Princes and the Committee of Ministers might continue in office till their successors were elected in 1942. The Maharaja of Sirmoor said that under the old regulation they were elected for one year, but that practice dislocated work, and hence it was necessary that they should continue in office. It was desirable that this should be authoritatively laid down and the new election would later be held in 1942. This would help to carry out the reorganisation scheme.

The *Nawab of Rampur* seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

Review of Year's Work

His Highness the Jam Saheb (the Chancellor) in reviewing the work for the last year said that the reorganisation scheme of the Chamber of Princes, adopted at the last session of the Chamber, had been fully implemented in the course of the year. The Standing Committee of the Princes had been elected in accordance with the scheme, and the Committee of Ministers had been consulted, They were particularly grateful to H. E. H. the Nizam for nominating the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari as his representative on the Committee. This Committee, the Chancellor observed, constituted the brain trust of Indian States and had given full promise during its first meeting that it would justify their expectations.

The Chancellor, proceeding, said that the question of enlargement of the Chamber of Princes by admission of more Rulers as members also engaged the attention of the Standing Committee, and a special Committee under the Chairmanship of the Raja of Mandi had since submitted its report.

There was general agreement among the Rulers on the basic essentials of good administration in States, but as conditions in different States varied, a decision on this question primarily rested with individual Rulers and their Governments. Some of the Rulers had agreed to review their administration to see how far these basic essentials were fulfilled.

Alluding to the individual replies of the Rulers on the revised draft Instrument of Accession, which had been forwarded to the Viceroy, the Jam Saheb said that they felt confident that an impartial examination of these replies would show that the States on the whole had not taken any obstructionist attitude and the points which they had urged in their replies had not been flung as a surprise at the last moment. These were matters whose satisfactory adjustment was essential

to the States concerned, in the due discharge of their obligations to the Crown, to India and the States.

Concluding, the Jam Saheb made a reference to famine and water scarcity experienced in many States during the year under review and said that the Chamber of Princes advised the Rulers of adjoining States to render every possible help to the States affected.

Resolutions—Second Day—New Delhi—12th. March 1940

PRINCES AND DOMINION STATUS

The Chamber of Princes concluded its session, this morning, after unanimously adopting a resolution on the future constitution of India *vis-a-vis* Indian Princes. *His Excellency the Viceroy* presided.

The resolution, which was moved by the Chancellor, the *Jam Saheb of Navanagar*, and was supported by the *Maharajas of Bikaner*, *Rewa*, *Dewas* (*Junior*) and *Panna* and the *Nawab of Bahawalpur*, ran as follows:—

"The Chamber of Princes, while welcoming the attainment by India of its due place amongst the Dominions of the British Commonwealth under the British Crown, records its emphatic and firm view—

"(a) that in any future constitution for India, the essential guarantees and safeguards for the preservation of the sovereignty and autonomy of the States and for the protection of their rights arising from treaties, sanads, engagements and otherwise should be effectively provided, and that any unit should not be placed in a position to dominate the others or to interfere with the rights and safeguards guaranteed to them and that all parties must be ensured their due share and fairplay;

"(b) that in any negotiations for formulating a constitution for India, whether independently of the Government of India Act, 1935 or by revision of that Act, the representatives of the States and of this Chamber should have a voice proportionate to their importance and historical position.

"This Chamber further records its view that any constitutional scheme which may involve the transference of the relationship of the States with the Crown to any other authority without their free and voluntary agreement or which may permit of alterations affecting the rights and interests of the States without their consent, cannot be acceptable to them."

The *Chancellor*, in moving the resolution, explained briefly what was implied in each part of it. The preamble, he said, stated in clear and unmistakable terms that, subject to certain essential conditions and safeguards, the Indian Princes would welcome the attainment by India of its due place amongst the Dominions of the British Commonwealth under the Crown. It was a carefully considered declaration and was a proof, if proof be needed, that the Indian Princes shared the natural desire of all patriotic Indians that the Motherland should take her due place amongst the free Dominions.

Proceeding, the *Jam Saheb* said that the Indian Princes had been described by certain interested critics as obstacles in the path of the ordered progress of India and the States. "We have been accused glibly of conspiring with the British Government against the political evolution of our Motherland. These are baseless insinuations, which we emphatically repudiate. Our traditions and our actions belie all such charges. We stand for India attaining its full stature in which all the component parts and interests and classes may be assured the fullest scope for it, under the aegis of the British Crown," he added.

The second part of the resolution, the Jam Saheb said, laid down three fundamental conditions, which must be the basis of any constitution to which the Princes could subscribe and which were necessary for the stable working of any constitution in the existing circumstances of India. These conditions were, (1) effective provision of essential guarantees and safe-guards for the preservation of the sovereignty and autonomy of the States, and for the protection of their rights under treaties, engagements, sanads or otherwise; (2) a specific provision that no unit should be placed in a position to dominate the others or to interfere with the rights and safeguards guaranteed to them; and (3) the assurance that all parties would get their due share and fairplay in the actual working of the constitution. The working of the

present constitution in the provincial sphere had already shown that certain safeguards which had been provided in the Act had not worked as contemplated.

Proceeding, the Jam Saheb said, "If India is to progress on the path of ordered evolution, there should be a specific constitutional obligation and a moral code of honour amongst the units composing India, that no unit be in a position to dominate or permit unfriendly acts against the others. Let it be clearly understood that the Indian Princes are not averse to progress within their territories. They have already given proof of their bona fides in this matter, by the association of their people with the administration and by laying down the basis of a rule of law and administrative reforms in the States. We are determined to move from precedent to precedent. Nevertheless, we feel that it would be unwholesome if people from one unit, be it a State or a Province, are permitted to march into the territory of the other unit in order to coerce its duly constituted authority to take decisions in matters within its competence. Such tendencies, which have lately exhibited themselves, if not arrested in time, would be an invitation to civil war in the country which we all patriotic Indians must join their hands to avert."

In conclusion, the Chancellor referred to the India of to-day which he described as "a land of curious paradoxes in the political field." Some, he said, asked for solemn undertakings from Britain for India's political progress but preached in the same breath that sacred covenants made with the States might be scrapped. Some asked for self-determination for India, but denied it to those who also constituted India. Others sought to unite India by dividing it. "In this sad spectacle", he continued, "those gifted leaders of India who should be busy laying down the foundations of a united Dominion of India are still trying to convince others of their credentials. It seems to me that the time has arrived when leaders of all parties and interests in India should make another earnest attempt to meet and to find a solution of the constitutional problem honourable and fair to all concerned. This, however, postulates a large heart and accommodating statesmanship."

The *Maharaja of Bikaner* said that, from the time of the first Round Table Conference, the Princes had publicly and unequivocally stated that they welcomed and sympathised with their brethren in British India in their desire to achieve Dominion Status under the aegis of the British Crown. He, therefore, welcomed the announcement made on behalf of the British Government that the goal of British policy in India was the attainment by India of the full status of a Dominion. "The Princes are, however," he continued, "doing nothing more than their duty to their States and to their people in emphasising that essential guarantees and safeguards for the preservation of the sovereignty of the States and for the protection of their rights and interests arising from treaties, sanads and engagements or otherwise, be adequately and effectively provided in a manner fair and acceptable to the Princes." This declaration by the Princes had become necessary because of a tendency, which had recently manifested itself in certain important political quarters, to consider the future of India without taking the States into account. No solution which omitted to take into consideration this fundamental fact of the complete freedom of the States in regard to such matters and their unchallengable equality with British India could obviously be acceptable to the States".

The Maharaja made it clear that there were not two but three parties, namely, the Crown, the Indian States and British India, and any agreement must be tripartite and must be negotiated freely so far as the States were concerned. "The Princes are putting forward these essential conditions for the preservation and the integrity of the States, not for the sake of the continuance of their personal power, nor for maintaining unchanged the nature of their Governments. Not, unless the Crown fails in its obligation to the States—a contingency not to be contemplated—can the Princes be asked to give up what is legitimately theirs".

His Highness proceeding said: "It has been alleged in Congress circles that the Princes are an imperial creation; that they are vassals of the Crown and have no status apart from the Crown: that the question of the Princes is a red-herring drawn across the path of India's progress for imperialistic purposes; that the problem of the States is a bogey raised by the British Government, and that if the Crown parts with the power it to-day enjoys over the whole of India, naturally the

freedom and the spread of democracy in India. The Committee emphatically refuted the whole background of the theory and argument by which the Rulers attempted to defend "their autocracy and separate themselves from India's progress." The people of the States were no parties to the old treaties and they did not consider themselves bound by them. Nor would they recognise any new treaties or arrangements which limited their rights or came in the way of India's freedom. Their objective was full responsible government in the States within the framework of an independent and united India and everything that militated against that objective had to be rejected. Thus no constitution or convention which made progress dependent on the will of the Ruler could be acceptable. The essential conditions that must be observed were that the will of the people of the States must prevail in constitutional and other matters, that civil liberty must be maintained and that the rule of law must be established.

The Committee had every wish to help in the peaceful settlement of the problem of the States and in any future arrangement to maintain the dignity of the Ruler as a constitutional head. But the Committee could not agree to autocracy in any shape or form or to the will of the people of the States being overruled by their Rulers.

The Baroda State Proja Mandal

Sixteenth Session—Mehsana—27th. & 28th. April 1940

The Presidential Address

The sixteenth session of the Baroda State Proja Mandal commenced at Mehsana on the **27th. April 1940** under the presidency of *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.*

Sardar Patel criticised the Reforms introduced in the State as highly reactionary and retrograde. He, however, advised the Mandal to contest the elections and seize the opportunity of demonstrating their hold over the people and offer all possible co-operation in beginning the new regime.

Reviewing the important events that had taken place both inside and outside the Baroda State during the course of the year that had passed since he presided at Bhadran session of the Praja Mandal, Sardar Patel referred to the great loss suffered by the people of the Baroda State in the death of their late Maharaja. He congratulated the people as well as the State on the general reduction of 19 per cent in land revenue and the enclosing of the Dhaniyavi Shikarakhana which relieved the distress of peasants in 37 villages. He also referred to the relaxation of official control over local bodies and the giving of the right of election of non-official Presidents in District Boards. He congratulated the Praja Mandal on capturing all the District Boards, which was a clear demonstration of the people's confidence which was reposed in the Mandal.

Reforms in the State

Sardar Patel next referred to the constitutional reforms introduced in the State which, he said, would have statisfied the people thirty years ago but not now. The franchise was very narrow and the composition of the Legislative Assembly was so arranged as not to allow popular elements to form the majority. The powers given to the Legislative Assembly were also very restricted and then there was no shadow of responsibility in the constitution. One member out of four members of the Executive was to be taken from non-officials but he might or might not be elected, and much less be responsible to the House. The Dewan whose powers of veto were almost unlimited was to preside in the House and even the Deputy President was to be nominated. Thus the whole scheme of reforms was highly reactionary and retrograde and would come in for severe criticism, even from quarters friendly to the State.

Advice to Co-operate with New Regime

The Sardar, however, advised the Praja Mandal to contest the elections and seize the opportunity of demonstrating their hold over the people and offer all possible co-operation in beginning the new regime. He said that he would have advised a struggle if their late Maharaja was alive but he considered it inopportune and

unwise to initiate a struggle at the beginning of the new regime. If after the demonstration of the strength of the people in the elections it was found that the constitution could be expanded by working it, they would gladly work it, but if the reforms scheme worked as an obstacle in the course of their struggle for freedom, they would have no hesitation in rejecting it.

Referring to the question of minorities Sardar Patel said that it was unfortunate that the Muslim League had advised the Muslims to keep away from the Praja Mandal. They would be glad if Muslims could secure their just demands by keeping away from the Praja Mandal. Unfortunately the Muslims had evidently made an alliance with reactionary conservative and feudal elements in the country to obstruct the freedom of the country. They had an actual demonstration of it in Rajkot, where the League took pride in openly joining hands with the State and the Bhayats, in breaking the solemn agreement made by the Thakore Saheb with his people. Before the settlement, no Muslim from the State had opposed the Praja Mandal in the struggle ; in fact many had joined it and gone to jail. The Muslim League came after the settlement was made. *Mr. Jinnah* boasted with pride in the course of his recent tour of Kathiawar about his achievement in Rajkot. The Mussalmans were in no better position in Rajkot to-day. They suffered as much as the Hindus.

THE LEAGUE AND THE STATE

In Bhavnagar, said *Sardar Patel*, the Muslim League propaganda against the Praja Mandal had resulted in a deliberate attack on a procession at the time of his (Sardar Patel's) visit, which resulted in two deaths and 27 people being injured. In the subsequent trial, two Muslims were sentenced to death and about thirty were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Mr. Jinnah uttered no word of regret or sympathy for the victims of the riot but complained of the 'injustice' done to the Muslims in Bhavnagar State.

Proceeding, *Sardar Patel* observed that Mr. Jinnah's latest fad of partitioning India, which was not taken seriously by anybody, was admittedly not intended to do good to Muslims. It had excited enough communal bitterness and given a convenient handle to the Secretary of State for claiming before the world that he was justified in withholding freedom from India, though he wanted India to fight for the freedom of other countries.

Resolutions—Second Day—28th. April 1940

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

The session concluded on the next day, the **28th. April,** after passing the main resolution on constitutional reforms.

The Mandal declared that the reforms were reactionary and disappointing but decided to contest the elections to the Legislative Assembly with a view to demonstrating the hold of the Praja Mandal over the people.

BARODA RIOT ENQUIRY

Another resolution passed by the Conference regretted the winding up of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the State after it had taken evidence in connection with the riot which broke out in Baroda City on January 20 last year when *Sardar Patel* visited it as President of the Praja Mandal.

MR. PATEL EXHORTATION

In the course of his concluding address, *Sadar Patel* exhorted the people to make the Praja Mandal as powerful a body in Baroda State as the Congress was in British India. None could, he declared, withstand the rising tide of popular awakening.

Sardar Patel congratulated the Praja Mandal on passing the resolution on the constitutional reforms. The resolution, he said, was the acid test of their strength. There was no difference of opinion with regard to the reforms. Even the friends of the State dared not say that they were adequate. They considered them as not befitting the Baroda State but he would not advise them to take a drastic step at the beginning of the regime of the new Ruler. They should give proof of their intentions to co-operate with the State and strengthen their organisation in order to get better reforms.

Referring to the resolution urging the members of the Praja Mandal not to accept titles conferred by the State, Sarder Patel said that the conferment of titles

was opposed to the spirit of democracy. When a constitutional or some other struggle was going on between the State and the people, the conferment of titles by the State on popular leaders created misunderstanding. The State should be requested not to confer titles.

The Sardar next referred to the resolution enjoining the members of the Mandal to wear Khadi and said that it was unfortunate to find only a few wearers of Khadi in the villages. Khadi was for the good of the villagers and the Praja Mandal should do vigorous propaganda in this connection.

Concluding, Sardar Patel exhorted the audience to carry out the constructive programme laid down by the Congress in British India. They would attain the goal of responsible Government if they were determined to do so.

Mr. Desai's Speech

Addressing the Conference, Mr. *Morarji Desai*, former Minister of Revenue, Bombay, said that in their own interests, Rulers should make their subjects strong. Unbridled use of autocratic power would intoxicate and degenerate the best of Rulers. It would be wise for the Rulers to give Responsible Government to their subjects.

The session at this stage concluded.

Educational Progress in India

January—June 1940

The Indian Science Congress

Twenty seventh Session—Madras—2nd. January 1940

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

H. E. the Governor of Madras, declared open on the **2nd. January 1940** the proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Session of the Indian Science Congress at the Senate House of the Madras University.

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, welcoming the members of the Indian Science Congress and its distinguished President, on behalf of the Reception Committee and the Madras University, said that they were fortunate in that the extension of the term of office of His Excellency had enabled him to accept their invitation to open the session of the Congress and he wished to convey the most cordial thanks to His Excellency for honouring them with his presence on the occasion. It was gratifying to note that since its establishment twenty-seven years ago, the Indian Science Congress had steadily grown in strength and influence and had attracted world-wide attention. The visit of a group of distinguished British and other European scientists to this country on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1938 might be regarded as a notable recognition by the scientific world of the value of the great work which the Association was doing in India, To South India it was a matter of some pride that Dr. R. L. Simonsen, a former Professor of Chemistry at the Presidency College, Madras, and an old colleague of his was largely instrumental in starting this great organisation.

It was the fourth occasion on which the Indian Science Congress meets in Madras, Mr. Runganadham continued, "and since the Congress met here eleven years ago, considerable advance had been made by the University of Madras in the provision of facilities for advanced study and research and the various departments concerned had already achieved notable success. 'Outside the University, several Government Institutions and Departments such as the Institute for Preventive Medicine, the Medical College, the Presidency College, the College for Veterinary Science and the Department of Fisheries had done most valuable work. Though, compared to provinces like Bengal, Madras come late into the field of scientific research, she had made good progress in original work. In this connection he mentioned that Sir C. V. Raman and the late Mr. Ramanujam had made "contributions of outstanding merit to scientific knowledge."

"You are meeting", Mr. *Runganadhan* continued, "at a critical time not only in the history of our own country but in the history of the whole world. The war which has been started by some of the Central European powers shows how mere scientific efficiency, unaccompanied by a corresponding progress in moral ideas, leads to a ruthless materialism and lust for power, which threaten the very foundations of civilisation. It is true that neither science nor the scientist could be justly blamed for this state of affairs. But yet a great responsibility rests on men of science to see that their knowledge is used for the well-being of humanity rather than for its degradation and destruction. And it is gratifying to find that scientists have in recent years awakened to their responsibility in this matter. Most of you no doubt are acquainted with the work done by the Committee on Science and its Social Relations instituted by the International Council of Scientific Unions. With its world-wide organisation this Committee has undertaken the task of finding out the social significance of the various branches of science in all countries. Knowledge for the sake of knowledge is, indeed, a great ideal, but it needs to be supplemented by the newer ideal that all knowledge is for the service of man."

On the utilitarian side, the Vice-Chancellor said, there was vast scope in India for the help and guidance of scientists. They could do a great deal to promote the industrial regeneration of India and the utilisation of the country's enormous wealth in raw materials. They could show how science could be applied towards the alleviation of suffering and the raising of the standard of living of the people. While there was thus a great need in the country for extension and application of scientific knowledge, there was a still greater need for the spread of the spirit and method of science. For the spirit of science was the spirit of the disinterested pursuit of truth. In these days when men's minds were easily swayed by feeling, either religious or political, and when the judgment of whole nations was being

overborne by the compulsion of dictated doctrine, they needed to train the rising generation in independent judgment and to inculcate in them a passion for truth. The youth of the country should be made to learn that if they were to be worthy citizens of a truly democratic country, their minds should be free from passion and prejudice and that they should realise the importance not only of ideas but of facts. By inculcating the spirit of science, therefore they would be helping in promoting the intellectual and moral development of the people.

"There is thus a vast field in India for the activities of your Association," Mr. Runganadhan said, "and the Universities are proud of the work you are doing and would be willing to co-operate with you in all possible ways. If the financial support they have given to scientific research has not been more generous, it is because of their limited resources and not because of any lack of appreciation of the value and importance of such work for the country. I trust it will be possible for an Association such as yours to suggest some scheme of co-ordination of the scientific activities in the country, so that even with our present resources we may be able to achieve better results. I realise that co-ordination of scientific work is not quite easy in a country like ours with its great distances and varying regional conditions. But yet something could be done in this direction by the co-operation of the Provincial Governments, the Universities and important scientific bodies such as yours. I find from the abstracts received that you have a large number of papers to be read before the sectional meetings. I am sure that many of them deal with problems of great importance to the country. I hope that as a result of yout deliberations scientific work will be directed along carefully planned and fruitful channels, and will promote the welfare of the country."

Mr. Runganadhan then requested His Excellency to declare the Congress open.

THE GOVERNOR'S OPENING ADDRESS

H. E. Lord Erskine spoke as follows, while declaring the Congress open :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is eleven years now since Madras was honoured in being chosen as the venue for the annual session of the Indian Science Congress. I offer a sincere and cordial welcome once again to the very eminent body of scientists whom the City now has the privilege of entertaining, on the occasion of your twenty-seventh session. I associate myself, too, with the welcome from the University of Madras expressed by the Vice-Chancellor ; for your deliberations within the University precincts, apart from the academic lustre conferred, cannot but be of the greatest value and interest, in the intellectual contacts which will result.

Indeed, the holding of this Congress in an educational centre like Madras does more than provide the opportunity for the reading of scientific papers and the discussion of current scientific problems between groups of scientists. It is, besides, a very great stimulus to the efforts of research workers in the Presidency and to the advancement of scientific study in Universities and Colleges all over South India.

The occupancy of the Presidential Chair at such a Conference is the prerogative of those of unusual attainments. It has been my good fortune to meet your President at this session previously on the occasion a little over a year ago when Prof. Sahni lectured to a meeting of the Indian Academy of Sciences, and I have therefore, experience of his eruditon. I am sure that under his guidance the work of the session will be fruitful.

India has a legitimate right to be proud of the high place which her scientists have taken, in recent years, in international academic circles. The number of Indian scientists whose work has won world-wide recognition has steadily increased. In particular, one may instance a considerable addition to the numbers of those who, like your President to-day, hold that signal distinction, the Fellowship of the Royal Society.

By the courtesy of Prof. Sahni I have had access to the material of the address he is about to deliver. The subject he has chosen is both fascinating and recondite. His paper, if I have understood it aright, is intended to portray the geological conditions obtaining at the opening of the Tertiary Era in the South Indian Peninsula and to show from a comparative examination of the flora and fauna in the Deccan area that the volcanic period during which these particular strata were formed falls within what is known as the Eocene age, and not in the immediately preceding Mesozoic period. Prof. Sahni has described his thesis as a popular presentation of the subject, thereby indicating that he has relaxed the

rigours of purely scientific exposition and has unbent, for the benefit of a lay audience. Some volumes intended to convey scientific knowledge in popular form to the layman often succeed in producing nothing more than acute mental depression. Allegedly non-technical descriptions often seem thoroughly abstruse to us and we can only guess at the tremendous background of scientific knowledge which the writing or understanding of a purely technical treaties implies. I think you will find, however, that Prof. Sahni has so clothed his material in lucid and interesting detail that the claim he makes will not be belied.

Nor has your President been able to shun what is a very human failing (if I may call it so) among pure scientists. The search for Truth in the nature of things, which is the occupation of every research worker, is carried out in a world whose atmosphere seems queerly rarefied to more pedestrian intellects; but the scientist is only human and cannot escape the urge to demonstrate that his pursuits have their practical value in everyday life. So too Prof. Sahni. His investigations, he tells us, are more than the result of a mere wrangle between opposing schools of geologists, for in fact a knowledge of the positions of strata in the geologic time-scale assists the exploitation of the earth's mineral wealth.

But it is only a passing glance which we are given of the practical aspect of these investigations. True scientist as he is, Prof. Sahni regards the material application of his conclusions, to judge, at least, by the space he gives them, as of relatively secondary importance.

On the other hand, it in no way derogates from the deep respect we have for our own men of science, *qua* scientists, that their labours, in modern times, have of necessity become directed progressively to a greater degree towards the material benefit of the race, in the fields of medicine, dietetics, mechanics, agriculture, geophysics, and so forth, and not solely to the pursuit of knowledge as such.

But no one, I feel certain, can deplore more wholeheartedly than scientists themselves the conditions of international relationship during this century which have turned the prosecution of research more and more into that barren and abortive path, the creation of destructive armaments. The circle is a vicious one. In making war men are tempted to prostitute the creations of science to terrible and ignoble uses; and the spread of such conflicts demands further and more extensive calls upon the services of the scientists, not only by the aggressors, but by those whose only aim is to protect themselves from such attacks. Let us fervently hope for a world order in which scientists need no longer be called upon to serve in this way.

But I feel that I have sufficiently trifled with your impatience to hear Prof. Sahni's address, and I shall conclude my preface accordingly. Before I do so, I would express my sincere hope that this session may run its course to a successful conclusion and that its deliberations may result in the best advantage, not only to those who are participating, but also to the world of science in general.

The Presidential Address

Professor Birbal Sahni, F.R.S., in the course of his presidential address said :—

The student of science lives in a world of fragments. Nothing in that vast array of visible things that we call Nature appears to our restricted vision as a complete picture. True Artist that He is, the Creator never reveals the whole of His design at once. Like the child with a jigsaw puzzle we try to piece together the fragments of the picture.

We have our moods, too, like the child. Sometimes we gaze wistfully at fragments of the universe far beyond our reach. Sometimes we are bent upon a quest of the minute: a sort of splitting process that is awe-inspiring in its endlessness, for as we probe deeper it unfolds to our wondering eyes systems within systems, worlds within worlds. Sometimes, again, we are engaged in the reverse process : of building up fragments into what we like to think is a plausible whole. Not that we ever get at the real and complete whole ; nor ever shall. For none of us has even a fraction of all the pieces, and each has his own way of putting together what little he has.

To the onlooker, who alone holds the key, the seriousness with which we go about our little attempts must seem pitiable. For after all there can be only one real solution, one Truth. Some of us may boast that we have got at that one Truth ; we only delude ourselves. None the less, curiosity lures us on, for there are few pursuits so absorbing as this study of fragments that we call Science.

Yes, this is real Science, the Science of the original scientists, the seekers after Truth.

At times, in our search for the Truth, we come upon things we can make use of in a worldly way. And we know that some of these things we can use, as we like, for good or for evil. But if we are mere seekers after Truth, we care no more about them but turn them over to others ; and out of this comes much that is good and noble and beautiful. But sometimes, alas, as we see to-day, Greed comes to conflict with Truth, and the passion to rule harnesses Science to ignoble ends. For all that science may have done to civilise him. Man, it seems, can still be no less of a brute than he was. In the lurid light of happenings we see that civilisation is not the same thing as culture.

But this is a sad digression which I had not intended for this occasion. My object this evening is to spend a brief hour with you in the contemplation of Nature.

Less than six months ago the British Association for the Advancement of Science met under the presidentship of a renowned scientist. In his address at Dundee, *Sir Albert Seward* gave a vivid account of the way in which by a study of fragments, such as samples of rocks and of the remains of plants preserved in them as fossils, he was able to visualise a scene in the west of Scotland at the dawn of the Tertiary era. As a pupil I feel tempted to follow his example, and to attempt a reconstruction of an Indian scene at about the same period of the earth's history.

But I would ask you to bear with me if I seem at times to be telling a fairy tale. For at this distance of time we can only see a dim outline of the world as it was, and the exact language of science is ill suited to the description of visions.

Competent authorities place the dawn of the Tertiary era between sixty and seventy million years ago. It is the birth of a new era in a very real sense. Stupendous forces, surging in the womb of the earth, had already caused gigantic rifts in the crust, and these rifts are gaping out into oceans. From smaller fissures in the crust, molten rock is now pouring forth in repeated floods of lava which will cover millions of square miles of land and sea. Vast areas are being converted into desert by showers of volcanic ash. A new type of landscape develops, with high volcanic plateaus as a dominant feature. The face of the earth is rapidly changing. She puts on a more modern garb of vegetation ; the land, lakes and rivers become peopled by creatures more familiar to us. Still there is no sign of man. But the stage is being set for his arrival. For this critical period foreshadows the birth, out of the sea, of the mightiest mountains of the world, and the heaving bosom of the earth, somewhere to the north of India, which is to be the cradle of man. Such was the Eocene age : it was literally a "dawn of the new."

Early History of the Deccan

To arrive at our early Tertiary scene in India we can either work backwards from the present, or approach it from a still earlier past and try to appreciate the setting in which that scene was laid. I prefer the latter course, although for a few moments it will take us far behind the period with which we are specially concerned. For we shall have to go back to a time, at least three hundred million years ago, when neither the Atlantic nor the Indian Ocean was yet born.

Opinion is by no means agreed even upon the broad distribution of land and sea prior to the Tertiary era. But according to a theory now generally associated with the name of Professor Wegener, who died a hero's death in Greenland a few years ago in the pursuit of Science, all the land areas of the globe were once directly united together into one world continent. The two Americas lay much further to the east, while Europe and Africa lay further west, than at present. Greenland, Iceland and the British Isles were all much closer together and were wedged in between Canada and Scandinavia. South America fitted into the great angle in the west coast of the African continent. Australia and Antarctica lay close up against the south-eastern coast of Africa, with the southern tip of India in contact with Madagascar and wedged in between the African and Australian blocks. At this remote period the South Pole was somewhere in Cape Colony.

At intervals during a period of several hundred millions of years disruptive forces of unthinkable magnitude have caused ever widening fissures in the crust. The Great Rift Valley of Africa is believed to be one of the youngest of these fissures, still in the making. The Red Sea rift has now become two hundred miles wide; the Atlantic rift is already an ocean. And thus, like icebergs breaking off by the formation of crevasses from the snout of a glacier, or from the edge of an ice-sheet that has spread out to sea, the continental blocks are supposed

to have drifted away into their present positions. But these continental movements have not been all movements of separation. They have also brought into contact with each other land blocks formerly sundered by the ocean.

Here in Madras we stand at the eastern edge of one of these blocks which, according to Wegener, has drifted—and perhaps still drifting—north-eastwards from its former position in the southern hemisphere. To the north of it formerly lay the great Tethys Sea which once separated it from the main Asiatic mass. The Asiatic block, in turn, has moved south-west, towards India. As the two great land masses approached each other narrowing down the width of the intervening sea, parts of the ocean floor were caught up as between the jaws of a gigantic vice, and they have been squeezed, crumpled and uplifted into the chain of the Himalayas.

A Primeval Landscape

By far the greater part of the Indian peninsula is made up of rocks that have solidified from a molten state. But the igneous activity which these rocks indicate took place in distinct periods, separated from each other by a span of time of which no adequate estimate is yet possible.

The eastern and southern portion of the peninsula (shown red in geological maps) forms one of the most ancient land surfaces of the globe. Parts of it are believed to belong to the primeval crust of our planet as it first cooled and condensed from a gaseous or liquid mass.

From time to time other molten rocks from the interior have burst through this crust and solidified in the cracks, forming thick sheets or walls cutting across the older rocks. The early convulsions of the earth while she was young are still recorded in the complex folds into which these archaic rocks have been thrown. Over large areas the original rocks have been fractured by earth movements or so badly crushed and altered that we can no longer tell their mode of origin.

This was the kind of primitive landscape on which, long afterwards, life first originated (in water) and on which the stratified crust of the earth was laid down. With the passage of time, the greater part of this crust has worn away, and the old surface has again been laid bare. But portions of the strata still remain, protected in deep trough-like hollows in the old river basins, the Mahanadi, the Godavari, and the Narbada, and in a string of outlying patches along the east coast, from Trichinopoly as far as Cuttack. These deposits were laid down chiefly in lakes and rivers, but partly also in shallow seas that flooded the land from the north and east. The wealth of evidence these strata contain tells of great changes of climate and of a long succession of floras and faunas that lived on the vast southern continent of which India once formed an integral part.

Except for these temporary incursions of the sea, the plateau of the Deccan has remained a land area, so far as we know, ever since the original crust was formed.

We have seen that the eastern and southern parts of the peninsula are composed mostly of rocks of great antiquity. Similar rocks, in fact, form the foundations of all the continental blocks, the eroded tops of the ancient mountains often projecting through rocks of more recent date. The Nilgiris and the Palni and Annamalai Hills are composed of large domelike masses of semi-molten rock which have heaved up the overlying crust and have later been exposed by the denuding action of rain and rivers. These primeval hills usually have rounded, undulating outlines. Occasionally an isolated dome rises suddenly out of the alluvial plain. There it stands, like a petrified sentinel of the hoary past, with his face obliterated and his feet buried in the dust of ages.

Through untold aeons of Time, Nature has carved this ancient surface into fantastic shapes. Great masses of rock sometimes lie uneasily perched one on top of another in threatening piles, like dilapidated towers. Vast areas are strewn with enormous weathered blocks lying in utter confusion, as if a great city, where only giants must have lived, had been laid in ruins. Occasionally a huge sphere of granite lies precariously poised on the rounded back of a hill as if one could, with a mere push, send it hurtling down the hill-side. A later day has seen the handiwork of man superimposed upon Nature's in sculptured epics like those at Mahabalipuram—unsurpassed in the grandeur of their conception or in the depth of devotion that inspired them.

The Deccan Trap Country

Very different is the landscape in the central and western parts of the Deccan, coloured green, by convention, in all geological maps. This is much younger

ground, for as we step over from the red part of the map to the green, we traverse, at a single bound, a vast span of geological time : in most places the newer rocks rest directly upon the eroded surface of the old foundations. Abruptly we are transported into a new era of the earth's history. In fact we have arrived at the dawn of the Tertiary. After a long period of quiescence the volcanic energy pent up in the interior of the earth is now bursting forth in floods of lava on a scale never witnessed before or since.

Delegates to this Congress who have travelled here from the north by way of Bombay or Nagpur must have noticed the long, low, flat-topped hills which dominate the scenery over the greater part of the country drained by the Narbada and Tapti and by the upper reaches of the Godavari and Krishna rivers. The same type of scenery extends into Kathiawar and Cutch, and for at least two hundred miles north of the Narbada. Crossing the Western Ghats from Bombay to Poona the railway climbs up through gorges cut through a series of terraces at different levels, like the remnants of a gigantic staircase. These terraces are the exposed surfaces of successive sheets of lava which were poured out at interval, during a period that must have extended through many thousands of years, and which on the west coast were piled up to a thickness of six to ten thousand feet.

Deccan before Eruptive Period

With the fragmentary data at hand let us try to picture the geography of the Deccan during the Cretaceous epoch which preceded this era of fire and devastation. The south-east coast is flooded by a shallow sea, teeming with life, from Trichinopoly as far as Pondicherry. The same sea stretches north-eastwards into what is now the province of Assam, for similar types of fossil shells have been found in the two regions. Near Utatur we may pick up fossil timber, riddled with holes made by extinct types of woodboring molluscs. The shells of the creatures still lie in their burrows, petrified within the wood: the logs must have drifted down an east-flowing river into an estuary or lagoon a hundred and fifty miles south of Madras.

The northern sea has also overflowed the land, in the region of the lower Narbada. But the fauna here is very different, because the barrier of the plateau cuts it off from the southern sea. The northern fauna is more allied to the European—in fact the same ocean stretches on one side into Europe and on the other as far as Tibet and China.

But of our western coast at this period there is no evidence: either India has not yet split away from Africa: or what seems more likely, it has brought away with it a large tract of land which lies to the west. By the sinking of this tract the gulf between India and Africa will widen out into the Arabian Sea, isolating our triangular island of the Deccan which, like a gigantic raft that has been cut adrift, will continue on its long journey to the north-east.

Amongst the denizens of the land, dinosaurs abound in the forests of the Central Provinces. Many of them belong to types peculiar to India but, strangely enough, they have their nearest relatives among the dinosaurs of Madagascar and South America: there must still be some land connection left that allowed these reptiles to intermigrate. But they are rapidly running out their race. The last of the Indian dinosaurs lie buried in the Lameta beds near Jabalpur and at the village of Pisdura near Warora, to the south-east of Wardha.

Dawn of Tertiary Era

We are now approaching the end of the Mesozoic era. The old southern continent is breaking up. The gulfs widen. The same sea that washes the northern shores of the Deccan receives the rivers that drain parts of Egypt, France, Belgium and England. It also laps the shores of Mexico in the far west. In the far east, it sweeps southwards, past Borneo. This is the equatorial ocean of the time, the birth place of the great mountain ranges of the world in the era that is to come.

It is over such a scene as this that the Tertiary era dawns, with the lurid light of volcanic outbursts. There are indeed no volcanoes in the familiar, Vesuvian, sense. The lava wells up quietly through fissures in the earth. But these fissures are hundreds of yards wide and stretch for miles across the country, with crooked cracks branching off to right and left, all brimming with the fiery liquid. In the Rajpipla hills near Broach, in Cutch, Kathiawar and other parts of Western India, some of these old fissures can still be recognised, with the lava solidified inside them in the form of walls or dykes.

The Deccan lavas, being rich in iron, are of a specially fluid kind that takes long to set. They flow almost like water, filling up hollows in the land and spreading rapidly in horizontal sheets, covering miles of country before they harden into the basalt or "trap" rock that is familiar to us. In its devastating march the "fiery deluge" bakes up the soil and consumes all surface vegetation. The very earth is on fire.

Pools and tarns begin to seethe as the lava flows over them. Here and there a stream is dammed up and collects its waters in a temporary lake till it finds or makes a new channel, or the lake itself is covered up by another eruption. The bigger rivers, not so easily blocked, manage to keep their old course, gradually cutting their way through any lava flows that might cross their path. But the eruptions continue from time to time, and from place to place over an enormous area, originally perhaps half a million square miles from Rajahmundry to Cutch and from near Dharwar almost as far as Jhansi, piling sheet upon sheet of molten rock and loading the old foundations under a plateau thousands of feet thick. Even after the continuous erosion of millions of years the Deccan traps still cover an area of 200,000 square miles, and you can travel all the way from Nagpur to Bombay, a distance of five hundred miles, without ever stepping off the volcanic rocks. Their abrupt ending along the west coast, where they are thickest and form the great scarp of the Western Ghats, leaves us no real measure of their original extension into the tract of land that foundered into the Arabian Sea.

It is difficult to tell where, in the enormous area of the Deccan traps, this igneous activity first began. The traps of the Nagpur-Chhindwara region were certainly among the earliest to be poured out and so far as we know at present, the highest flow of the series is to be seen on Malabar Hill and at Worli in Bombay. It appears the vulcanicity began in the eastern parts of the Deccan and gradually spread to the west.

The lava flows vary in thickness from a few feet to as much as a hundred. As one flow overlaps another, it seals up the old fissures, and any later eruptions have to force their way up through the entire pile. There is a tremendous outburst. A fresh crack has been rent open, or an old one has split wider. The yawning mouth of Hell roars with thunder, and hurls fire and smoke and ashes miles up into the sky, as if spitting curses on Heaven itself.

The ash comes down again, raining upon the lava still hot round the fissures, perhaps arising a mound here and there; or it extends the desolate waste by burying under its weight any fresh vegetation farther afield. Beds of volcanic ash abound in many parts of Western India, specially round Poona and Mahabaleshwar. There must be an eruptive centre in the vicinity.

If a lake or river happens to be near by, the ash settles down on the water, forming a sort of volcanic sediment in which the creatures living there find a speedy grave.

But it is an immortal grave. For, through a process that is still largely a mystery to us, the bodies of these plants and animals become imperishably preserved. Particle for particle, cell for cell, the plant tissues are replaced by silica derived from the ash, or from a lava flow that may have overwhelmed the lake; and in the end we are left with an exact replica of the original in hard, indestructible silica.

This is not a mere cast or an impression of the external features of the plant, but a petrifaction in the strict sense, which you may cut into thin sections and of which you may examine under the microscope the minutest details of the anatomy. The preservation of the tissues is sometimes so perfect, and the resemblance with the tissues of modern plants is so complete, that while engrossed in their investigation in the laboratory we are apt to forget that we are dealing with forms of plant life that existed fifty or sixty million years ago.

Partly with the heat of the lava, but largely through the action of percolating minerals, the entire bed of the lake becomes hardened into a rock that rings under the hammer like a piece of steel. Embedded in the mud and stilt are also the remains of many land plants, or the bones of animals living on the banks, that may have been carried down by a stream. Thus we may have a whole flora and fauna sealed up in a bed of volcanic ash, or in lake and river deposits interbedded between sheets of lava.

Prof. Sahni then described in brief the life in the Deccan Trap period and the results of study by geologists of the fossil flora of the North-eastern part of the Deccan trap country.

AGE OF THE DECCAN LAVAS

For deciding the question of the age of the Deccan traps, Prof. Sahni went on to say, it is perhaps unfortunate that so many of the plants are new to science and confined to this country; but, of course, they have an interest of their own. For the rest, you will have noticed that from what we know of the geological history of the stoneworts, the fungi, the waterferns and particularly of the palms, which formed such a vast proportion of the flora, everything seems to point to a Tertiary age. What is more, the fishes and the crustaceans, too, seem to fall into line with the plants.

Concluding, Prof. Sahni said: Thus the chances are that the whole of this imposing thickness of thousands of feet of igneous rock was poured out within the relatively short interval of the Eocene period. Quite probably this terrible drama of fire and thunder was only a brief episode of the very earliest part of the Eocene. The thickness of a stratum is by itself no measure of time. For after all it would not take long for a lava flow a hundred feet thick to be poured out like a flood from a fissure valcano, once it came to business. It is the deposition of the relatively thin sedimentary beds during the quiet intervals that must have taken up most of the time of the Deccan trap period.

The conclusion that the Deccan traps were poured out at the dawn of the Tertiary era and not at the close of the Mesozoic, brings them into line with other vast outpourings of Eocene lavas: for example, those that now cover at least 200,000 square miles of the north-western United States and the equally widespread lavas of the old Thulean continent that once united the Western Isles of Scotland with Iceland, Greenland and other Artic lands.

Before I close I ought to say that this idea of the Tertiary age of the Deccan traps is by no means a new one. Indeed, it is over a hundred years old, for it was first put forward, so far as I know, by Malcolmson in 1837; and it was repeatedly expressed by Hislop and others in the middle of last century. In later years the question has been discussed and rediscussed by so many, and from so many different angles, that we could hardly see the wood for the trees. But the pioneers were right, as they so often are. They worked with a clean state and, as we all know, a clean slate is a very useful thing.

But the pioneer geologists were right also for another reason. They did not despise the mute but eloquent testimony of the plants that suffered the fiery ordeals of the dawn of the Tertiary era. For, as the first flashes from the fissure volcanoes flared up on the eastern horizon, the stalwart Palm said to the little *Azolla*:

> This lurid light is not a sunset glow—
> It is the herald of a morn.

And the fact is that this was the dawn of a new era: for, look at the number of Eocene genera of plants and animals that survive to this day.

We have now seen the contrast between the red part of the map and the green. Between the two lies a vista of time stretching back through wellnigh two thousand millions of years. But man, a recent creature of the earth, has united them in one poem of duty to his Creator: if the foundation rocks of the south have given us Mahabalipuram and the Seven Pagodas, the Deccan traps have given us Ajanta and Ellora.

The National Institute of Sciences

Fifth Annual Meeting—Madras—2nd. January 1940

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Fifth Annual General Meeting of the National Institute of Sciences of India was held on the **2nd. January 1940** in the North-Eastern Lecture Hall of the Medical College, Madras. Brevet-Colonel *R. N. Chopra*, President, was in the chair. After the admission of Fellows to the Institute under the rules governing such admission, Prof. *S. P. Agharkar*, Secretary, presented the annual report and it was adopted.

The report showed that at the end of the year there were 165 Ordinary Fellows and 21 Honorary Fellows. Col. Sir Arthur Olver was appointed to represent the National Institute at the Seventh International Congress of

Genetics to be held at Edinburgh. A. M. Heron, Prof. B. Sahni and Mr. D. N. Wadia were appointed delegates to the 18th International Geological Congress to be held in London in 1940.

The President then delivered his address.

In the course of his address Bt-Col. Chopra reviewed the work of the Institute during the past year. As a result of a symposium on "Coal in India" organised by Dr. C. S. Fox, at the last general meeting, he said, a resolution urging the necessity for the formation of a Fuel Research Board in India was passed and he hoped that the Government would take practical steps for the formation of a Board and the protection of the highly important coal industry of the country. A committee was appointed during the year to consider the replies received in connection with the questionnaire on Science and its social relations—a work which the Institute had undertaken to do on behalf of the Government of India.

Continuing, Bt.-Col. Chopra pointed out that the grants given by the Government of India and the various Universities were not sufficient for the work which the Institute had to carry out. Unfortunately, it had not been possible to get any grants from any of the Provincial Governments so far and he would again appeal to all of them for generous financial support. The Institute was founded to fill an urgent need, keenly felt by scientific workers all over India, for a body which could co-ordinate the work of various scientific societies, institutions and Government scientific departments and services throughout the country. Since its foundation in 1935, the Council of the Institute had left no stone unturned to further this programme. India, fortunately, was richly endowed by nature with all that any country could possibly need. While primarily an agricultural country, with extensive agricultural and forest lands, it also had very rich resources of various minerals on which depended the highly industrialised life of the present day. Its resources in the way of coal and water power were also very extensive. These resources, agricultural, mineral and power, had not been developed for want of a systematic policy of industrialisation and naturally India stood very low in the list of industrialised countries of the world.

Research Facilities Inadequate

After referring to the effect of the present war on India, Bt.-Col. Chopra urged the necessity for the proper planning and organisation of scientific research in India. He also reviewed the progress of general and scientific education in the country and in particular referred to the research facilities provided in recent years by governmental and other agencies. With all these, he said the facilities for teaching and research in various sciences were still very limited and it was therefore a matter of real pride that in spite of these handicaps Indian students of science had during the short period of a little over a quarter of a century justified their capacity for original investigation. In the words of Lord Rutherford, they ought to enter on the third phase, namely, scientific research should now be applied for solving the industrial problems of the country.

Bt.-Col. Chopra next gave a brief summary of how the British Government had contributed to the promotion and organisation of industrial and agricultural research after the last war in Britain, and said that very important national organisations had been built up for the investigation and application of science to various problems connected with the daily life of the people and the nation's industry as a whole. Lord Rutherford had, in his address last year, pointed out that in a large country like India, where the resources and needs of the different Provinces were very varied, it was essential for efficiency that the organisation of research should be on national rather than on provincial lines. His plea was for the foundation of a National Research Council in India on the lines of the body which ever since its constitution had been rendering such useful service in Great Britain. Industry had rightly been styled as the basis of national prosperity and it was therefore necessary that every resource should be used to facilitate its progress. In this connection, research was of the utmost importance and he expressed the hope that work of the National Planning Committee would prove valuable in laying down the lines for the future development of the country.

Agency for Co-ordination

Giving the outlines of a scheme for developing an organization in India to plan and co-ordinate research so as to avoid wastage both of talent and

funds, preclude duplication, employ the available scientific personnel to the best advantage, and, finally, to arrange for the training of a much larger number of research personnel to supply the needs of the developing industry, Bt.-Col. Chopra said :

"Starting from the top, I consider it absolutely essential that there should be a separate department of the Central Government corresponding to the Department of Industrial and Scientific Research in Great Britain. It should be staffed by scientists with administrative experience and not by civilian administrators. The Department should have an Advisory Council, the National Research Council, constituted on the lines of the Research Councils of other countries for planning and co-ordinating research, to promote and develop not only scientific but industrial research in the country, and finally for devising ways and means to make India independent, so far as possible, of foreign imports by a well-planned survey and development of its economic resources. It is only then that it would be possible for this country to assume its right place among the industrially developed countries of the world. With a view to harnessing Science in the service of Industry, the proposed Department and its Advisory Council will also have to explore ways and means for extending the existing machinery of scientific education in the country, from the school to the university stage, develop applied scientific training and research, and finally to see that research, whether in pure or applied sciences, is undertaken with a definite end in view and not only as a means for self-glorification."

India an Emporium of Drugs

Dealing next with his work in connection with the medicinal and toxic properties of the different plants in India, Bt.-Col. Chopra said that this work should interest them from the scientific and economic point of view. Further, the significance of the large numbers and wide prevalence of plants toxic to man, livestock and insects had not so far been fully appreciated in this country and vast as the vegetable resources of this country were, they were not being properly exploited to the best advantage of the people. After a general survey of the climatic condition of India, the general features of Indian vegetation and the relationship of Indian flora to other floras, Bt.-Col. Chopra said that there were more than 700 important fodder plants including about 260 species of valuable fodder grass. More than 2,000 plants, out of a total of about 11,000 species found in India, were stated to have medicinal properties of some description or other and were enumerated in the literature of indigenous medicine. Nearly threefourths of the drugs mentioned in the British and other Pharmacopoeias grew in a state of nature and others could be easily grown. Indeed, this country was a veritable emporium of drugs. If these resources could be utilised and the finished products manufactured, treatment of many diseases could be brought within the means of the Indian masses whose economic condition was unfortunately of a very low order.

Collectors of medicinal drugs growing in a state of nature, and the present and prospective cultivators, Bt.-Col. Chopra continued, should bear in mind certain factors to be considered in order to obtain the standard product. There was a good deal of variation in the active principles in the different parts of a plant and in different seasons in the same part of the plant. Even the same part and at the same time of the year showed remarkable variations in the contents of its active principles. He had often observed in the course of his work that plants collected at the proper time, when the active principles had reached maturity and were at their maximum, gave very effective results while the same plants when collected under other conditions were utterly useless. Conditions for the collection of drugs in the case of plants under cultivation were more favourable and strict control over various factors could be exercised with greater ease than was the case with plants growing in a state of nature.

"Intimately connected with the study of medicinal plants," continued Bt.-Col. Chopra, "is the problem of poisonous plants, but till recently little attention has been paid to this study in this country. They contain chemical constituents which, if introduced into the body of an animal in relatively small quantities, act deleteriously and may cause serious impairment of bodily functions or even death. They injure the basic live principle, the protoplasm, of the cells of which the animal body is built up. They are ordinarily called poisonous plants, and apart from the utilization of their potent properties in the treatment of diseases to alleviate the sufferings of man and animals, there appears to be no doubt that they are a source

of great menace in India through poisoning of livestock. It is a matter of regret that no systematic attempt has been made in India so far to investigate these plants on scientific lines with a view to devising means whereby this menace could be controlled.

"With a view to combating this menace, and as a natural corollary to the study of medicinal plants, the study of poisonous plants of India has been undertaken at the School of Tropical Medicine during recent years. This work has brought out some outstanding features of the problem which had not been hitherto appreciated in India. About 700 poisonous species belonging to over 90 families of flowering plants are known. In the case of the majority of plants, poisonous properties are only suspected but have not been snbstantiated by chemical analyses and pharmacological experimentation. This is now being done. A thorough and comprehensive study of all these plants, however, would mean sustained work for many years and perhaps for several generations. Another aspect of these plants which will repay study concerns those which have insecticidal and insect repellent properties. Losses inflicted upon India by insects are enormous and at a moderate estimate are calculated at 2,000 million rupees annually and over a million and a half of human lives. The finding of cheap insecticides for the diverse needs of agriculture, destruction of household pests, prevention of vectors of such diseases as malaria and many others borne by insects, commensurate with the limited means of great masses in India are important problems to which little attention has been paid till recently. Vegetable insecticides are preferable to mineral ones, as these are less deleterious to man and other warm-blooded animals generally, and as they are also less harmful from the point of view of agriculture. Lists of the possible insecticidal and insect repellent plants growing in India, and of reputed fish poisons some of which may also act as insecticides have been prepared."

Proceeding, Bt.-Col. Chopra said :

"One of the chief difficulties in connection with our work on medicinal and poisonous plants has been the proper identification of the material to be investigated. The descriptions of plants given in the literature on indigenous medicine are meagre and vague and this has resulted in considerable confusion. Descriptions alone are not always sufficient for settling disputed questions and recourse to actual specimens is often absolutely necessary. With a view to combating this state of affairs it was considered desirable to collect authentic specimens of all the plants with alleged medicinal or toxic properties and after proper identification preserve them for the purpose of comparison. This work has progressed and it has been possible to collect 6,000 specimen sheets of about 1,600 species. About 900 species have yet to be obtained to complete the collection of all the known medicinal and poisonous plants growing in India.

Classification of Plants

"With the advance of knowledge of the chemistry and pharmacology of plants, it appears to be certain that some correlation exists between the botanical classification of plants, their chemical constitution and physiological properties, and one is frequently struck with the remarkable resemblance exhibited by closely allied plants in this respect. An ideal classification of plants would be the one which in addition to satisfying botanical criteria broadly provides an index to the nature of their chemical constituents and physiological properties. With our existing knowledge this is not possible. The very fact that some of the families and genera, as at present understood, are quite homogeneous in this respect, however, reflects a ray of hope that after all the problem is not so difficult as it appears at first sight. I do hope that botanists, chemists and pharmacologists will collaborate in evolving a natural system of classification based on their combined efforts."

After citing a few examples of some families and genera to show the marked resemblances between their botanical, chemical and pharmacological aspects, Bt.-Col. Chopra said that the brief review of the relationship which seems to exist between the botanical classification and the chemical and physiological characteristics of medicinal and poisonous plants should prove sufficient to show that in many of the families and genera these characteristics show a marked degree of correlation. He hoped that further work would produce increasing evidence of this relationship. The botanical characters, chemical constituents and properties exhibited by plants were all the results of organic evolution and a natural classification must embrace all these three aspects. There was, however,

an element of disturbance in the case of plants. Climate, seasons, soil, cultivation, etc., had profoundly affected their chemical composition and hence their physiological characteristics, and it was for this reason also that closely related plants differed in their pharmacological properties.

"Collaboration between botanists, chemists, pharmacologists and agriculturists in work of the type indicated in a country such as India," Bt.-Col. Chopra concluded, "is pregnant with possibilities which should not only be of very great scientific and academic interest, but also prove of great practical importance to the country from the economic point of view."

The Indian Political Science Conference

Second Session—Lahore—2nd. January 1940

GOVERNOR'S OPENING ADDRESS

The second session of the Indian Political Science Conference was held at Lahore on the **2nd. January 1940** under the presidency of Dr. *Promotho Nath Banerjea*. Inaugurating the session, *H. E. Sir Henry Craik*, the Governor of the Punjab said :—

"I should like to ask you what parallel you can find in past history to the position which I hold to-day of a Provincial Governor under the new constitution."

His Excellency said, "The only parallel which I can find is drawn not from the field of politics, but of drama. For the Provincial Governor seems to me to resemble very closely that familiar figure of Greek tragedy, the *Deus ex machina*—the god who, when the dramatist had allowed his characters to get themselves into an inextricable tangle from which no human agency could devise an issue, appeared suddenly on the stage with a flash of lightning and a clap of thunder, and with a few peremptory commands brought order out of the chaos in which the plot had become involved. Similar, I fancy, is the role for which Provincial Governors were cast by the authors of the new Constitution, though fortunately in this province I have not yet been called upon to assume it, and I sincerely hope I never shall be."

His Excellency reminded the audience that those who, in modern times, have been acclaimed by various writers as the nearest approach to Plato's philospher kings are first, the present rulers of Soviet Russia and secondly, "the members of my own service. I leave it to you to judge which are the worse and which have contributed most to human happiness or unhappiness. But I am sure you would not wish to be in either company".

Continuing, Sir Henry said, "Though we do not wish to see the devotees of political science invested with supreme political power and authority, we equally do not wish to see you withdraw from the world into a remote philosophic seclusion and washing your hands of practical affairs, devote yourselves entirely to pure theory." He concluded, "I hope I am not wrong in thinking that the very fact that in the last two years you have started these annual political science conferences is itself proof that you have despaired of the practical world of the politician and still retain the desire to discover and propagate the right ideas for its betterment."

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

In the course of his presidential address, *Dr. Promotho Nath Banerjea* said :—

One of the objects with which the Indian Political Science Association was started last year was to bring together students of political science and persons engaged in the active pursuit of politics. Our Association seeks to bridge the gulf between politicians and political theorists. But the application of this principle of bridging gulfs may be extended to other spheres of thought and action. In India, the divergences are so many and so great that it may perhaps be found useful to consider to what extent this principle may be applied to the existing political situation of the country. Therefore, I take this topic as the subject of my brief discourse at this Conference.

FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND PARTIES

Coming to purely political issues we find that differences of opinion exist in India as in other countries in regard to the functions of government, though these

are of less vital importance here than elsewhere. The idea of an all-embracing, all-pervading State has never found favour in this country. On the other hand, the view that the functions of government should be restricted only to the maintenance of external security and internal order is considered to be extremely inadequate. The State will have to play a very important part in the development of the political, economic, and social life of the people, but it will be desirable for it to adopt a policy of non-intervention in regard to questions like religion, culture, and language. Such a policy is likely to promote harmony and goodwill among the different sections of the population. While the State should be the supreme organisation, the autonomy of institutions created for special purposes ought not to be interfered with.

Indian opinion is almost unanimous in respect of the desirablity of establishing responsible government at the Centre as well as in the provinces. The manner in which the Congress Ministers have worked the limited measure of responsibility in the provincial field during the last two years and a half affords ample hope for its future success. But there is considerable difference of opinion as to the composition of the Cabinet. A composite Cabinet is helpful to the growth of solidarity among the different sections of the people. It must be admitted, however, that it is difficult to form a coalition between representatives of parties which differ widely and fundamentally not only in outlook but also in respect of of the goal. But no great harm is likely to ensure if further experiments are made in forming coalition Cabinets in the provinces. This brings me to the discussion of the existing party system in India. Some of the parties are founded on political principles, while others are based on racial, communal, or class considerations. The Congress does not represent the interests of any class or community but represents the political aspirations of the Indian nation. In that sense it is a national, and not a sectional, institution. The situation in respect of parties in India is a very complex one, but it is not more complex than the party situation in most countries of continental Europe. The party system is a useful, if not an indispensable, adjunct of democracy; but its demerits are as serious as its merits are undoubted. In a country like India, where the multiple-party system prevails, the demerits tend to outweigh the merits.

Electorates and the Services

The question of representation in the legislatures and the local bodies is a source of acute difference in India. The system which prevails at present is not the representation of the people but the representation of races, creeds, classes, sexes, and special interests. In some cases, differences have been deliberately fostered. The consequence of this system of separate communal representation has been an enormous growth of dissensions. Separation has led to the demands for further separation, and antagonism has taken the place of harmony. This system of representation, therefore, must be regarded as an evil, and in the interests of the unity and peace of the country it should be removed at the earliest possible moment. Recruitment to the public services is a subject which has given rise to a great deal of controversy. Unfortunately, both at the Centre and in some of the provinces, certain percentages have for some time past been fixed for recruitment from the different communities, and in the case of some of these communities only the minimum qualifications have been demanded of the candidates. This has resulted in a considerable deterioration of administrative efficiency, and it is apprehended that a continuance of this policy will be a source of greater harm in future. The true way of getting out of this difficulty, however, lies in affording adequate educational facilities to the less advanced communities and not in giving them unfair advantages.

Coming to the question of the future constitution of India we find that differences of opinion which exist as to the goal of India's political aspirations are not of a serious kind. It appears that time has been the most essential factor in the evolution of India's political goal. Politically-minded India, however, is not in a mood to accept Dominion Status as a goal to be reached in the distant future. If Dominion Status is granted immediately, it is likely to be acceptable to the country. The gulf between the goal and the immediate objective is not unbridgeable, and if the British Government is able to take the right step without delay, cordial relations of a permanent character may be established between India and Britain. The existing system of government, with democracy in the provinces and autocracy at

the Centre, is an anomaly, and the sooner it disappears the better for all concerned.

THE WAR AND INDIA

The advent of the war in Europe has led to the suspension of activities connected with the inauguration of the Federation in view of the pre-occupation of the Government, but the scheme has not been abandoned. The war has indeed created a new situation fraught with immense possibilities for good or evil according to the manner in which it may be handled. The present is the most opportune moment for Britain to recognise India's right. It is not clear what special difficulty there can be in applying the principles of democracy and self-determination to the case of India.

The only satisfactory machinery for setting all differences as well as for considering the details of the future constitution of India is a Constituent Assembly. This body should be constituted on the basis of proportional representation, so that all minorities and special interests may be represented on it. There should be no communal representation. It will be one of the main duties of the Constituent Assembly to provide safeguards in the new constitution for the minorities in the shape of fundamental rights to be guaranteed by an appeal to the Federal Court or if necessary, to an international tribunal.

The urgent need of the hour in India is harmony and goodwill. This can be secured by an enlightened sense of citizenship and a unity of purpose. We must all think of our country first and of everything else afterwards. As for unity, let our motto be : "In things essential, unity ; in things non-essential, liberty ; in all things, charity." If we render not mere lip-service to this motto but make it our rule of conduct in our daily relations with all individuals, and races, and communities, India's cherished ideals will be realised at no distant date.

The All India Students' Federation

Fifth Session—New Delhi—1st. January 1940

THE WELCOME ADDRESS

About five hundred delegates from the different provinces and 4,000 visitors were present at the fifth annual session of the All-India Students' Federation Convention which commenced at New Delhi on the **1st. January 1940** under the presidentship of Mr. *Subhas Chandra Bose.*

Mr. *M. Farooqui*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address, referred to the tendency on the part of many of them to make the Students' Federation an arena to fight out factional rivalries and deplored that their time should be wasted in party bickerings. He suggested a two-fold programme to strengthen the student movement which was still in its infancy in India. Firstly, they must take up questions affecting the average student and agitate for the fulfilment of their demands through the Students' Federation. It was also advisable to organise study circles in schools and colleges with a view to creating political consciousness among students. Secondly, they must engage themselves in the uplift of the masses. He suggested that the Federation should constitute a permanent committee to co-ordinate the work of adult literacy in progress in the different provinces. He advised the students to talk less of politics and take up seriously the work of strengthening their organisation.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. *Subhas Chandra Bose*, in his presidential address, urged that the Leftists should announce clearly in advance with what object and with what mental attitude they would enter a struggle, whether it was launched by the Right or by the Left. "Standing to-day in the midst of a complex situation," he said, "it is just possible that you may feel perplexed for a while. The vacillating, zig-zag policy of the Congress High Command increases one's bewilderment. The menacing attitude of some communal organisations adds to one's difficulties. The want of unity among the Leftists themselves well-nigh

unnerves an ordinary mortal. But though you stand with your backs to the wall, do not for one moment lose courage or self-confidence. Remember, comrades, that the Left movement to-day is on its trial. Its future will depend on how you and I come out of this ordeal."

Mr. Bose said that a real Constituent Assembly was one which was convened by a National Government after the transference of power had taken place. An Assembly convened by and meeting under the aegis of an imperialist Government and elected on the basis of separate electorate would surely end in disaster to the Congress and to the Indian people. He, therefore, asked his audience to raise their voice in protest against it while there was time and warn their countrymen in advance of the coming danger in the event of this demand being fulfilled by the British Government.

The problem before them, Mr. Bose added, was the launching of the national struggle and in case the Congress Working Committee held back, Leftists should march ahead with such strength and resources as they happened to possess. The struggle would be a national struggle, no matter who gave the call. It would be a fatal mistake to confuse the nature of the call with the nature of the struggle. The Congress was much stronger to-day than it was in 1921 or 1930 or 1932 and if they had fought thrice with less strength and resources, they should not quail before the present crisis.

It might be argued, continued Mr. Bose, that the Congress Working Committee had not been sitting idle since September. A long-winded resolution had been passed and Congress Ministries in eight provinces had been withdrawn. War Councils had been set up in several provinces and there was talk of a volunteer camp and a volunteer organisation. "But what is all this talk of a three-month holiday indulged in by an ex-Premier ? Why whispers on all sides that the Congress Ministers will soon return to office ? The man in the street is naturally confused and does not know what to do. To make confusion worse confounded, War Councils have been ordered to spin. We are now expected to spin our way to Swaraj, but how can we be convinced of the efficacy of this magic *mantra* of Mahatma Gandhi when we know that a century ago when the Indian people knew nothing but khadi and hand-spinning, they fell a victim to foreign domination. It is time to call a spade a spade and to tell our people clearly that the idea of winning Swaraj through spinning is moonshine."

Resolutions—Second Day—New Delhi—2nd. January 1940

INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION

Heated discussion for over one hour took place tonight on a resolution advising students to celebrate Independence Day on Jan. 26 when the open session of the Federation met under the presidentship of Mr. *Subhas Chandra Bose.* An amendment to the resolution sponsored by the leftist group in the federation 'while appreciating and welcoming the call given by the Congress working committee to observe this day' noted with regret that 'undue stress has been given upon *charkha*, *khadi*, spinning, etc., in the pledge neglecting the very programme of action which our country badly requires at this critical moment and urged the working committee to insert such programme of nation-wide action in the pledge.

During the discussion on the resolution and amendment speakers against the amendment emphasised the importance of the *charkha* in the constructive programme of the Congress ever since Mahatma Gandhi assumed its leadership and the benefit it had conferred on rural population while those in favour of the amendment expressed the view that spinning alone could not bring them swaraj.

The amendment, when finally put to vote, was declared lost by 167 to 151 votes and the original resolution was carried. Mr. Bose, the president, ascertained the sense of delegates twice by show of hands before putting the amendment to vote and asking the delegates to divide themselves but the result revealed close voting. The proceedings were held up for about half an hour and excitement prevailed among the delegates till the result of voting on the amendment was announced.

GREETINGS TO WORLD STUDENTS BUREAU

When the convention resumed session this evening it was resolved to send warm greetings on behalf of Indian students to the Bureau of the World Students' Association, Paris.

MESSAGE TO BRITISH STUDENTS

By another resolution the convention decided to send a message to the students in Britain stressing the necessity of a real understanding between the students of all nations and thereby serving the cause of international student movement, the cause of peace, of freedom aud cultural progress.

WOMEN STUDENTS

The resolution on women students, passed by the convention, pointed out that most of the women students had kept aloof from the activities of the All-India Students' Federation during the last three years, and urged the necessity of organising them and suggested formation of girl students' committees to work in cooperation with provincial branches of the federation.

REPRESSION IN STATES

The convention strongly criticised the policy of repression adopted by Rulers of certain States and decided to take effective steps to draw the student movement in the States nearer to the students movement in British India.

The resolution on civil liberties reiterated to safeguard their rights and liberties against any form of encroachment.

PROMOTION OF COMMUNAL HARMONY

With a view to ensuring that larger number of students belonging to the minority communities and Muslim students in particular join the federation, the convention decided that singing of *Vande Mataram* which had unfortunately been invested with communal significance should be avoided, the banner of All-India Students' Federation should be displayed at students' gatherings ; it should be emphasised that the federation was not connected with any political party and strikes on communal issues should be discouraged.

THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE

The convention appealed to all radical elements in the country to prepare themselves for the purpose of achieving their goal, expressed the opinion that a constituent assembly can really represent the people when they are allowed to elect their representatives, and emphasised the need for students to take up literacy campaign as a part of constructive work of their organisation. An amendment to the resolution on national struggle which sought to criticise the present Congress leadership and ask students to put up their candidate for the purpose of contesting Congress presidential election was lost.

RESOLUTION ON WAR

The resolution on war passed by the Students' Federation Convention declared that 'the present war between rival imperialist Powers is directed towards a new partition of the world and is, therefore, against the interests of the people'.

After pointing out that the Viceroy's recent declaration in India and subsequent official statements in England and India, in reply to the Congress demand for a clarification of Britain's war aims in relation to India, do not meet the Indian demand, the resolution states that the Indian people cannot understand how freedom can be denied to them if the war in Europe is really being fought to secure justice and freedom to oppressed nations.

During the discussion on the resolution, Mr. *Subhas Bose*, on a point of information, told the gathering that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had twice sought permission from the Congress working committee to launch the satyagraha movement in Bengal but so far such permission had not been given. He added that Congressmen in that province were getting impatient and were not prepared to wait much no longer.

The session concluded at 2 a.m.

The United Provinces Students' Conference

Third Session—Lucknow—29th. January 1940

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The third session of the United Provinces Provincial Students' Conference was held at Lucknow on the **29th. January 1940** under the presidentship of Prof. *Humayun Kabir*, M L.A. (Bengal) who in the course of his address said :—"No one was against compromise but it was the terms of that compromise that mattered," He favoured a compromise which would result in a commonwealth of nations for which all countries in the world were thirsting and which would form the nucleus of a world state.

Mr. Kabir urged the students to read and understand history aright and evolve an altogether new interpretation of history which, he felt sure, would go a long way in settling the communal problem.

Mr. *Zaidi*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address, expressed the hope that students would organise a demonstration embracing the entire province with a view to focussing attention on the necessity for reduction in college and examination fees.

RESOLUTIONS

The conference reiterated the students' resolve to take part in the fight for independence and stressed that students should keep their organisations above party politics and resist attempts to reduce the student movement into sectarian or group organisations.

The Students' Federation was urged to intensify its social and cultural activities and work for the intellectual growth of the students by organising lectures, study groups, social circles and excursions.

The conference considered the industrialisation of the country as the solution for unemployment and poverty. It was pessimistic about the charka solving these problems and held that planned and scientific industrialisation was the only remedy for these evils.

The Assam Educational Conference

Tenth Session—Shillong—28th. May 1940

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The tenth session of the Assam Educational Conference commenced its two-day session at Shillong on the **28th May 1940**, under the Presidency of *Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee*, who is the course of his address expressed the firm conviction that a proper and satisfactory understanding, whether between communities or provinces. could come only through the process of education.

Education, observed Dr. Mukerjee, should be rightly moulded and controlled, and should aim at the great task of welding together the teeming millions of Indians into one single homogeneous nation. The different stages of education, primary, secondary and higher, must be properly nourished, so that each might make its proper contribution to the building up of the entire educational structure.

Referring to the international situation, Dr. Mookerjee said, "It is our firm conviction that although dark clouds cover the horizon to-day and disputes and strifes hold their sway for the time being, the cause of justice and righteousness must ultimately triumph".

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference, on the motion of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, President, adopted a resolution requesting the Governor of Assam to convey to His Majesty's Government its whole-hearted support in the war and assuring the Imperial Government its readiness to render every possible service in this hour of supreme need to the Allied cause.

Earlier, *Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhury*, Education Minister, said that the war must be brought to a victorious conclusion and appealed to the young men of the province to do everything in their power to help in the prosecution of the war.

The Convocation Addresses

The Calcutta University Convocation

Governor's Opening Speech

The Convocation of Calcutta University for the year 1940 was held under a pandal in the grounds of the Science College in Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, on the **2nd. March 1940.**

His Excellency Sir *John Herbert*, as the Chancellor of the University, who for the first time presided over the function, declared the Convocation open.

Addressing the graduates, His Excellency said :—"Many of you are about to leave the shelter of this great University and face the world with its joys and sorrows, with its unsolved problems and also with its great and far-reaching achievements. You will do so with all the enthusiasm of youth. To some of you the way may be difficult, to others easy. But I would counsel all of you to keep in mind the inspiring advice you have heard to-day and to remember that although you belong to a select intellectual group yet, in the words of a wise observer of life, education is what remains to us when we have forgotten all our learning.

"In the short time that I have been here new impressions have crowded upon me on every turn—both here in Calcutta and still more perhaps in the fields and bypaths of rural Bengal. I have become conscious of long-standing, difficult, and at the same time urgent problems awaiting solution by the organized genius of the Bengalee people.

"I am at heart a country man and though I cannot speak to the man of the field in his own language as I would like to, I have done what I can to get into personal touch with him and intend to do more. For, like you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I realize how much the life of this province depends on what you have called 'the man behind the plough' and how much we, in this great city and in this great university, owe to the product of his labour. And just as the good cultivator leaves his land the better for his tending so should we, in whatever walk of like we find ourselves, strive to leave our mark for good."

Sir Mirza Ismail's Convocation Speech

In delivering his address *Sir Mirza Ismail* recalled with pride the association of the late Rajtantra Pravina Sir Brajendra Nath Seal with the University of Mysore for nearly a decade and of Sir Ashutosh Mukerji who delivered the first Convocation address of that University in 1918.

He made appreciative reference to the achievements of the Post Graduate Departments of the Calcutta University and referring to specialization in Indian universities in general said : "Although it may be readily accepted that at the stage of the first degree, there should be provision for as many varied courses as possible, since it is difficult to expect that the universities in India should specialize at this stage, I ask in all seriousness, if it is not desirable, nay even necessary, for Indian universities to take stock of their position and organize some distribution among themselves of the course of higher studies and the lines of research work. The outlay on equipment and staff in the higher and specialized branches of learning is very large, and it is in the national interest that the 'plant' works to full capacity.

"The time is come for our universities to take common counsel and distribute courses of a highly specialized and advanced character on a regional basis. This will also effect economy of resources in another way. At present, a large number of our students go abroad and one reason for this is to pursue studies of an advanced character at universities which have obtained a reputation under the guidance of a great teacher in one subject or another.

"Specialization of the kind I have suggested ought to enable us to develop such centres in our own country, and not only keep our students from going abroad but probably even attract students from abroad. Of course, there will always be a movement of students from one centre of learning to another, and I certainly do not desire that our students should desist from going abroad to seek inspiration at the feet of a great master. But the necessity to go to foreign countries for want of facilities at home is not a matter for gratification. Not only should Indian universities themselves specialize but they should join together in

supporting a certain number of all-India institutions where instruction of the most advanced kind and facilities for research of the same standard as in foreign universities should be available freely for those who are qualified to take advantage of them.

"I think, however, that always, but especially now, the first duty of a university is towards its rank and file, the ordinary, average thousands who for a brief period submit themselves to its discipline and accept with outstretched arms, whatever it is willing to give."

Speaking of the "under-graduates," *Sir. Mirza Ismail* said that the one thing which to India mattered more than anything else was the uneducated masses of the people. "It is on them, mainly" he proceeded, "that the immediate and distant future depends. I am sure the authorities of the University and the people in the colleges know well how best to guide and influence these young beings entrusted to them."

Turning to "the graduates and their future", Sir Mirza Ismail wondered what was there for these graduates to do. "First", he observed, "one thinks of the fact that in Bengal, as elsewhere, agriculture is at the very foundation of the life of the province. But that foundation has become perilously inadequate. There is too much pressure on land in Bengal. A peasant family of five people cannot expect to live much above the tevel of subsistence on a holding of two and a half acres. There is but one remedy, the increase and improvement of the yield by improving the old agricultural methods. The cultivator must be shown what scientific agriculture can do, and must be persuaded with infinite sympathy and patience to adopt the modern ways.

"What an opportunity is here for university men ! Among a people whose history goes back so far, the fetters of custom and the inertia of centuries can only be overcome by the ready self-sacrifice, the sustained effort, of those who themselves enjoy the benefits of a liberal education. Such men should, of course, at the same time be specialists. In recent years, efforts have been made in Bengal to spread the knowledge of scientific agriculture.

"Between the highly educated and the partially or wholly uneducated a yawning gulf is fixed. It is most important, even in the interests of the universities themselves, that this gulf should be, not *bridged*, which is condescension and danger, but *filled in*. I do hope that in the young men of this University, at least there is no feeling of superiority, and that they have the sense to realize that the horny-handed son of toil in the field is *as yet* a better man than they are. If the university man trained in agriculture is going to patronize the peasants he had better have stayed in his laboratory. Indeed the very idea in his studying in a *university* is to *liberalize* him to give him that sympathetic common sense that can recognize genuine human values."

In this connexion Sir Mirza Ismail emphasized the value of rural service by university men and pointed out what was being done in Mysore in this respect. "All that has been done in Mysore," he said, "is, in the first place, that students, while still in college, take particular villages under their care and, in the second place, a larger and more systematic plan, a centre on 'settlement' lines for the training for university men in rural service has been started. Wider development, there or any-where, will depend partly on the direct interest shown by governments and their substantial financial support but mainly on the driving enthusiasm of those of our young men who really care what sort of life is led by their fellow-countrymen in the villages.

"I profoundly hope that this enthusiasm may nowhere be lacking, that members of the Indian universities, in ever-increasing numbers, will devote themselves to the social and economic problems of the countryside, and carefully fit themselves to take the lead in the movement for the uplift of the rural people.

"All this does little enough to solve the problem of unemployment. I do not see any possible solution except a deliberate policy of industrial expansion in our country.

"India has a great economic future. Her resources entitle her to first rank leadership in this field. But in order to fulfil that destiny, those who have money must be prepared to disinter it and show some measure of confidence in each other and on the other hand, the educated sons and daughters of India must cease to despise and shrink from the work that one does with one's hands. We must be planning now for the difficult times afterwards, and both the industrial and the academic world have huge responsibilities to the country in this connexion.

"There is one field of employment that to my mind has not been adequately

explored by the universities. However much we may deplore wars and the growth of armaments, I presume we may take it that unless and until there is a change of heart, this evil incidental to social organization will continue. India will be compelled to think of her national defence in more imperative terms than has been the case hitherto when we have complacently taken it for ganted that the British soldier and the British sailor will spare us all anxiety on the score of defence. Indianization of the army and the growth of an Indian navy cannot be delayed any longer with safety. India must also develop the new arm of warfare in the air. India has ample resources, too, for the production of munitions and armaments.

"I look forward to a large employment of university men in the great war industries and also in the army, the navy and the air force. Among the indirect beneficial effects of the present war will probably be found the greater readiness to admit Indians to commissioned ranks in the army and a greater utilization of India's resources for the production of war materials. I cannot help thinking that with a wiser British policy in India, our resources (industrial and belligerent) might by this time have been so developed, and would have been offered so gladly in alliance, that Britain thus supported would have been far more dreaded by her enemies.

In conclusion, *Sir Mirza Ismail* impressed upon the graduates the value of 'tolerance and unity'. "It is division and distrust," he observed, "that weakens India and so many good causes in India, and everybody knows that this province of Bengal is itself rent with faction. Here is something worthy of your mettle, graduates. You, who have lived happily together in college, go forth now, armed with generosity and decency, and destroy the devil of disunion."

The Vice-Chancellor's Speech

The Vice-Chancellor, *Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque,* in his address made a brief survey of the many and varied activities of the University. Referring to the new regulations under which the forthcoming Matriculation Examination was going to be held, he said that there were some in the province who doubted the wisdom or utility of these changes. He would not argue with those who held that the introduction of the mother-tongue as the medium of expression in the Matriculation teaching and examination was a retrograde measure. It was said that the new syllabus was overloaded and there were too many subjects for the Matriculation.

"I am yet to be convinced" he said, "that the subjects are too many or that the syllabus on any of these subjects is heavy, though I may frankly say that there is possibly room for a further consideration of the syllabus of elementary scientific knowledge. In any case, there is no doubt that the type of teaching must be on a different pattern from what has so long been followed if the requisite Matriculation standard has to be achieved. The University fully realized this aspect. We have over 1,500 schools in our charge including those in Assam. The organization of better teaching in schools has therefore been the aim of this University for some years past. The payment of minimum salary to teachers with greater security of tenure, provision of Provident Fund and other conditions are being enforced in our schools. Regulations for the revised B. T. course have also been changed recently. Unfortunately there are only two Training Colleges in Bengal and the necessity of taking some special steps with a view to training a larger number of teachers has been felt for some years past. Special classes for teachers have therefore been started by the University and only last year about 1,000 teachers were trained in the teaching of Geography, Elementary Science and other subjects. The number of teachers trained so far under this scheme within the last three years is over 2,500. It is hoped that in course of time every teacher will take advantage of the special training courses and that the teaching work in schools will achieve a higher standard than what it is to-day. But whatever that may be, a change in the standard of the Matriculation Examination was long overdue and we have introduced the new regulations only after mature deliberations and with our eyes fully open. Living in a world of competition to-day we cannot allow the best of our youths to spend ten years of early formative period in schools and in the end to make them a life-long victim of a mechanized system of education detrimental to the development of the individuality and the personality of the students.

Proceeding, the Vice-Chancellor referred to the proposed changes in the

Regulations making Islamic History and Culture as a subject by itself for the M.A. Examination. The proposals have been accepted by the Senate and are awating Government approval.

"May I," the Khan Bahadur said, "take this legitimate pride in the fact that once again it is the unique triumph of this University that it is the first here or elsewhere to take measures for the systematic provision for the promotion of study and research in Islamic History and Culture and that this subject had never received the compliment of recognition as a regular subject of study in any seat of learning ? There is none in this great country or even outside who will not admit to-day that even though at the time when the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture was first organized there were innumerable difficulties to be surmounted, that there were very few text-books and that the materials for lectures and teaching had to be collected from a variety of sources, this department has succeeded in producing many eminent scholars whose contributions to every branch of Ancient India's culture and civilization have won the recognition all over the world. I look forward to the time when the department of Islamic History and Culture inspite of the many initial difficulties before us to-day, will attract many eminent scholars who will reveal to the world the rich contributions of Islam to the history of civilization. For the Moslem students this will open out an empire of knowledge vast in extent and variety suiting their special aptitude requiring years of devoted study and research and will also give them an opportunity to consecrate their intellectual attainments to the service of Islam by expounding the fascinating record of the culture of Islam to the world, thus giving them a deeper insight into the basic features of their faith and its philosophy. Living in a world to-day when mistrust, misunderstanding and doubt dominate all aspects of human relationship, I look forward to the growth of a generation under the fostering care of this University who by their studies of the culture of Ancient India and of Islam will succeed in ushering an era of mutual understanding and amity, where a Hindu will remain a Hindu in every sense of the term, deeply loyal to his own culture and traditions, and a Mussalman will remain a true Moslem with all his burning faith and his deep convictions and yet they will grow up each respectful and tolerant of the other thus creating an atmosphere of intellectual understanding in this land of diverse faiths, and leading up to the laying of the true foundations of our national life.

Referring to the problem of Moslem education, the Vice-Chancellor drew the immediate attention of the Government and the public to the extreme paucity of Moslems iu the science classes. He hoped serious attention would be given to this problem with a view to encouraging Moslem students to join the science classes in larger numbers.

Turning to the graduates, the Khan Bahadur said : "Be worthy of your Degrees and keep the map of this province and this country before you in your life and career."

The Gurukul Vishva Vidyalaya Convocation

Mr. Aney's Convocation Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by *Loknayak Shri M. S. Aney*, M.L.A. at Gurukula Vishva Vidyalaya, Kangri, on *24th March 1940* :—

Mr. Principal, Professors, Students, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish at the very outset to thank you sincerely for the great honour you have done in asking me to deliver a Convocation Speech of the Gurukal Vishwa Vidyalaya, Kangri this year. Several distinguished public men, educationists and Scholars have come to perform this pleasant function in the previous years. I was therefore very much hesitating to accept the invitation which was so kindly extended to me on your behalf by my friend Prof. Indra.

I ultimately accepted it however as I felt that I would be able to come in direct contact at least for a short time with the philanthrophic souls who have

dedicated their lives to the service of the sacred cause of education and the preservation of the most precious learning handed down to us as a valuable legacy by the Rishis from times immemorial. A dip in the holy waters of the Ganges is described as sufficiently potent to cleanse the body and the mind of all the sins committed in the life. I believe that the association with the saintly persons has undoubtedly the efficacy of lifting up the mind from the sordid to the serene, from the terrestrial to the celestial and from the material to the spiritual planes. Although I had no misgivings that I had very little to teach, I felt that there was a great opportunity for me to learn something. The temptation proved too strong to resist. I yielded to the pressure of Prof. India, and you find me here in your midst.

Sir, on no subject have learned men waxed so eloquent and have been so vocal as on the ideals of education, its aims and so on. It would be a modest and moderate estimate if I say that not less than 1000 learned scholars in the civilised world deal with the subject of education in some form or other in their addresses every year. The only redeeming feature is that all of them do not speak in the same language, therefore most of the speeches are unintelligible and remain unnoticed by people not knowing the language. If all of them were to be read, by one individual, he will have to read not less than three speeches a day. There will be hardly time enough for that student to be attentive even to the physical needs and requirements of his body. When such a problem is presented to us in all seriousness, I am inclined to regard that when God is said to have confounded the tongues of men, it was a blessing in disguise of curse. If the whole world would have spoken the same language it would have been impossible even for the most advanced country to maintain an uptodate library anywhere. I very much doubt whether a common language throughout the world would have really conduced to the general happiness of mankind and promotion of community of interests or worked otherwise.

Without being pedantic I think that any educational system which is worthy of recognition must have certain definite objects to pursue and achieve. A purposeless system of education will only turn out young men who are unable to play any useful part in the world after they come out of their Alma-Mater. The system of education which prevails in almost all the Universities established in India is to my mind one without any definite purpose in view. The system leaves no imprint on the mind or the heart of the recipient. His mind after having gone through a course of education over 15 or 16 years is like a clean slate on which anything can be written. It is a mind which can be subjugated and brought under its fascinating control or spell by any author who knows how to wield his pen with facility and express himself in a fascinating style. He is not at all inclined to question the author and challenge his conclusions. But those who are brought up in the school of education which had never placed before the young boys any ideal of the purpose of human existence or human dignity and human responsibility, have really no mental, moral or spiritual convictions by which they should be able to judge the observations of the authors whom they happen to read. Most of their reading is for recreation and little if any for serious study. The result is that the Indian Educated Youth on the expiry of the period of his graduation generally moves with a vacant mind, unable to know what he is, what he should be, what is his mission in life and what is his goal. He does not know where to go and what to do. He is a man with no vision, no spirit of adventure and no initiative. Like a baby he still stands in need of spoon-feeding. Some one must provide him with the means of maintenance or else he will starve. It is an extremely pitiable and deplorable picture. But that is a reality to which it is no use to be blind.

Having thus drawn a rough sketch of the evil consequences of a purposeless system of education I will like to make a few observations as to the nature of the purpose which any educational system must be designed to serve.

Education, in my opinion, must recognise the salient fact of the duality that permeates the entire creation which the Indian philosophers generally describe as *Jara* and *Chaityana*. While the first is transient the second is eternal. Aim of education should be to give opportunities for the proper development of both these elements in the human being. Spirit of the man is to be distinguished from the flesh of the man for the purpose of education. The system must make an adequate provision for the education of both. Before chalking out any curriculum of study or course of discipline it is necessary to clarify the ideas regarding the spirit and the flesh a little more. The spirit in the individual human being is the

particle of the same eternal spirit which creates, preserves and destroys the phenomenal universe. *Janmadyasa Jata* is the definition given by Badaryan in his Vedanta sutra. The spiritual and religious education must aim to awaken in the individual the consciousness of being one with that Universal Spirit, the unborn primary cause of the creation and to mould the course of life so as to be consistent with this higher and nobler conception of his existence. I regard this part of the educational system as the most essential part of it. A proper conception of man's relation to the creator and his own place in the creation, is essential for him to play his part faithfully and intelligently. Unless particular attention is paid to the fostering of this spiritual faculty there is little chance for the humanity as a whole to make any real progress towards the goal of universal peace and universal brotherhood. Indifference to the real religious education so conspicuous in the educational systems has been the main reason of the numerous evils that make human existence miserable, and human history a story of perpetual strife and perennial factions. Indian Rishis have valued this aspect of human development as not merely most precious but essential and indispensable and bestowed greatest thought over the same. A careful study of our religious literature and the philosophical systems coupled with rigid attention to the observance of the rules laid down in the Shastras for the observance of Brahmacharya Ashram can serve to gradually uphold this spiritual faculty. The period of training will certainly help the development of character emotions and other finer and sublime qualities which constitute the essence of the spiritual man. That the man can be in direct communion with his God and realise the bliss of being one with him is an article of faith with those who are brought up in the Vedic Culture. God's existence and the religious knowledge that serves as a means to its realisation are the target of the criticism mainly by those who have been in recent years coming in contact with the Communist cult and its teachings. That cult will sap and uproot the very foundations of human civilisation and culture. The faith in God as the perennial fountain of all bliss and source of inspiration to all in their pursuit of the happiness of their fellow-beings on the earth is the bedrock of Vedic culture. It is not a mere dogma but a rule of life that has to be taught and made part of his very existence by the study of the Vedic and philosophic literature and by the loyal and devout observance of the rules of the Brahmacharya Ashram, if the three cardinal injunctions speak the truth, follow religion and study the Vedas and Sastras expounding vedic knowledge and vedic religion) be faithfully observed, the problem of the spiritual education of man can be satisfactorily solved. Sir, I went through the *Niyamabali* and *Pathbidhi* of this great Gurukul Vishva Vidyalaya. I was greatly delighted to find that due emphasis is given there on this aspect of education.

Having so far dealt with what I have described as the education of the *Chaityana* spirit the permanent within him, I must also make a few observation on the education of the fleeting element the flesh or *Jara* in him. The physical existence of a man in its widest sense is only an environment for the soul to live. Human body is described something in the nature of garments which a man may cast off or change in accordance with the changes in the environments under which he has to live. All that is comprised in the term study of Science. Literature and arts comes within the sphere of the subjects of the education of the flesh of the man. Here the educationist must carefully take note of the times and surroundings under which the human body has to grow and be useful. He has to study the problem of scientific education of his students with the same vigilance which the commander in chief in charge of a big national army generally gives in the formation of his army. He has to carefully note the changes that are coming over the methods of war-fare, the improvements in the machines and weapons designed to defeat and destroy the enemies, the size and formation of the regiments so as to make them mobile and so on. Greater attention has to be given to the development and adjustment of details and less to the principles. The education of the flesh in man must serve to make him a proper and useful and efficient unit of a big organisation that has to play a part in peace and war continuously for its own progress in particular and that of the humanity in general. The educationist must therefore provide all facilities to the students to get the latest and up-to-date knowledge of the sciences and arts. The great economic and industrial progress of Europe and America is mainly due to the marvellous advance which the applied sciences have made with the help of the research work carried on systematically and patiently by the scholars and scientists in their laboratories in those countries. India is far behind the civilised nations of the world in this respect. During the last quarter of a century the attention of the Indian Scientists is being gradually drawn to the

backwardness of the country and a change for the better is undoubtedly coming over. Indian research has now gained a footing in the world of Science. It has carved out a place for itself. But let it not be ignored that the pace of this progress is still very slow. The reasons are obvious. Our Universities are not able to provide the research scholars with all the facilities and there is not sufficient encouragement forthcoming from the quarters to which this class of workers generally looks up for support. I will consider as wholly defective any scheme of education that does not recognise the importance of the study of the physical sciences and make adequate provision for their study and research in its curriculum.

I have referred already to the necessity of training the individual to be a fit and efficient unit of a big organisation which has to think, move and act collectively if it wants to survive the strenuous struggle for existence that is going on all over the world. The struggle sometimes appears in the garb of economic competition, sometimes it manifests itself in the form of military oppression. At times it dissembles itself in the innocent form of philanthrophy and missionary zeal. But all the same it is one and the same struggle carried on by the strong against the weak, by the literate against the ignorant and by the rich against the poor people for domination and exploitation. It must be one of the avowed objects of our big national universities to equip the youth with the strength and spirit to fight this sort of domination. Association with a foreigner on terms of equality is compatible with the dignity and self-respect of any people. But long and abject submission by one people to the will and rule of another people cannot continue long without distinct demonstration and degeneration of the people who are ruled.

India has been struggling in her own way for the last fifty years. We have now discovered that the real obstacle in the way of our immediate emancipation is that we are helpless in the matter of our defence. How can you defend India even if self-government be established here to-day or to-morrow? My blood boils with indignation when an Englishman puts this question to the Indians. He is responsible for the wholesale disarmament of the people of the India after their subjugation by him. He is responsible again for the denial of any military career to her son. He is responsible for killing the martial spirit of the millions of people in this land nearly for a century. I am fully aware that a free India is only a dream so long as Indians are not able to take up the charge of their defence. I do not believe in the theory that the non-violent weapons can effectively insure for all time to come against external oppression. Denial of the use of the requisite degree of violence either by an individual or by a community of people claiming to be a nation even in matters of self-defence is an impractical and suicidal proposition. Such a people can not survive for any length of time. Although the imperative importance of training the people in the art of the defence of the country has been recognised by some of the leading Indian leaders many years ago, no attempt was made by anybody till my esteemed friend and leader Dr. Moonje took up this question in right earnest and pursued it with his characteristic zeal and energy. There are people who styling themselves as followers of the great apostle of Truth and Non-violence of Revered Mahatma Gandhi of Shegaon, not only minimise but even jeer at the establishment of the Bhosla Military School at Nasik. But I have no doubt that a grateful posterity will recognise the service rendered by him to the people of the country. The establishment of the Bhosla Military School is an epoch-making event in the history of Modern India and it has already begun to have favourable and desirable reactions on the course of education in the country. At present we see a small beginning made here and there, but in a few years the movement will gain in strength and volume and momentum.

I hope that that educationists in charge of this great Seminary of learning where their main ambition or rather aspiration is to train the youths in the Vedic Culture and Vedic traditions so as to make them worthy successors of the Great Aryans who once carried the flag of Vedic civilisation all over the world are not oblivious to the need of military training of the boys.

Let the youths have before them the ideal of guru Drona-Acharya—

Who is described in the above couplet as carrying 4 Vedas in the front and the bow and an arrow on his back. He is the embodiment of the Bramha and the Kshatra the spiritual and the martial spirit equipped with both power to curse and the weapons to strike.

That is the ideal which every Brahamachari should in brief place before himself. This institution will in course of time give India the men who will be the protectors of the Indian Nation *Rastragop Purohit* equipped with the knowledge of the science and art of government both in its statical and dynamic from.

The Aiteya Brahman says—
The nation which is led by the Rashtra Gopa purohit versed alike in the arts of war and peace will have its martial classes full of the spirit of valour and the industrialists and traders and the labouring people all of one mind. Such nation will make an all round and harmonious progress.

Thackersay Women's University Convocation

Sir Sitaram's Opening Speech

The following is the text of the opening speech by *Sir Sitaram S. Patkar,* Kt., B A., LL. B., the Chancellor of the Shreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey Indian Women's University, Bombay on the occasion of the 24th Convocation on the *29th of June 1940* :—

Ladies & Gentlemen,

On the occasion of the twenty-fourth convocation of the Shreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey Indian Women's University, I would like to make a few preliminary remarks before inviting Sir M. Visvesvaraya to deliver the convocation address.

This Convocation is held under the cloud of an Epic War. I hope the cloud will soon disappear and Great Britain will come out victorious in the end.

It is unnecessary on this occasion to dilate upon the inception of this University, its earlier struggles, and the several stages through which this University like many other novel experiments had necessarily to pass viz. ridicule, opposition, appreciation and finally active support. It is a matter of singular good fortune that this University started by Prof. D. K. Karve on the model of Japan's Women's University secured at a comparatively early stage the magnificent and princely donation of fifteen lacs of rupees from Sir Vithaldas Thackersey. The University would not have reached its present position but for the annual grant of Rs. 52,500/- interest on the amount of the donation of Sir Vithaldas Thackersey. Apart from the donation of Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, the University has now been in a position to possess moveable property at Poona and Bombay to the extent of eight lacs and a half. The University is making rapid and satisfactory progress in recent years and especially during the last five years.

Since the centre of the University was transferred to Bombay on 1st January 1936 in accordance with the wishes of the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, the University has been attracting public support and and Government patronage in an increasing measure. The Government of Bombay during the regime of Lord Brabourne gave a grant-in-aid of rupees fifty thousand, and was instrumental in securing a similar grant of a like amount from the Government of India for the acquisition of a plot of land with a building on Carnegy Road, Marine Lines, Bombay for about two lacs and a half. The college in Bombay was conducted in the Kanyashala building before the year 1935 in the morning classes. The number of students was very meagre. The number has now increased to nearly one hundred and is expected to increase this year. The University is, therefore, faced with the problem of constructing a new building for the college and either constructing an additional building or utilising the present building as a Hostel foı the college students. Owing mainly to the efforts of Lady Thackersey who has taken a very keen interest in the advancement and progress of the University, a donation of one lac of rupees in Government Promissory Notes has been secured from Seth Gordhandas Khetsi Trust managed by Seth Chaturbhuj Vallabhdas Mankermi for the erection of a building for the S. N. D. Thackersey College for women in Bombay. The University is indebted to Seth Chaturbhuj Vallabhdas Mankermi for making a substantial donation in furtherance of the cause of education of women. There is also a balance of rupees fity thousand to the credit of the Building Fund. It is hoped that the general public will help the University by providing additional funds for constructing a building for the college and a separate Assembly Hall, Science Laboratory and Library.

A proposal is under consideration of the University to acquire two adjacent plots from the Government of India. If the plots are acquired by strangers, it

would be impossible to secure any additional land even if the University feels the urgent necessity for expansion. If on the other hand the plots are secured by the University all prospective difficulties on this score are likely to disappear for all time to come. If the Senate approves of the proposal, it would be possible to secure the adjacent plots at reasonable rates and also substantial grants-in-aid from the Government of India and the Bombay Government for the purpose as on the last occasion.

A donation of rupees twenty thousand is promised as a nucleus of the fund for the construction of a building for the S. N. D. Thackersey Kanyashala, Bombay. An additional amount of a lac of rupees will be required for the building. An attempt will be made to collect the funds for the purpose. Prof. D. K. Karve has kindly agreed to work in that direction.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the University will soon complete its twenty-five years of existence, and it would be an appropriate occasion to celebrate its silver jubilee after the lapse of one or two years. The University authorities trust that the public will give a generous response to the call of the University for the funds necessary for constructing additional buildings, acquiring the adjacent plots, extending the activities of the University and augmenting the permanent fund of the University.

The University is indebted to the Government of Bombay for giving substantial grants to our High Schools. The Government of Bombay have been graciously pleased to award an annual recurring grant of rupees five thousand to our University. The University authorities are grateful to the Government of Bombay for this mark of appreciation of the work of the University, and the substantial help in reducing the annual deficit caused by the growing expenditure even after the exercise of stringent economy in various directions. The public support will, it is hoped, be forthcoming in a larger measure in the future in view of the fact that the cost incurred in meeting the bare wants of the University is growing every year and many other improvements are awaiting consideration on account of want of funds.

After referring to the financial condition of the University, I will now refer to the progress made by it in the field of educational efficiency. The number of students studying in the colleges is about 215. The number of students in the High Schools conducted by and affiliated to the University is 5683. The number of students who graduated upto the last year was 397 and this year 53 students have passed the G. A. examination.

Strenuous efforts are made by the University to raise the standard of education from time to time. An application was made on the 14th April 1938 to the Government of Bombay to grant statutory recognition to the University at an early date. Pending the result of the application for statutory recognition, the Government of Bombay on the 10th of December 1938, as an interim measure, recognized the degrees of the University for appointment to all Government and Semi-Government services and posts. Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, the then Premier and Minister of Education, in his Convocation Address last year, observed : "I can well appreciate the anxiety of your governing body to obtain statutory recognition for your University from Government. I can only express the hope that all the difficulties in your way may soon be removed and that you may be able to obtain recognition in the near future. All that Government can do to help to bring about this end, we shall endeavour to do." I hope that favourable circumstances will soon come into existence and bring about the consumation devoutly wished for, and that the Government of Bombay in due course by a Legislative Act will award statutory recognition to our University in the same manner as they have recognized the degrees of our University for Government and semi-Government services by an executive order.

I am glad to inform you that the Sind Government have also recognized the degrees of our University by Government Resolution No. 627 B/40 dated 30th April 1940, a copy of which was recently received.

The Government of Bombay suggested on 4th April 1939 that a small Committee be appointed by the University to examine into and report to the University on the modifications necessary in the courses of study, and that it should consist of three members to be nominated by Government and three by the University. Accordingly a representative committee was appointed and the terms of reference to the committee were as follows :—"With a view to ensure a high standard of efficiency among its graduates, to add to or modify the courses of study to suit modern needs and at the same time make the University retain its

distinctive features as a Women's University." The report of the committee was received on the 14th June 1940. It will be placed for consideration before the Senate, and further steps will be taken in accordance with the final decision of the Senate. It is hoped that the report of the Committee will eventually secure a high standard of efficiency among the graduates, and a modification of the courses of study so as to suit modern requirements and make the University retain its distinctive features as a Women's University. I may state that strenuous efforts were made by the University authorities to raise the standard of education from time to time. A Committee was appointed by the Senate to revise the courses of studies and curricula in order to bring the same upto modern requirements of an up-to-date Women's University in India, and to settle the text books for the same. This Committee made recommendations after careful and mature and unhurried consideration. The recommedations of the previously appointed Committee were placed before the Committee appointed by the University at the suggestion of the Bombay Government who have in their report acknowledged the considerable help received by them in their work from the labours of the previous Committee. The standard of education however high that may be eventually approved and sanctioned to increase the efficiency of the graduates of the University. The acid test of the worth and excellence of any educational institution is the efficiency, culture and character of its alumni.

The University has already made provision for primary School teachers' Diploma examination so as to provide a career as teachers in the case of students who may not have passed the Entrance examination of the University. A provision is also made for a diploma in teaching (D. T.) in case of students who have graduated and passed the G. A. examination. Proposal will be placed for consideration before the Senate this year for introducing an additional diploma in teaching examination at an intermediate stage in the case of students who have passed the Entrance examination of the University. The recent report of the educational experts Messrs. Abbott and Wood has dealt with the importance of employment of women teachers in connection with the education of young children especially in its primary stage, and expressed an opinion that the practice in India in employing male teachers at the primary stage came to them as a shock, and that until a system of infant classes staffed by trained women is established in India, education will remain unsound at its very foundation. This University which gives education through the medium of Indian languages will provide efficient teachers. The report also expresses the opinion that "vernacular should be the medium of instruction throughout the higher secondary schools leaving English to take its extremely important place as a compulsory first language". The special feature of this University of imparting education through the mother tongue which was ridiculed in its initial stage is now being slowly adopted by the older Universities and is recommended by educational experts.

This University will not merely provide efficient teachers, but is likely to turn out graduates who will be able to come into intimate touch with the masses, and address the different sections of the public in their mother-tongue. Some of the graduates of this University are managing or assist in managing educational institutions in this Province.

I may mention that a High School at Poona, a High School at Belgaum and a High School at Dadar have opened special classes in the higher standards with alternative courses of this University. The Heads of other High Schools for girls by opening VI and VII standard classes with the alternative courses of this University will not only be helping themselves but also the middle class public and the Indian Women's University.

It will be difficult to extend the activities of this University without adequate public support and Government aid. I have therefore to appeal to the public and the Government to extend their support and patronage to enable this University to make further progress and to extend the nation-building activities of the University.

We have invited in the past many eminent men and women to deliver the convocation address. This year we are fortunate that Sir Mokshagundum Visvesvaraya has kindly consented to deliver the convocation address. He is the cleverest Engineer where engineering skill is required. His advice is sought in matters of irrigation and water works. He was the Dewan of the Mysore State for over seven years and established his reputation as a brilliant and popular administrator. He is an astute politician where political questions have to be thrashed out. His advice is sought by the National Planning

Committee. He is a scholar and has the degree of LL. D. conferred on him. He is an author of high reputation and has published several books on important subjects. He has extensively travelled in Europe, America and Japan and also round the world. In this connection it may be mentioned that he is a friend of the Thackersey family and was a fellow traveller with Sir Vithaldas and Lady Thackersey who are intimately connected with this University. He is a sound economist and his advice is sought after by several institutions for retrenching and improving their administration. His convocation address will, I am sure, be instructive and inspiring to the graduates and members of this University and the general public.

I shall now request Sir M. Visvesvaraya to deliver his address.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya's Convocation Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by *Sir M. Visvesvaraya*, K.C.I.E., L.L.D. :—

Mr. *Chancellor*, *Members of the Senate*, *Ladies and Gentlemen*,

I am deeply appreciative of the honour done to me by the invitation to deliver the usual address at this year's Convocation. There are colleges in this country, as in other parts of the world, dedicated to the higher education of women but a university meant exclusively for the education of girls and women is a rare phenomenon. Many young women in this Province have long been attending men's colleges. This is more in accord with democratic ideas which dominate a large circle of Indian leaders and politicians. As against this, however, the Indian social system is still largely inclined to segregation of sexes. This University has been brought into existence partly to meet this social ideal. It does not form part of the official educational system of the province but is the outcome of local philanthropic effort.

The University was started in Poona and has developed from small beginnings. It serves at present a threefold purpose : one is to impart higher education to women in their own mother tongue, English being treated as a separate compulsory subject ; a second object is to give instruction in certain subjects particularly useful for the life career of a woman ; a third and perhaps the most distinctive service the University is doing is that it provides higher education of the University grade to girls whose parents or parents-in-law are opposed to co-education.

Judging from the accounts that have come down to us from legendary times, there were women in ancient India who were highly educated and who held positions of influence and trust in the domestic and social life of that period. They lost that position in the dark ages that followed. It was in the middle of the last century that men of liberal views came forward to encourage the establishment of schools for the education of girls and women. The general public of those days, however, were none too favourable to the movement. A Parsi Girls' educational institution in Bombay has on record in its annals a statement that female education in the middle of the last century was "like a maid whom there were none to praise and very few to love."

The modern feminist movement had its origin in the democratic soil of America. In England women's claim to equal political status with men was conceded after they proved their capacity to do successfully much of man's work in the last great War. The concession was also largely due to the suffragette movement before and after the War.

The growth of education and the recent rise in the status of women in India is to a material extent due to corresponding developments in the Western world. For a great many years India has been sending young men and women to England and foreign countries for their education. Large numbers of Indians constantly travel abroad for business, health or pleasure and the British administrators in India have set before Indians, in official functions, the British social standards and practices as the highest examples of their class.

Women in this country have been given the power to vote in the elections for local bodies and for Legislative Assemblies. Several have distinguished themselves as educationists, doctors, legislators, and some few also as public speakers and lawyers. More interesting still, quite a number of women have contributed scientific papers at recent sessions of the Indian Science Congress. In cities like Bombay, women move freely with men in society, in

public gatherings, in clubs, in field sports and even on the race course. This being a land of mass illiteracy, the proportion of educated women is small and it is, therefore, all the more creditable that so many have given a good account of themselves. They are ever active in associations and conferences, in promoting mass education, pleading the cause of political freedom, and hastening the pace of social reform. We have reason to be proud of the achievements of our sisters in the comparatively short period of a single generation.

The facts about the origin of this University are well-known. The University was started by the enthusiasm and self-sacrificing labours of Professor D. K. Karve and it secured an enduring financial status by the munificent donation given by the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey. Both these gentlemen derived their inspiration, which led to the establishment of this University, from the example of the Women's University in Tokyo (Japan) which as far as my information goes is the only other Women's University in the world.

It was in the year 1919 immediately after the War that Sir Vithaldas and Lady Thackersey visited the Women's University in Tokyo. I may add, incidentally, that I happened to be in Tokyo as a fellow traveller with them at the time of their visit. I should like to recall with gratitude the signal help and courtesy we received on that occasion from the late Prince Okuma who was then the President of the Tokyo Women's University.

After some vicissitudes, the S. N. D. T. Indian Women's University has been reorganised and its headquarters transferred from Poona to Bombay City. This transfer has brought the institution more prominently to public notice and has materially helped to enlarge its circle of friends and supporters. Fairly substantial subscriptions are coming in, and very recently the Government of Bombay and the Government of India have made generous contributions towards the construction of a permanent University hall and lecture rooms. It is understood that the scheme of instruction is also undergoing revision by an authoritative committee with a view to raise the standard of examinations to a level acceptable to Government and thereby secure statutory recognition for its degrees. This being a unique local enterprise, it is hoped that some portion of the moneys, set apart in the coming years as gifts and charities by the rich citizens of Bombay, will become available for strengthening and expanding this most worthy institution.

On an occasion like this, grateful reference is due to the services rendered by the successive Chancellors of the University from Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Sir Mahadeva B. Chaubal to Sir Chunilal V. Mehta and Sir Sitaram S. Patkar. In recent years I am informed Lady Premlila Thackersey has been working unobtrusively and tirelessly to secure sympathy and support for a cause to which her distinguished husband bequeathed the bulk of his fortune.

In what follows I shall confine myself to a few observations on the present position of women in India and the manner in which both their education and status might be extended to enable them to take an effective share with their menfolk in the manifold activities which life in the twentieth century demands from every nation which wishes to keep abreast of the times.

The chief aim of the great majority of women in life is to secure an acceptable husband and settle down to a happy married life. Every position, if it is to be satisfactorily filled, requires preparation and training. In Japan, there is special preparation for a wife's position known as "bridal training." In that country, a girl has got to know sewing before she becomes eligible for marriage; she has to know how to manage a home; she should have at least an elementary knowledge of domestic economy and child psychology; she should have learnt or should learn, to provide herself with some occupation for her leisure time. In the eyes of men of forethought and ambition, a woman trained on these lines to the profession of wifehood, is a far more desirable companion than an amateur wife. The training which a girl gets in her own home and under her own mother in Indian homes is admirable as far as it goes, but modern life has introduced many complexities to deal with for which a regular and systematic training is necessary.

Should woman qualify herself to earn a living and share financial responsibility for housekeeping with her husband, is another important question. There is no clearly understood direction in respect to this question in Indian social life. The middle class population dislike to see their womenfolk employed in salaried posts or wage-earning occupations outside their homes. The vast majority of women of the peasant and labour population, attend to both outdoor work and housekeeping. They have no education or training, their occupations

are unorganised and many of them get no fixed wages. The careers of these unfortunate women are still primitive, ill-regulated and miserable.

I fear few persons among the public, save those specially associated with education or with the administration of educational institutions, are aware that in this country mass education of girls and women is at a very low level. The proportion of literate female population according to the latest statistics available is 3.8 per 100 in the Province of Bombay and 2.4 per 100 for British India. Only one in four of the girls of school-going age are attending educational institutions in Bombay and one in six in the whole of British India. The rest of the female population is growing up illiterate.

In the United States of America and Canada, the proportion of scholars, both male and female, under instruction to the total population of those countries is about 24 per cent in each case. In Japan the proportion is 19 per cent but in India it is less than 5 per cent. The comparison brought out by these figures shows what great value modern nations attach to the education of their womenfolk and how deplorably neglected the same duty is in this country.

There are three grades or stages of education for both the male and female school-going population, namely, elementary, secondary and university, besides vocational, professional and special courses corresponding to each grade. The subjects or courses of study for girls and women will vary to a small extent from those for boys and men.

It is understood that in primary education up to the age of about 11, the subjects taught will be the same for both boys and girls. Girls who end their education with the primary stage will need a supplementary practical course in housekeeping and domestic economy including cookery and sewing.

In the secondary education stage there is first the academic or literary education which the majority of the girls usually undergo and there will also be a considerable choice of training for them of a practical character.

In the University grade, many young women between the ages of 16 and 23 are studying in the College classes of the regular Men's Universities with a view to take a degree. The Univerity course may be in Arts or Science or in a profession like Medicine, Teaching, Law or Architecture. One girl in this province is attending the Engineering College to qualify herself for the profession of an Engineer.

Till a couple of generations ago, men of culture and status everywhere except perhaps in America, held conservative views respecting women's education. It was about the year 1900, that women were admitted to University degrees in England. Japan was also conservative. I was informed that up to the year 1919 the National University of Tokyo (not the Women's University already referred to) had produced only two women graduates.

Indian women require education of the sort necessary to give them power of judgment and strength of purpose to feel their responsibility for their future at an early age. In my view all girls should receive citizenship training and a knowledge of elementary economics to make them useful citizens.

Healthy social customs and practices are being slowly evolved in this country as a result of the example set by progressive communities living in our midst.

In Western life a girl meets her future husband and marriage follows only when the couple are satisfied that they suit each. The flirtation in this period is a prologue to marriage. Among Indian families the case is different; the choice is generally made by the parents or friends. A distinguished Indian educationist once said to an English friend "You marry to woman you love, we love the woman we marry".

One of the most recent reforms is postponement of the marriageable age of girls by legislation. An evil practice amongst us is the very common one of marrying young men before they begin to earn a living. Another is the payment of a dowry which makes the parents regard the birth of a daughter as a liability and a curse. Segregation of women was a serious handicap till a couple of generations ago. A European lady practitioner in Bombay complained, in a public speech, I believe in the eighties of the last century, that when a male European medical practitioner of those days went to see a high class Hindu lady patient, there were occasions when he had to diagnose the disease by examining the tongue put through a slit in the purdah, or a hand thrust through a door chink. To-day in many parts of the country the purdah is all but gone among the educated classes.

The growth of education and economic independence is leading to the substitution of reason for authority in the family. The breakdown of the joint family system, which is taking place, is a consequence. Since progressive foreign nations

are making good use of their women's intelligence and working capacity, a similar use in this country cannot be postponed without detriment to our economic safety and national progress.

The freedom of women in every country has varied with their education and the degree of the country's advance in civilization. Wherever education has developed, the emancipation of women has followed as a matter of course.

As remarked before, the fight for woman's freedom began in America. The American young woman is given liberty much earlier than in the rest of the world, although she does not marry until her understandings are exercised and ripened. She usually gets, early in life, a more complete knowledge of the struggles of life and of the world about her. Her elders are far from hiding from her the corruptions and struggles of the world. They prefer that she should see them and train herself to shun them. A French writer, De Tocqueville, who visited the United States of America towards the middle of the last century has remarked : "If I were asked to what the singular prosperity and growing strength of the Americans ought to be attributed, I would reply,—to the superiority of their women".

The middle class women of England fought valiantly for their rights but after the rights were conceded, they have shown no particular inclination to follow up their successes by further demands. They have been content generally to withdraw to the comforts of home life, despite the subordinate position in which it holds them. But among the working classes, there is the same awakening as in America, there is a large and growing class of women who prefer to work in the industries and be wage-earners rather than home-minders. Japan seems to follow England and Europe in making profitable use of women's labour as producers both in agriculture and industry.

In Russia a great social revolution has taken place. Women have the same legal status as men and have begun to occupy important administrative posts. The social life of that country it not yet finally established, and we have to wait for the further working of the experiment before drawing any lessons from it.

In India the Hindu Law requires revision so as to give the widow and the daughter a definite share in the property of a person dying intestate whether the property is inherited or self-acquired. As the woman has no economic independence, the number of women voters enfranchised under the new Government of India Act is only 5 or 6 million as against about 30 million male voters.

Women's main problem has always been marriage. New view points of the women of the West on the marriage question are summarised with startling clearness in the following extract taken from a recent press cutting. I have been unable to identify the source of the cutting :—

"Now-a-days most girls follow some sort of a career, Men's tastes also have become sophisticated. Men find, after they have become mature themselves, that the woman who has had time to read and study and think... is a more fascinating companion than the girls who can only giggle and chatter."

"The unmarried woman of to-day is jolly and cheerful and regards her married sisters more often with pity than with envy. She did not marry because the right man did not come along or because she prepared her job to a husband. And, anyway, she has found the world so full of a number of things besides husbands that she has been as happy as a queen."

Our problems in India concerning women differ in some respects from those Western countries and even Japan. The aspects of women's life which ought to concern us on an occasion like this are mainly three, namely, women's progress in education, the degree of problem conceded to them, and the contribution they are making to the country's progress, as compared with their sisters in foreign lands.

Women form half the population of the country and the bulk of that half is practically uneducated and untrained. There is no effort or policy to see women gainfully employed. Our women are unable through lack of organisation and previous preparation to do even a fraction of the work that women of organised industrial countries of the West are enabled to put in.

Great changes are coming over the lives of the people of the West. This being a democratic age, a democratic education is indispensable to protect women from the dangers which surround them. The political equality of women in this country is going on at a fairly brisk pace ; neither Government nor the forward classes seem inclined to interfere with its growth. But their economic emancipation is still very weak. The social atmosphere is not favourable to women taking up work. The richer class women do little work of a productive nature. Those of the middle classes are willing to take up employment but their menfolk

have delicate notions of propriety about salaried occupations for their women. As for the working classes, we have seen, they are uneducated and unorganized and their labour is inefficient. On the whole the women population of this country, though a large portion of them work very hard, are unable, through lack of organization and thought-out policies, to contribute any appreciable direct share to the wealth producing activities of the country.

Social enancipation is also making fair progress. Adult marriages, inter-caste alliances, inter-dining and closer association between the castes, the abandonment of the purdah and many minor reforms are slowly making headway. These reforms would have proceeded much faster had elementary education been given the prominence that it receives in all progressive countries.

The three great needs which have been clamouring for attention in this country for two or three generations past have been mass education, industries and defence. Elementary education among the masses will help social reform ; the practice of industries will give the people economic power ; and knowledge of defence will give them military strength to defend property and honour when attacked. In these three matters, affairs are in a mess. We have a poor heritage left to us by our ancestors and predecessors. Women should also take note of these dire national wants.

Some six years ago, I had occasion to remark : "If the average woman in this country is enabled to do even two-thirds of the work of a man and if the work of both men and women is simultaneously regulated by local and national organizations, the capacity of the nation to build up prosperity will advance at a bound".

The numerous problems which affect our women require continuous study, research and investigation if adequate attention is to be paid to their future welfare. It should be possible to bring together a representative Committee of trusted and patriotic citizens to look to these problems in the near future. Such a Committee would be able to get the problems examined by experts and specialists, gather the views and opinions of both conservative countrymen and reformers, focus opinions, and give a reasonable lead to the country. I ecisions and views expressed by such a Committee at regular intervals will keep the country moving on safe lines. At any rate there will be less drift than there is at present.

Before I conclude, I wish both on behalf of the audience and myself to congratulate the young ladies present who have received degrees, and other marks of distinction, at the hands of the Chancellor this afternoon. I also desire to follow up the congratulations with a few words of advice in the customary manner.

It has been well said : Life is a struggle, life is hard and painful, but we have within us strength to surmount our stumbling blocks. The University should supply you with adequate introduction to the coming new world and to the duties of citizenship likely to be demanded of you, but there is need for unceasing vigilance on your own part to prepare yourself for the struggle. You have to rely on yourself ; no one person can shape the life of another.

Every young woman has need to accustom herself to some simple form of physical exercise in the open air. The simplest and best is walking.

Health is the vital principle of bliss,
And exercise of health

Regular exercise will help you to keep fit always, but you should take particular care of your health till you are married, because at that period of life, your face is to some extent your fortune.

If you want a happy cheerful life, good health, tidiness and personal charm are indispensable. Neatness of dress, a face always lighted with sympathy, will be greatly appreciated by the man with whom you share your life.

Men undertake adventures, they take risks, to win the esteem of the women they love. There are numerous instances of great men who have acknowledged their indebtedness to women for the inspiration they received for many a notable achievement on their part.

To relations and friends in social life, a woman of real sympathy and charm is a spiritual tonic.

Some regular work or occupation should be found for the hand or the brain to give you employment during the vacant hours of which the average women will have many. In the case of women of talent, too much stress should not be laid on domestic duties. In the country's larger interests, she should be free to take up any employment for which she may be best qualified.

The qualities most appreciated in women, next to gentility and personal

charm, are discipline, devotion, self-restraint, tact, and a spirit of right thinking and right living.

Beauty in women is admired, talent is adored ; but a good name will always be the brightest jewel of their lives.

I cannot close this address, at a time like this, without saying a word or two on a subject that is uppermost in the thoughts of all of us. We are living through the second of the two most terrible wars that history knows anything about. The news of the carnage of fighting men and civilians and the destruction of ships and stores and property, that is filtering into this country from hour to hour, is distressing in the extreme. Many of us have personal friends in England and our thoughts at this hour are constantly with them. Our foremost wish and prayer is that this country may be enabled to go to the help of the Allies, as quickly and effectively as circumstances permit at this hour of trial, to take its part in bringing about a new and better world order, dominated by ideals of brotherhood and love among nations.

The Delhi University Convocation

Mr. Sargent's Convocation Address

The following is the Convocation Address by *Mr. John Sargent,* M.A. Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, on the occasion of the Eighteenth Convocation of the University of Delhi held on the *16th March, 1940* :—

Mr. Pro-Chancellor, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and members of the Court, Ladies and Gentlemen.—

I much appreciate the invitation to deliver an address at the Convocation of Delhi University this afternoon. I know of course that I am only an eleventh hour substitute for the more famous men who for one reason or another have been unable to come and speak to you and I am only sorry that I have not had more time in which to prepare something more worthy of the occasion.

My official duty as well as my personal interests make me try to keep abreast of what is happening in Indian education by reading, so far as time allows, both the educational papers and the news about education which appears in the ordinary press. It is gratifying in many ways though disconcerting in the present instance, to note the prominence which is given to convocation addresses. Whatever else he may think about his elders and betters, no student of an Indian university has any right to complain that they neglect to offer him good advice. If sage counsel could produce it, the millennium would already be in sight. There is no need therefore for me to spend any time this afternoon trying to put old heads on young shoulders. I am not sure that I should want to do it even if I could. If I ever had any influence with young men and women, I should like to use it to fire and not to damp the generous enthusiasms of youth. Only let them be generous in all their manifestations in the widest sense of that fine word.

I must not trespass, if I can help it, on the Pro-Chancellor's ground but the vista which has recently been unfolded before the eyes of all those who have this University's future at heart, both by the Vice-Chancellor's epoch making memorandum and by the sympathetic attitude of the Government of India towards it, would make it difficult for any speaker to-day to avoid some reference to a matter of such immediate interest. There are some words from Milton's Tractate of Education which, if his modesty had allowed, Sir Maurice might have had printed on the first page of his memorandum. "I shall detain you no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do but straight conduct you to a hill side, where I will point you out the right path of a virtuous and noble education ; laborious indeed at the first ascent but also so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on each side that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming." I shall only attempt to touch rather briefly on one or two aspects of the Vice-Chancellor's programme of development. I want to deal principally with his recommendation that as a necessary step towards ensuring the quality which ought to be the distinguishing mark of a university in

the Capital city of India, the normal degree course should be extended to three years. I am in whole-hearted agreement with the Vice-Chancellor that a decision in favour of the extended course should have the effect of raising standards all round and making a Delhi degree a more desirable thing. At the same time it is clear that to give effect to this will be 'laborious at the first ascent' and that a great deal of reorganisation will have to be done both inside and outside the University if the Vice-Chancellor's aspiration is to be realised, for the institution of a three-year course in place of the present four-year period which intervenes between Matriculation and Graduation must affect not only the University itself but also all those schools from which students of the University are drawn. I recognise that the issue is a crucial one and may well become a controversial one also, if it is not handled with the utmost tact, good-will and, if need be, self-sacrifice by the various interests concerned. This is a matter of particular interest to me because such study as I have been able to make of the educational problems of this vast country has emphasised the need for reconsidering the whole function of the secondary or high school stage in any comprehensive system of national education.

If the normal degree course is to become one of three years and the general standard is also to be raised, it means that the work now done in the first year Intermediate classes must be more than covered at the pre-university stage. If the work is not done as well then as it is being done now, the standard of university scholarship, so far from rising, must inevitably fall. This issue is by no means a new one. It has been debated up and down this country for years past by persons concerned not only with university education but also with the organisation of the secondary or high school system. We have to face a concensus of opinion among experts that the four year post-matriculation course should not be altered unless and until the secondary system of education is reorganised and put on an efficient basis.

What are the advantages of and objections to such a reorganisation ?

Let me say here that I am not one of those people who can find no good in the present Indian universities and would gladly see them all converted into technical institutions. For reasons which will I hope be clear before I have finished, I am a profound believer in the value of education at the university stage and I should view with the gravest concern any change which might adversely affect its cultural influence. Let me, however, look at the quesition first of all from the point of view of the secondary or high school.

When I look back on the educational history of my own country during the present century, I think I can say without fear of contradiction that one of the greatest if not the greatest and most beneficial development which has taken place has been the provision by local education authorities of secondrry education for boys and girls of ability from all classes and not merely for those whose parents are able to pay for it. Since the Education Act of 1920, places have been provided in secondary schools for over half a million boys and girls. In accordance with our English fashion these schools instead of stiking out a new line of their own looked round for models to copy. They found them in our so-called public schools, many of which as most of you will be aware have been in existence for hundreds of years. Whether they were wise to do this and whether in the process of imitation they lost more than they gained are questions into which I cannot enter to-day. They certainly failed to provide that variety in curriculum and general out-look which to my mind is an essential feature of any healthy system of higher education. Both before and since coming to this country I have lost no opportunity of pointing out the educational drawbacks of putting all one's best eggs in the same basket. There can, however, be no possible doubt that in certain respects the new schools gained much from having these older institutions to look to : they took from them among other things a high standard of *esprit de corps* or public spirit and a lofty if somewhat narrow conception of scholarship. A large proportion of the boys in the public schools were in the habit of proceeding to universities but so far from leaving their schools and going on to the university immediately they had passed the Matriculation, it was the normal practice for them to remain at school at least one year and in most cases two years after matriculating. During this period they might or might not be preparing for the Higher School Certificate which in syllabus and standard approximates to the Intermediate Examination of a University. Following that example the new schools established since 1902 would not regard themselves as fulfilling the function for which they were created unless they were also able to develop a substantial amount

of advanced work beyond the Matriculation or School Certificate stage. In this way they afford a curious contrast to the average high school in India which seems to regard as the be-all and end-all of its functions the passing of pupils through the matriculation examination.

The advantages of what I may call advanced work in the Secondary or High School seem to me so obvious that after allowing for all the difference which my experience suggests between conditions in English Schools and those in India I must still regard it as a most desirable addition to the content of the Indian High School. In the first place provision for advanced work necessitates the appointment of highly qualified teachers. Many of the teachers taking the top forms in English Secondary schools would have little difficulty in obtaining university appointments. The reason why comparatively few of them attempt to do so is that they regard the work which they are doing as at least as interesting and important as anything a university could offer. Their presence tends not only to have a stimulating effect on the academic outlook of the staff generally but it also raises the standard of scholarship throughout the school. I remember that when I first went to my own secondary school I was greatly impressed by seeing big boys who were popularly credited with, and perhaps deserved, the reputation of such learning that they could read the classics without the help of a translation or a dictionary. They shared the hero worship which as a normal boy I should otherwise have lavished exclusively on members of the school football and cricket teams and certainly inspired me with the ambition to go and do likewise.

A second argument in favour of having advanced work in the secondary school is the opportunity it gives to boys who are approaching the threshold of manhood to exercise responsibility and learn the elementary lessons of leadership, opportunities which could not possibly be given to them if instead of remaining at school they were absorbed in the crowd of first year men at a university. Even if one may easily exaggerate the character-forming effect of a brief authority as monitor or prefect, yet it is the lessons derived from such experience which in my opinion are likely to prove of fundamental value to a generation which may suddenly find itself entrusted with the management of great affairs.

The creation of such a system of advanced or post-matriculation studies in the high schools of India, in substitution for work being done at the university, is not going to be an easy matter. A number of vested interests will be affected. The existing High Schools will know that all of them cannot be expected to develop advance work and consequently that while some will be promoted, others will be relegated to what on a superficial view may seem to be a less honourable function. Furthermore, teachers at present engaged in teaching the first year Intermediate classes, who may envisage the prospect of their being transferred from the university sphere to an educational field which they regard as inferior in status, will not welcome the change, though perhaps the wiser of them will see in the new system large opportunities both of instilling the desire for scholarship in and of exercising a personal influence over their students. I appreciate the argument that students in the existing first year Intermediate classes have the opportunity of being taught by professors and lecturers who are also dealing with work of degree and even post-graduate standard, but I have no reason to suppose that there is not in this country a supply of competent scholars to supply both needs. Even if there is not, one could still argue that students under the new system should get more concentrated attention from these outstanding scholars at a stage when they may be better prepared to take full advantage of it.

If the high schools can and will worthily sustain the responsibilities which this proposal must inevitably place upon them and prove themselves capable of turning out boys and girls whose intellectual equipment is at least equal to that of present university students at the end of their first year, then the advantages to the university itself would seem to me to be not less impressive. It is true that in the beginning at any rate it is probable the the numbers in the university and in the colleges will be smaller and this will affect the finances of both. This is not an insoluble problem. Apart from this the university will start with fresh-men who will have already proceeded some way on that specialisation which is the normal feature of a degree and particularly of an honours degree course and may have acquired as well that poise and sense of proportion which often results from the exercise of responsibility. They will be dealing with people who after having put their matriculation examination behind them have had a year or two of comparative freedom in which in the picturesque words of one of the greater School-men "to browse in the pantries of the Fathers", and to practise themselves in the fuller

mastery of the tools of knowledge, the acquisition of which is the fundamental purpose of the pre-maticulation course. They may even find some who have already acquired that love of learning for its own sake, which only comes to many when this mastery has been attained and which is the beginning of wisdom. Moreover, these young people will be in a better position to estimate examinations at their value ; they will be ceasing to regard them either as bogeys or nightmares scaring the victim from the path of true learning or as unassailable criteria of mental and moral worth but simply as indications, admittedly incomplete, that another milestone in the life-long process of education has been reached and passed. I am not one of those who believe that we have yet reached and perhaps may ever reach the stage in educational development when we can discard examinations altogether but when I see them being made the fetish which they are commonly made in this country I always recall the words of the historian who looking back to the most enlightened people probably of all time remarked that "Socrates gave no diplomas or degrees and would have subjected any disciple, who demanded one, to a disconcerting catechism on the nature of true knowledge" !

But there is another consideration of a different kind which in my opinion deserves even greater weight. I have always had the utmost respect for university teachers even if as an undergarduate I did not always show it by regular attendance at their lectures. Consequently it is out of no disrespect to them that I express my conviction that the greatest gift which any university can bestow on its alumni is not to be sought in text-books or in the lecture room or in the examination hall but in the close and friendly contact of fresh, keen and generous minds. I wonder how often the students of this university sit up through the small hours arguing about politics and religion and the thousand and one problems which intrigue minds approaching maturity. How often have you here "tired the stars with talking and sent them down the sky" ? Perhaps the authorities for hygienic or economic reasons frown on such activities. I only hope they are too wise to do that. I remember being chased round an Oxford quad as the dawn was breaking by a fellow student and very dear friend who was so exasperated by my line of argument over some point of Greek prosody that his outraged feelings could only be relieved by physical violence. An hour later we were as good friends as ever, but now after thirty years I have still a clear recollection of what he said and what I said in that momentous argument. I am afraid there is no lecture which I ever attended that has left so clear an impression on my mind. Indeed argument among equals is not only the salt of life ; it is also a very whetstone of truth.

I am taking a long time in getting to my point but here it is. To get full benefit from this clash of wits the combatants must be reasonably mature. They must have put away childish things and have had some first-hand experience of life ; otherwise the argument becomes as artificial as the average school boy's eassy. From this point of view after making allowance for the fact, if it is a fact, that Indians mature earlier than Europeans, I still think that a large number of students are allowed and even encouraged to enter Indian universities at far too early an age ; for this reason alone any reorganisation which would postpone the average age of entrance would in my opinion be a most desirable thing. In this connection I also want to stress the great value of close personal contact not only between students but also between students and teachers. The contact of the lecture room, if it can be so described, is a most inadequate substitute for that more intimate and informal exchange of opinions which a real tutorial system is able to promote. It is a good thing that young people who are coming face to face with the problems and perplexities of life should have ready access to counsel from riper minds. If there is one stage in education above others where it ought to be a personal affair and where mass production methods are out of place it is at the University. Some one has pleasantly written that God gave us memory that we might have roses in December. Use your university days for planting these roses.

I have dwelt perhaps too long on what I may call the social aspect of University life, partly because I believe it to be an aspect which in Indian universities is often subordinated to less essential considerations and partly because this of all the Vice-Chancellor's objectives is at once the most important and may be the most difficult to achieve.

Even the rather academic issue which I have been discussing may, as I have hinted, involve some expenditure of money. The other proposals of the Vice-Chancellor will require considerable financial support if effect is to be given to them. You have heard and the Pro-Chancellor will tell you more about the extent to which the Government of India are prepared to finance the development programme. I do not think that in the present difficult circumstances their response can be regarded as illiberal and I think we owe it not only to the Vice-Chancellor's persuasive eloquence but also to the active and unfailing support of our Pro-Chancellor than Government's reaction has been as favourable as it has been.

But the eight lakhs which Government have promised towards the capital expenditure involved will not cover the amount urgently required if the colleges are to be assisted to move to the University site and the University herself is to be provided with buildings and grounds worthy of the role for which she has now been cast. Moreover I do not think it is desirable that a university, if it is to maintain its academic freedom, should be entirely dependent for its maintenance on Government funds.

At the present moment the resources of the University are negligible and some of the colleges are in an equally precarious financial position.

If the Vice-Chancellor's vision of a great national university is to be translated into reality, the grant from the Government of India must be largely supplemented by private munificence. I also cannot believe that the race of pious benefactors is extinct in India : in fact I know it is not. There may not be men here able to call upon the resources of a Rockefeller or a Nuffield but there are rich men in India who love their country and believe in sound learning. If the University of Delhi is to achieve in fact that place which those of us who believe in her destiny intend that she shall, I can conceive no worthier object for public or private generosity. Some people may be willing and able to give sums large enough to found one of the chairs or erect one of the buildings, the need for which the Vice-Chancellor has so convincingly explained. By so doing they will deserve well of posterity and establish for themselves an abiding memorial. But there will be others unable to afford so much or uncertain as to the way in which their help can best be given. I commend to them almost the most important need of all and that is the creation of an endowment fund by small or large donations which will ultimately free the University from the always precarious and sometimes humiliating dependence on private or public subvention. Unlike so many of the issues about which this harassed generation is called upon to decide, there are so far as I can discover behind this vision of an all-India University in the Capital city neither religious nor political implications, neither parochial nor imperialistic designs. Its sole aim is the service of All-India and through India of that international society upon the creation of which it is becoming daily more evident that the preservation of our humanities must depend ; its finest contribution towards the achievement of this aim will be a steady output of graduates "enflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue ; stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages".

Sir Jagdish Prasad's Address

The following is the Address by the hon'ble *Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad*, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council and Pro-Chancellor of the Delhi University :—

Mr. Vice-Chancellor & Members of the University, Ladies & Gentlemen—

I should first like to thank Mr. *Sargent* for his illuminating Convocation address. Mr. Sargent brings a fresh mind to the consideration of the problems of Indian education. I have no doubt that his close acquaintance with the system of education in England will be of the greatest value to us in India. I should also like to extend a respectful and cordial welcome to your distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Sir Maurice Gwyer. He is not only an eminent jurist and scholar, but he has captured the hearts of Indians by his friendliness and genuine interest in things Indian. He has, in what is now a famous memorandum, set forth in eloquent and convincing language the ideals and needs of the Delhi University. He has combated with much force a prevalent heresy that University education need

not be the vital concern of a modern State. He has pointed out how greatly this University has been handicapped in the past by the lack of funds. His powerful advocacy has had an immediate response from the Government of India, who have decided to make a non-recurring grant of Rs. 8 lakhs spread over a period of 5 years, the maximum in any one financial year being limited to Rs. 2 lakhs. Of the total sum, about a half will be used to assist colleges to move to the University site, the intention being that all the colleges, except the Indraprastha Girls' College, shall ultimately move to the University site. The Government of India grants for this purpose are conditional on the colleges themselves raising a substantial part of the total sum required. The Government of India have also decided to double the recurring grant to the University in the course of the next four years. The main features of the Vice-Chancellor's scheme are the development in the capital of a University with special characteristics of its own, the establishment of a number of professorial chairs and readerships, the provision of scholarships and other facilities for post-graduate study and research, the transfer of the constituent colleges to the University area, the fixing of a period of three years as the length of the ordinary degree course, a review of the relations between the University and the colleges and of the principles in accordance with which maintenance grants are made to the colleges, some changes in the University library and increased provision of science laboratories and other buildings made necessary by the suggested developments, and the establishment of a Faculty of Medicine. The Government of India have accepted the Vice-Chancellor's scheme in principle, though the extent to which it can be carried out must depend on the provision of the necessary funds.

I wish you had been more fortunate in your Pro-Chancellor. I am quitting my academic office with a certain feeling of disappointment at the little done and the much to do. But I have the great satisfaction of knowing that the interests of the University will now be in the keeping of competent hands. My successor in office is himself a distinguished graduate of the Universities of Allahabad and Oxford, completely familiar with educational problems and keenly alive to the needs of the Delhi University.

There is always a touch of sadness in doing anything for the last time. This is the last occasion on which I shall have the honour of addressing the students of the Delhi University as their Pro-Chancellor. I hope they will bear with me for a few moments before I take leave of them.

Events of tremendous significance are shaking the world. For years to come the destinies of nations will be completely altered, and so will the life and thought of the age. But one lesson already stands out clear from the armed conflict that grips Europe. It is that a high level of intellectual capacity and marked eminence in science and mechanical invention are no guarantee against the perpetration of revolting horrors, are no barrier to the cruel persecution of large masses of innocent men and women and to the destruction of human liberty. The refined barbarism of some of the peoples who pride themselves on their superiority of race and culture seems to be infinitely more degrading than the sudden outbrust of fanaticism of the untutored barbarian. There has been a formidable increase in the power and efficiency of the instruments whereby it is possible for the rulers of men not only to destroy the body of a people but to distort their soul. And it is a sad reflection that many of you may go out of this university with a highly cultivated intellect and a distinguished academic record, and yet, if you have not been careful, you may have surrended what in the ultimate analysis is more precious—the capacity to distinguish between right and wrong, between truth and falsehood. The struggle between what may serve your own interest or that of your class or group, as opposed to the common weal will ever be before you. In the measure that university education helps you to follow the path of upright conduct, in spite of all inducements to the contrary, in spite of every temptation that you may have so to reason yourself down as to make your selfish aims appear in the attractive garb of unselfish endeavour, in that measure will you have been worthy of the precepts of your professors and the teachings of your books. The debasement of the educated is of more serious import than the aberrations of the ignorant. Your influence for good or ill extends far beyond your numbers. In this period of transition and rapid change in this country it is the young men who seem to set the pace of political objectives, because it is on your enthusiasm and your spirit of adventure that polititial organisations base their strength, and they cannot afford to lead where you are not prepared to follow. You have, therefore, immense responsibilities in this country. Whether India can reach her goal without conflict or not will largely depend on the extent to which you young men can be wise beyond

your years or at least can have sufficient wisdom and restraint to allow older men the liberty to differ from you. I wish with all my heart that your patriotic ideals may be realised without civil commotion and suffering. There is in all conscience enough of turmoil in the world at the moment. The spirit of violence is abroad. The atmosphere of war is never favourable to the growth of humane sentiments, rather it tends to breed passion and hatred. That at this moment political storms should be gathering on the Indian horizon is a distressing spectacle. I have not yet lost all hope that the thickening clouds may yet melt away and political calm be restored by mutual discussion and compromise. The youth of this country can play a notable part in creating a favourable atmosphere by keeping their emotions and impulses under disciplined control. Let there be no heedless rushing into political battle. It may be magnificent, but its only outcome may be great and fruitless suffering, the embitterment of feeling and the widening of the gulf between peoples whose common aim should be to draw nearer to each other. And pray, remember that there are not wanting some who would prefer that there should be a clash, who would be keenly disappointed if the present deadlock were to be resolved, because they have other ends to serve. I earnestly hope that you for your part will take heed and will do nothing to advance their nefarious designs. Spare no effort to preserve that greatest but most elusive of gifts, the unity of India, by keeping under close restraint the dark forces of racial, religious and political bigotry and by giving free play to the generous spirit of tolerance, of fair dealing and sympathetic understanding.

And now it only remains for me to bid you a regretful farewell. May you, through life's perilous journey, ever retain some of the buoyancy and gaiety of youth.