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Chronicle of Events

AND

India in Home Polity

July—December 1940

Chronicle of Events

July 1940

The chief item of interest of the month was provided by the session of the All-India Congress Committee at Poona which supported the resolution of the Working Committee at Delhi, calling for a declaration of complete independence for India.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, and Mr. M. S. Aney, leader of the Congress Nationalists in the Central Assembly, were invited to meet the Viceroy.

A scheme costing seven crores of rupees was undertaken for expansion of factories and increase in the output of munitions in India.

The Governor of the French Colonies declared the intention of the French to stand by Great Britain.

Sj. Subhas Bose, with a few of his followers, was arrested under the Defence of India Act in connection with his campaign for the removal of the Holwell Monument in Calcutta.

The Congress Working Committee published a resolution dealing with its future internal policy. It demanded from Britain "an unequivocal declaration according complete independence to India" and as an immediate earnest the formation of the provisional national government at the centre. Such measures would enable Congress "to throw its full weight into the organization of India's defence."

Disagreeing with the attitude taken by the Working Committee and adopting the extreme Gandhian position, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan resigned from the Working Committee

Attempts were made to adjourn the Bengal Assembly, the first took the form of a protest against the arrest of Sj. Subhas Bose. The Government issued an order banning the publication of news about the agitation.

The Punjab Assembly held a secret session, the first ever held by an Indian legislature, to discuss subversive movements in the Province. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan spoke about the activities of Communists in the Punjab.

To deal with the shortage of rupee coin, the Government of India issued one rupee notes. The Government also issued an Ordinance providing for compulsory service, military and civilian, for European British subjects.

The Bengal Government declared that the Holwell Monument was to be removed.

1st. A scheme costing Rs. 7 crores for the expansion of factories was undertaken by the Government of India, in addition to the expansion of production in ordnance factories. Under the scheme every factory would be expanded in order to increase its potential production and to permit it to undertake the manufacture of the most modern types of weapons and munitions.

A full Bench of the Bombay High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and Justices N. J. Wadia, K. V. Vassoodeb and K. C. Sen, delivered judgment holding that the notification issued under the Governor's Act enforcing total prohibition in Bombay as invalid. The Court expressed the opinion that the enforcement of total Prohibition entrenched upon an Item of the Federal List.

Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, declaring open of the extension of the National High School at Bangalore, observed : "I hope that in your work with your pupils, particularly in the classes in Civics and in your informal talks with them outside the class room, you will bring home to the young minds the supreme importance of respect for law and order, within the ample orbit of which all possible scope is given for expression of individuality and for sustained effort for the improvement of the social and political conditions of the Community."

In a resolution adopted by the Standing Committee of All-India States Peoples Conference, which concluded its sittings in Bombay, under the presidency of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Rulers of the various Indian States were urged to grant complete responsible government to their subjects.

Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister, Bengal made an appeal to responsible organizations in the province not to do anything which was likely to lead to the creation of a situation of lawlessness.

In the Mysore Legislative Council, when the voting on the demand under "General Administration" was discussed, several members expressed themselves strongly against the Mysore Congress and its policy.

His Excellency the Governor of Madras, addressing a public meeting at the Government College Hall, Coimbatore, referred to the constitutional position and said : "I want to emphasise the fact that the constitutional position of India is of paramount importance and that a settlement must be reached satisfactory to all concerned at the earliest possible date."

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett presided over the inaugural meeting of the Provincial War Committee at Government House, Lucknow.

2nd. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested at his Calcutta residence on Elgin Road. Sj. Bose nominated Sardar Sardul Singh Caveesher as the president of the All-India Forward Bloc.

H. E. Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, described Bengal's war efforts, when replying to addresses of welcome presented to His Excellency by the East Bengal Landholders' Association and the Dacca People's Association at Dacca. His Excellency said *inter alia* : "I have in recent weeks had ample evidence of the feeling among all classes in Bengal that our war effort should be intensified and made more effective."

Admiral Fitzherbert, Flag Officer commanding Royal Indian Navy, in the course of a broadcast talk from the Bombay station of the All-India Radio, observed : "It is satisfactory to realise that India has made a start and has a navy of her own. But it is a small navy as yet and if India has to provide for her own naval security, both upon the high seas and around her coast, much more will have to be done."

The Council of Rulers of the Eastern States Agency, at their second session, held at Tripura House, Calcutta, expressed the opinion : "As the destiny of India is indissolubly linked up with that of Great Britain, it is the solemn duty of everyone to render all possible assistance to the British Empire at the present critical juncture by organizing the man-power of the country and by financially contributing to the success of the war."—H. H. the Maharaja of Tripura presided. Fourteen Rulers and twenty-five Dewans were present.

3rd. A meeting of the Congress Central Executive began at Birla House, New Delhi, under the presidency of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.—The following among others were present. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Acharya Kripalani, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Mr. Shankar Rao Deo, Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghose, Mr. Asaf Ali, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya and Mr. Achut Patwardhan. Mahatma Gandhi also attended by special invitation, and explained to the Committee what transpired at the interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in Simla. A general discussion followed.

The Satyagraha for the removal of the Holwell Monument in the vicinity of the Bengal Secretariat building in Dalhousie Square commenced in Calcutta. Mr. Nirmal Singh, a prominent member of the Provincial Forward Bloc, and three others, composing the first batch of Satyagrahis were arrested as they were approaching the Monument.

Under the auspices of the Serajuddowla Anniversary Committee, a public meeting was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, to pay homage to the memory of

Nawab Serajuddowla : both Hindus and Moslems were present.—Syed Badrudduza, M.L.A., presided.

4th. The Congress Working Committee in New Delhi, had two meetings, one in the morning and the second in the afternoon.—Pandit Malaviya was present at the afternoon meeting.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, interviewed by a Press correspondent said : "We are yet in the midst of general discussion, both regarding the political situation and the Viceroy's proposals to Gandhiji. The stage has not yet reached when a decision could be taken. I had talks with Pandit Malaviya this morning and at 6 P.M. I invited him to attend the Working Committee meeting. He came and addressed us for half an hour. We meet again tomorrow when we hope to conclude the discussions."

H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras addressing a public meeting at Vellore, made a fervent appeal to the people to increase their war effort. He said : "If the war is lost, the constitutional problem of India will be treated as in other countries and colonies under German domination. There is no softness or humanity about the German nation. Five times during the last 150 years, the German nation rose as Hitler has now. One would get nothing from Germany except the whip, slavery and starvation."

5th. Two meetings of the Congress Working Committee were held in New Delhi, one in the morning and the second in the afternoon.— Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was again present by special invitation at the afternoon sitting of the Committee.

H. E. the Viceroy granted an interview to Mr. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. The interview lasted nearly 1½ hours.

At a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held in Bombay, a resolution remonstrating against the attitude of the Bombay Government with regard to Prohibition was adopted.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar had an interview with H. E. the Viceroy at Simla, lasting nearly an hour and a half.

6th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption, "Some Vital Problems" : "H. E. the Viceroy is again conferring with leaders of parties. I was invited, but not as a party leader or a leader at all. I was invited as a friend to help him, if I could, to come to a definite conclusion, especially to interpret the Congress mind to him. It is better, in the light of what is happening (and things will presently move with lightening velocity), to consider some of the questions that will demand quick decision." He also discussed as to what should be the Congress attitude towards Dominion Status, the enlargement of the Viceroy's Executive Council and provisions for internal disorder and external invasion.

The Congress Working Committee was unable to conclude its deliberations, even though according to the President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, every effort was made to do so.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, who was granted an interview by H. E. the Viceroy, left Simla.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in a Press statement observed : "The Secretary of State having already announced in the clearest language that the goal of British policy in India is its free and equal partnership in the Commonwealth, the only hurdle that now remains is the active cleavage of opinion between the Hindus and Moslems."

H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, addressing a public meeting in Madras emphasized the gravity of the war situation and appealed to all to unite and help Britain to win the war.

7th. The emergency meeting of the Congress Working Committee concluded in New Delhi after a five-day session during which the members considered the proposals made by H. E. the Viceroy to Mahatma Gandhi at Simla.

A resolution was unanimously passed stating that Britain should immediately make "an equivocal declaration according complete independence to India, and that as an immediate step in giving effect to it a provisional National Government should be constituted at the centre." Further this National Government should be such "as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature and secure the closest co-operation of the responsible Governments in the provinces."

The Congress Working Committee deputed Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mr. Asaf Ali to visit Waziristan to establish contact with the Waziris and study problems arising out of tribal raids.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, visited the Congress leaders in New Delhi. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, joined in an informal talk of the communal problem.

The question as to what action the Congress should take in case the Bombay Government did not decide to continue the Prohibition policy was under the consideration of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. A letter in this connexion asking advice was despatched to the Working Committee.

Dr. C. R. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, laid the foundation stone of the new buildings for the Raja Rangyyappa Rao College at Bezwada.

8th. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, the Frontier Congress leader, tendered his resignation of membership of the Congress Working Committee before his departure from New Delhi for Peshawar.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, addressing a meeting in New Delhi, spoke on the Working Committee's resolution demanding complete independence for India. He referred to the meeting of the Working Committee and said that the Gandhi-Viceroy talks at Simla was only one of the several items that came up for discussion. He pointed out that the resolution passed by the Committee at its last meeting in Wardha put the Congress position in clear and unequivocal terms.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, returned to Lahore after meeting Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at Delhi.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, in an interview in Bombay, said that he was still unable to discuss any aspect of the political situation.

Referring to the meeting between the Punjab and Bengal Premiers and Congress leaders at Delhi, Mr. Jinnah said that the two Premiers had no authority to discuss or come to any adjustment over the heads of the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League. He had not given permission to either of them to carry on negotiations for a Hindu-Moslem settlement.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, returned to Bombay after his interview with H. E. the Viceroy at Simla.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a statement issued from Wardha observed : "The British Government have to make their choice. Independence they cannot withhold unless their wisdom is as much blurred as Rajaji claims that mine is. If independence is recognized, the acceptance of the other part of the resolution follows as a matter of course.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Mayor of Madras, speaking at a public meeting at Trichinopoly asked the British Government to declare India free and as an earnest of that declaration introduce popular Government in the Centre immediately when the Government would exert its moral influence on the country and help the British to win the war.

9th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, commenting of the Congress Working Committee's resolution passed at Delhi, in a Press interview in Bombay, said : "Mr. Gandhi came to Simla to dictate and not to negotiate and so is the Congress attitude as is demonstrated by the Delhi resolution."

"Their demand for a so-called national government indicated in the resolution means a Congress Raj. The word "national" has been flagrantly abused. A nation does not exist in India any more than in Europe or America. If their demand is met it will mean a Hindu majority government—a permanent Hindu majority government—a position which will never be accepted by Moslems.

"The Moslem League now firmly stands convinced that the only solution is a division of India as laid down by the Moslem League at Lahore."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, commenting on the Congress Working Committee's resolution, said that the suggestion contained in the Congress Working Committee's resolution to form a National Government as an immediate step was less progressive than the Mahasabha's demand that India should be granted Dominion Status immediately on the cessation of the war. He also objected to the formation of any national government, if it was to be formed from among the members of the Central Assembly.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru addressing a public meeting at Delhi said that the Congress resolution on war which was reaffirmed at the Ramgarh Congress

still stood. He maintained that there was nothing inconsistent in the resolution adopted by the Working Committee and the Ramgarh resolution. The Congress still adhered to the demand for a constituent assembly to frame India's constitution. However, since it would take a long time to summon such an assembly the Working Committee had, as an immediate step to meet emergency conditions, demanded the formation of a provisional National Government at the Centre as a transitory measure.

10th. In observance of the All-India Subhas Day, a meeting was held in Calcutta, under the presidentship of Maulavi Asadidoullah Sairaji.

One hundred and four Satyagrahis were arrested since the commencement of the movement for the removal of the Holwell Monument on July 3.

11th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, interviewed by the Associated Press correspondent regarding the Delhi resolution of the Congress Working Committee said : "The war has lost its aggressive character. The defence of India is now an integral part of the defence of Britain. This is the key to understand the resolution of the Congress Working Committee."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, addressing a rally of Congress volunteers of the Nainital district at Nainital, made an appeal to adhere to the principles of non-violence and discipline.

Staunch adherence to the British cause was expressed at a meeting of the staff and employees of the Tikari Amawan Raj held at Ganga Mahal, Gaya.—Raja Bahadur Harihar Prasad Singh, O. B. E., presided.

Master Tara Singh, President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, in a Press interview at Peshawar, observed : "For the first time, the Congress has emerged from the world of theoretical dogmas and has taken a practical policy."

The central office of the All-India Independent Muslims' Conference, in the course of a statement from New Delhi, said that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the establishment of a National Government should be welcomed by all parties concerned and by Nationalist Muslims as a definite step towards realism.

12th. A Bengal Government Press Note stated that the National Service (Technical Personnel) Ordinance 1940, which was published in a Gazette of India Extraordinary on June 29 and thereupon came into force, would be administered in Bengal by a National Service Labour Tribunal.

The report of the Select Committee on the Bengal Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, 1939, with notes of dissent from 13 members and the chairman of the Committee , Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister for Agriculture and Industries, Bengal, was published.

13th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption, "A cry in the wilderness" :—"It is clear that this non-violence is not the non-violence of the weak. It does not give one the joy of jail-going. One can have that joy and also cover thereby the illwill one harbours in his breast against the Government. One can also non-co-operate with the Government. But where swords, lathis, knives and stones are freely used, what is a man to do single handed ! Is it possible for one to receive these deadly blows with illwill in one's heart ? It is clear that it is impossible to do so, unless one is saturated with charity."

14th. The Bombay Government issued a statement outlining the procedure which would be adopted in the prohibition areas following the Bombay High Court's judgment that the notification issued in July 1939, under the Akbari Act prohibiting the possession of intoxicants in Bombay city was not validated by the Governor's Act.

Mons. C. F. Baron, Administrator of Chandernagore, made a call to free Frenchmen to be true to the Tricolour and the traditions of the Republic and to continue the struggle against barbarism side by side with the British. M. Barron was speaking at a reception which formed part of the fourteenth of July celebrations. Among the guests present was Major-General Heydeman, M. C., from Fort William, Calcutta.

In observance of the 151st. anniversary of the French Revolution, a public meeting was held in Calcutta, under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial League of Radical Congressmen, Prof. Humayun Kabir presiding.

The Ambur Muslim Conference in the presence of a large gathering of

Muslims under the presidentship of Mr. Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth, M. L. A., Khan Bahadur Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, M. L. A. (Central) of the Central Provinces, declared the Conference open. The Conference welcomed the decision of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, regarding the participation of the League in War Committee and expressing their resentment at the action of some members, who went against the decision.

A meeting of the Mayor, Deputy Mayor, ex-Presidents, ex-Mayors and ex-Deputy Mayors of the Corporation of Madras was held in Madras.

The Peshawar District Congress Committee at its meeting held at Peshawar, resolved unanimously to request the Indian National Congress not to negotiate with Mr. Jinnah or with his League till he made amends for the "insulting and arrogant attitude displayed by his reply to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad."

Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, President, Tamil Nadu Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, and General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Conference wrote:—"The 22nd session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha conference is to be held this year in Tamil Nadu and this is the first All-India Hindu Conference to be held in South India after the fall of Vijoyanagore Empire and every effort is to be made to make this conference a great and lasting success."

The question of the formation of a Coalition Ministry in Orissa, was considered at a meeting of the Nationalist Party (at Cuttack) in the Legislative Assembly when the political situation was reviewed.

15th. In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the first secret session in the history of Indian Legislatures commenced when the Assembly by 91 votes to 48 accepted the motion of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier that the proceedings of the day be held in camera.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government attitude on the question of the removal of the Holwell Monument was defined by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier, during the debate on an adjournment motion relating to the arrest of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose. The motion was defeated by 119 votes to 78. The Premier said that the only thing that was standing in the way of satisfactory solution of the problem was the Satyagraha movement that had been started and was being persisted in. If the movement was given up he had no doubt that the Government would within a reasonable time come to a decision which, he hoped, would be satisfactory to all concerned.

Sardar Utar Singh, member of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, who was stabbed by a Moslem in Gujranwala, died of his injuries in hospital at Lahore.

A Press Communique issued by the Government of India, said, "Information regarding the whereabouts of Indians in the United Kingdom may be obtained by a reference to the High Commissioner's office."

16th. The Bengal Legislative Assembly considered certain modifications suggested by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal and some other members to the amendment recommended by the joint conference of representatives of the Assembly and the Legislative Council, which had been appointed to consider the Bengal Motor Vehicle Rules, 1940 framed by the Government under the Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1939.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal gave his assent to the Bengal Money-lenders' Bill which was passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly and Council.

Pandit Godavaris Misra and Raja Bahadur of Khalikote saw H. E. the Governor of Orissa at Cuttack.

At a special meeting of the Indian Jute Mills Association held in Calcutta, it was unanimously decided that the working hours of Indian Jute Mills were to be reduced by 9 hours a week from August 19.

The Secretary, All-Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, in a press statement from Lahore, said: "Mr. Jinnah's reply to Maulana Azad's telegram has come as a great shock to the Muslim students of the Punjab. It is an undignified outburst to Maulana's simple and constitutional enquiry."

17th. A communique issued by the Secretary of the Governor of Orissa stated: "The Governor of Orissa had coversation with Padit Godavaris Misra and the Raja Bahadur of Khalikote last evening on the question of the possibility of forming a Coalition Ministry in Orissa. The conversations will be continued."

Mr. Hassaram Pamnani, M. L. A., a Congress member representing Sukkur district, was shot dead while driving from Rorhi station to the town.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill, 1938, which was introduced by Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick, Minister for Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness, came up for consideration. The day's proceedings were devoted to the consideration of a Congress amendment for the recommittal of the Bill to the Select Committee. The amendment was defeated by 93 to 48 votes.

A joint statement issued at Balasore over the signature of Mr. Nidhi Das, M. L. A., said : "The conduct of some members of the Orissa Assembly, if the press report be true, in joining the Opposition to form a Coalition Government at the present juncture is highly reprehensible and unpatriotic and as such will deserve severe condemnation."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in an article in the *National Herald* under the caption "What of us", wrote : "We are entirely opposed to Nazism and we think it would be a tragedy if Nazi Germany dominated the world but we are sick of being imposed upon by British Imperialism.

Mr. B. J. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, in a statement to the Press expressed the opinion that the Prohibition was a boon to the people of Bombay, that any attempt at abandoning Prohibition would be a public calamity and that the duty of the people at this stage was to set their face sternly against the action of the Government till Prohibition was restored in its complete form.

18th. The Bengal Assembly rejected by 115 to 71 votes the adjournment motion moved by Mr. Jalaluddin Hashemy (Krishak Proja Party in the Opposition) to discuss the Government Order banning the publication of news of arrests etc. in connexion with the Holwell Monument agitation.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, M.L.A. (Central) in the course of a telegram to the Viceroy made an appeal to H. E. the Viceroy to intervene and direct the Sind Government to assume special responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in Sind.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, explaining the difference between Mahatma Gandai and the Congress Working Committee in the matter of the extension of non-violence to the field of national self-defence observed in Madrass : "The extension of non-violence for the first time and immediately to the held of national defence, whether for internal peace or against external aggression, was not a responsibility which the Working Committee of the Congress felt they were equal to the task of undertaking."

Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim in a statement on the exchange of telegrams between Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mr. M. A. Jinnah blamed the Congress for not having "worked sincerely" towards the solution of the Hindu Mission problem. He further stated that the Congress-minded Moslems could neither represent their community nor the Congress.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, opening the Taluk Political Conference at Dharampuram, said : "It was deplorable that while Mahatma Gandhi was willing to render all help, Britain did not care to avail herself of it."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, speaking at Tambaram, said that there had been no rupture between the Congress High Command and Mahatma Gandhi.

19th. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel addressing a meeting at Ahmedabad declared : "Nobody should imagine that there is any split in the Congress Working Committee or that the Congress Working Committee is going to be separated from Mr. Gandhi. Nothing can separate us."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the sharp cleavage of opinion existing among Hindus and Moslems in regard to the constitution of India found expression on a resolution sponsored by Mr. Muqbul Husain (Krishak Proja—Tippera N. F.) which asked the Government of Bengal to convey to the proper authorities that the future constitution of India should be framed by a constituent assembly "elected on the basis of adult franchise with safeguards for the protection of the rights and interests of Moslems to be determined solely by the Moslem members of such assembly." It also provided "that the representatives of other communities or any foreign power will have no right to interfere with their decision."

With a view to economizing available supplies of newsprint the Indian and Eastern News-paper Society recommended regional agreements between newspapers regulating the size and price of newspapers.

Mr. M. C. Ummar Kunhi, General Secretary of the Kerala Azad Muslim Association, in the course of a statement strongly criticised the language used

by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, in his reply to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Congress.

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Mayor of Calcutta and a former member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, in the course of a statement to the press in support of the stand taken up by Mr. Jinnah in his telegram to Maulana Azad, Congress President, said : "There is no room whatsoever for a difference of opinion regarding the correctness of attitude adopted by the League President."

20th. The Delhi Resolution of the Congress Working Committee was discussed for over three hours, at a meeting of the Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee at which Sardar Patel presided. Although no formal resolution was passed, the sense of the meeting was overwhelmingly in favour of the resolution of the Working Committee.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption "Travancore" : "Some Travancoreans have thought I have neglected them. But I have not. It is no pleasure to me to criticise any State. Much of my work is done by negotiation. I criticise when I must. So when I was told by common friends that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar would like to meet me if an opportunity occurred, I stopped all reference to Travancore affairs. But the meeting was not to be."

21st. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* in answer to the question if it would not be better to tell the people how pure *ahimsa* of the strong was to be cultivated :—"Now that I am no longer in the Congress, I may not offer civil disobedience even in my own person in its name, but I am certainly free to offer civil disobedience in my individual capacity whenever it may be necessary. No one need suppose that all civil disobedience will necessarily be taboo while the country is still being educated in *ahimsa* of the strong."

The Controller of Broadcasting, All-India Radio, in his annual report, (the first to be issued by him) described the growth of broadcasting in India and how political, religious and language factors hampered the path of the maker of programmes.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, replying to Dr. Arundale's letter expressing the latter's conviction that "an immediate declaration of self-government to India will turn the tide of war in the allies' favour", said : "The idea of Dominion Status is dead and we cannot accept any declaration but that of independence. The recent resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Congress represents my attitude towards India of the future."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, member of the Congress Parliamentary sub-Committee for Bihar and Orissa, sent a letter to Pandit Godavaris Misra, asking him to explain his position with regard to his move for a Coalition Ministry in Orissa.

Mr. G. M. Thaware, Secretary of the All-India Depressed Classes Association, addressing a meeting of the members of the Depressed Classes at Nagpur, said that Mahatma Gandhi's principle of non-violence would be of no help to the country in the situation created by the war.

A resolution according "the full co-operation and help of the scheduled castes to Britain to win the War" was passed.

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, invited Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Acharya Narendra Deo, Mr. Achyut Patawardhan, Mrs. Vijoylakshmi Pandit and Mr. Hare Krishna Mehtab to attend the Working Committee meeting at Poona.

In a resolution at a conference of the Bombay Provincial League of Radical Congressmen held in Bombay, the view was expressed that the Indian people should actively participate in the anti-Fascist struggle.—Mr. V. M. Tarkunde presided.

22nd. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting at Congress House, Madras said : "If India gives her willing co-operation Britain can more than make good the tremendous loss entailed by France's defeat in the war."

Mrs. M. F. Steele, addressing a meeting of women at the Mahila Samaj for the purpose of forming a Women's War Committee in the district of Berhampur (Ganjam) observed : "We cannot all fight but we can all of us, every man, woman and child, help in many ways to ensure that final victory for Britain which is so essential to civilization, not only in Europe but in Asia, in fact to the whole world."

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, addressing a meeting of women at Bhopal, observed : "The safety of our country, our State, our honour and dignity are bound up with Britain's victory in the present war. It is, therefore, our duty to give the maximum proof of our courage, patience and generosity in the achievement of this object."

Several students were injured when the police dispersed a gathering of demonstrators from the grounds of the Islamia College, Calcutta—Several students of the College received injuries in the police charge.

In the Bengal Assembly, Sir K. Nazimuddin, Home Minister, replying to a question in the Assembly, said that the Kisan Organizations in the province and the Bengal Kishan Sabha had not been declared illegal and unlawful by the Government of Bengal.

The Travancore Assembly met with the Dewan President in the chair. Discussion on the Travancore Debt Relief Bill was continued.

23rd. The 100 000 new men whom the Commander-in-Chief announced were to be added to the regular Indian Army as part of the programme of expansion of Indian defence forces, were being trained and equipped as rapidly as possible under an accelerated emergency procedure adopted for the purpose.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, an adjournment motion relating to the regrettable incidents of assault at the Islamia College, Calcutta, was talked out.

Earlier, the Premier, the Hon. A. K. Fazlul Huq, said he had been authorized by his colleagues to convey to the Principal, staff aud students of Islamia College the Government's request to any innocent person who might have been injured. He also announced that the Government had decided to appoint a Committee of Inquiry to go into the incident.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq announced that the Government had decided to make immediate steps for the removal of the Holwell Monument.

H. E. the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund, which was entirely supported by voluntary contributions, exceeded one crore of rupees.

The Cochin Legislative Council assembled in the Rama Varma Town Hall. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, the Dewan presided.

The President of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee suspended Pandit Godavaris Misra from his office of President of the Puri District Congress Committee as an emergency measure for 'deliberate attempt at the formation of a Coalition Ministry in violation of Congress discipline and the Satyagraha pledge."

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer, General Secretary, Bombay Presidency Muslim Education Conference, extended an invitation to the All-India Muslim Educational Conference to hold its next session in Poona.

24th. A Press Note from Simla said that by an Ordinance, the National Service (European British Subjects) Act of 1940 would be amended.—The main object of the Ordinance was to introduce the compulsory principle for the recruitment of European British subjects, other than those domiciled in India, for work of national importance.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal held a darbar at Faridpore.

The Governor in a joint reply discussed a number of local problems raised in the addresses and then referred to the war and India's duty.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Opposition, making a statement, said that in view of the Prime Minister's statement in the Assembly that the Government had decided to take immediate steps for the removal of Holwell Monument, he (Sj. Bose) took upon himself the responsibility of advising the public to suspend the Satyagraha movement which had been started by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose for the removal of the Monument.

25th. The Bengal Legislative Assembly had only two items of business—the introduction of the Agricultural Debtors (Second Amendment) Bill and the consideration of the Co-operative Societies Bill, both sponsored by Mr. M. B. Mullick, Minister for Co-operative Credit.—The former was referred to a Select Committee, while the latter was under discussion when the House rose for the day.

At a meeting of Hindus, held in the Calcutta Town Hall, a resolution condemning the alleged "reactionary" policy of the Bengal Ministry and protesting against the second Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill, the Secondary

Education Bill and the Agricultural Debtors' Amendment Bill, was passed.—Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee presided.

Sir Abdulla Haroon, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League in the course of a statement to the Press from Lahore, declared: "Mr. Jinnah has committed no crime in calling a spade a spade; our province whole-heartedly supports the stand he has taken in dealing with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad."

The Central Executive of the All-India Congress Socialist Party met at the residence of Mr. Achut Patwardhan (Poona), Mr. Farid Ansari presiding.

The Bengal Government's attitude towards the Khaksar movement was further explained by Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister, in the Bengal Assembly.

The General Secretary, All-India Conference of Indian Christians wrote: "A joint meeting of the representatives of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians (Protestants) and All-India Catholic Association will be held in Bombay on August 6 and 7, 1940 to consider the effect of the present situation on the Indian Christian Community."

In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery said in reply to Mr. Sorenson that he had no statement to make respecting the political situation in India.

26th. The monsoon session of the Bengal Legislative Council opened when non-official resolutions figured on the agenda.—The House adopted a motion by Rai K. C. Banerjee Bahadur recommending that Bengalees be recruited to form a permanent unit for incorporation in the Indian Army. Another resolution by Mr. Nur Ahmed, that the Government of India should make over the entire juty duty proceeds from Bengal or an equal annual contribution from its revenues to help in the introduction of free and compulsory education in Bengal was under discussion when the House rose.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly disposed of six non-official Bills—the Patni Taluks Regulatian (Amendment) Bill, the Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, the Marriage Dowry Prevention Bill, the Village self Government (Amendment) Bill, the Medical (Amendment) Bill and the Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill. Of this one was passed (Patni Taluks etc.) three were re-circulated for public opinion, another referred to a Select Committee and the last rejected.

In the Bengal Council, the President, Mr. S. C. Mitra announced that the Governor-General had given his assent to the Bengal Money-lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1939.

A resolution urging the Governments of Bihar and the United Provinces to rescind their decision regarding the withdrawal of decision of the Indian Sugar Syndicate was adopted by the Board of the Syndicate, who met in Calcutta to discuss the position of the Syndicate.

The Congress Working Committee in its resolution on the Orissa episode, asked Mr. G. Misra to resign his seat and held him "guilty of gross act of indiscipline."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the Hindu Mahasabha, inaugurating the Hyderabad Hindu Conference convened by the Hindu Proja Mandal at Hyderabad, observed: "The constitutional reforms announced by the Hyderabad Government are a stepping stone to their cherished ideal of Responsible Government and accepted most of their demands for civil liberties."

27th. The All-India Congress Committee which met at Poona, gave its approval to the decision of the Party's Working Committee on the subjects of Congress creed and general policy.

The Working Committee, meeting at Wardha, had drawn attention to the limitations of the methods of non-violence and expressed its inability to extend the principle to India's national defence.

At a second meeting in Delhi, the Committee had set forth the conditions which would "enable the Congress to throw its full weight into the efforts for an effective organization of the defence of the country."

The A. I. C. C. voted on the two decisions separately confirming the first by 91 votes to 63 votes and the second by an overwhelming majority.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, described the gravity of the world situation, and while praising Mahatma Gandhi's idealism said that Congress was a political organization and with a political objective and not a body for organising world peace.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, chief spokesman for the Working Committee, declared that if he were an Englishman he would not accept Mahatma Gandhi's advice, contained in the Mahatma's appeal to Britons knowing that his people were not

ready to adopt complete non-violence, and that the alternative would be slavery, which was certainly worse than violence. He would not also support the idea that the Congress should for ever remain an outside power only influencing policies and decisions : he was for capturing power.

28th. The All-India Congress Committee, before concluding its session at Poona, endorsed by 95 votes to 47 the Delhi resolution of the Working Committee calling for a declaration of complete independence for India, favouring the formation of a National Government at the centre and offering co-operation in the defence of the country on these terms.—Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, appealing for the avoidance of a split, said that as a Constituent Assembly could not be formed immediately, they had to decide on some provisional machinery (a National Government) for the conduct of affairs at the centre. The time factor was of the utmost importance.—Mr. Rajagopalachari, the mover of the resolution, said that if its demand for a National Government were met, the Congress should help Britain in the prosecution of the war.—Sardar Patel declared that what Britain wanted now was more than moral support. "We have made it quite clear", he said, "that if our demands are accepted, our full and hearty co-operation will be at the disposal of Great Britain."

The All-India Hindu League at Lucknow, passed a resolution condemning Nazism as being opposed to Hindu traditions and a menace to civilization and freedom and urging Britain to immediately grant Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute type to India with a view to securing her maximum support in the task of defeating Hitlerism. The League also denounced the Pakistan scheme.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *Harijan* under the captain "Not quite so Bad", explained his appeal to Britons.

Pandit Godavaris Misra, in a statement to the press at Cuttack in regard to the Working Committee's resolution said : "At the last elections, when I stood as a Congress candidate, I made no secret that the Congress had at last come to adopt my way. It was not palatable to some of my colleagues, but nevertheless it was the hard truth."

29th. Mr. Biswanath Das, ex-Premier of Orissa, in the course of a Press statement regarding Pandit Godavaris Misra's attempts to form a Coalition Cabinet, said : "Ministry-making in Orissa is now over."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Premier and the Home Minisier explained the decision of the Government of Bengal in regard to recruitment to the public Services in so far as it related to appointments of men from outside the province.

30th. H. E. the Viceroy presided over a meeting of the Madras Provincial War Committee held at the Banqueting Hall, Madras. H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, also attended the meeting. H. E. the Viceroy described the progress of the scheme of expanding India's defence forces, in the course of his address.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, considerable progress was made with the Co-operative Societies Bill when as many as 48 clauses were disposed of.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting mostly of students in the Congress Bhavan at Poona, said : "Material prosperity is of vital importance in the life of a nation. Unless there is the back-ground of material prosperity there can be no progress in human life, culturally or spiritually.

31st. H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras opening the proceedings of the Madras Provincial War Committee at the Banqueting Hall, Madras, observed : "Personally, I am very much satisfied, indeed, with the response of the people of this part of India, the enthusiasm they are showing and the extent of their realisation of the seriousness of the situation, there is no apathy ; there is real enthusiasm and the desire to do whatever they can."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at a Press Conference in Bombay, expressed the view that the Congress had tried its utmost to retain Mahatma Gandhi's leadership but had failed for the present and, that if the Mahatma's leadership was not available to the Congress in the next struggle, if it became necessary, the Congress should itself shoulder the responsibility of leadership.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, speaking at Dudley declared that there was not a corner of the Empire, however remote, which had not made its contribution in men, money or effort to the Common Cause. Men from the outer Empire had already played their part in every theatre of war.

August 1940

His Excellency the Viceroy's pronouncement with regard to India's constitutional development was the chief incident which stirred the political section of India.

The Viceroy issued a statement that it was decided to enlarge his Executive Council by the inclusion of representative Indians, that a War Advisory Council would be set up, including members from the Indian States to associate public opinion closely with the Central Government in the prosecution of the war. His Majesty's Government would assent to the setting up of a body representative of the chief elements in India's national life to desire a constitution for the future. Meanwhile they would welcome any attempt by Indians voluntarily in that direction.

The Maharaja of Mysore died at Bangalore, aged 57, after a reign of 38 years.

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore received the degree of Doctor of Literature (*honoris causa*) from the University of Oxford. The ceremony was arranged at Santiniketan and Sir Maurice Gwyer conferred the degree on behalf of the University.

The Viceroy had interviews with several public leaders including Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Mr. B. G. Kher, following on his announcement of the British Government's offer to enlarge the Governor-General's Executive Council and to set up a War Advisory Council.—Among those who recommended favourable consideration of the Government's offer was Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Surprise was felt at a statement by the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, that he would not accept the invitation to visit the Viceroy. He explained that his telegrams to the Viceroy was to be interpreted in that way.

The Viceroy's announcement was the subject of a debate in both the Houses of Commons and Lords. Mr Amery made it clear that the new Indian Executive Councillors would have the same status as the present Councillors and hold definite portfolios.

The Indian National Congress decided that the Viceroy's declaration was not satisfactory.

There was much discussion on Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's "Sporting offer" to persuade Congress to accept a Moslem League Premier for a Central National Government, provided he agreed to choose only such colleagues as would enjoy the confidence of the elected members of Central Legislature.

Congress decided to hold a meeting of its All-India Committee in Bombay in the middle of September.

1st. The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed by 81 to 50 votes the Co-operative Societies Bill, introduced by Mr. Mukunda Behari Mullick, Minister for Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness.—The Bill aimed at improving the Co-operative movement in the province and putting it on a sound basis.

The Calcutta Gazette in its issue of August 1, published the text of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill together with a statement of objects and reasons.

Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque was reappointed Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for a second term.

Sir Henry Gidney, President of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, speaking at the annual general meeting of the Association in Calcutta, expressed the belief that the Anglo-Indian Community would, as in the past, be ready to shed its blood in the defence of the Empire.

2nd. In a Broadcast talk on "What army expansion means" given from the Simla Studio of the All-India Radio, Major-General Molesworth spoke of the Indian Army expansion.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal made the following statement.—"The question of solving the constitutional problem by means of a constituent assembly is, in the opinion of everyone acquainted with the state of things prevailing in India, an impossibility and does not appeal to anyone except to the majority community."

At a meeting of the Governing Board of the Bombay Presidency Muslim Educational Conference held at Poona, resolutions were passed, recommending that provision be made for the teaching of Urdu in Government Arts Colleges.

The 5th session of the Democratic Swaraj Party was held at Tilak Mandir, Poona.—One of the resolutions contained a demand for immediate declaration by the British Government of Dominion Status of the Westminster variety within a year of the end of war.

3rd. H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore died at Bangalore.

A Press Note issued by the Government of Assam contained a reference to the spontaneous response of the public for furthering the war efforts of Assam. The Note said: "H. E. the Governor during his recent visit to Goalpara, Nowgong, was particularly impressed by the spontaneous way in which the villagers and school children came forward of their own free will to subscribe to the Assam War Fund."

Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad in the course of a statement to the Press from Bombay made the suggestion that the Congress should strive to bring about a communal settlement and accept the offer to expand the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *Harijan* on "Pakistan" in answer to a correspondent, said: "It is not possible to attain an iniquitous end by non-violent means. For instance, you cannot commit theft non-violently. As I understand Pakistan, I do not regard it as a worthy ideal. But since you consider it to be a worthy end, you can certainly carry on a non-violent movement in its behalf."

4th. Mahatma Gandhi, writing under the caption, "Of Civil Disobedience," in the *Harijan*, said: "If the Congress is goaded to it the science of Satyagraha is not without a mode of application inspite of the internal weaknesses. Therefore the final and decisive motive for suspension is undoubtedly the desire not to embarrass the British Government at the present moment."

A large section of the Hindus of Calcutta observed an "All Bengal Protest Day." Meetings were held demanding the withdrawal of what were described as "the new anti-Hindu measures proposed to be initiated by the Government of Bengal," namely the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill and the Secondary Education Bill.

Statutory recognition was restored to the Indian Sugar Syndicate which would be reorganized with larger Government control under the terms of an agreement reached between the Governments of Bihar and United Provinces and the Syndicate.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha addressing a public meeting at Sanivarwada (Poona) said: "Absolute violence and absolute non-violence are both equally sinful and ethically wrong."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting in the Congress House compound in Madras, answered the critics of the resolutions of the Congress Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. and emphatically stated that Gandhiji was still the undisputed leader and far from being divided; Congress was a united body.—Mr. S. Satyamurti presided.

The Board of the Independent Muslims (Azad) Conference met in New Delhi, under the presidentship of Khan Bahadur Alla Baksh, ex-Premier of Sind and President of the Conference, and discussed the questionnaire regarding the rights of the minorities.

5th. Sir James Taylor, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, addressing the sixth annual meeting of the shareholders in Bombay, said: "Even though condi-

tions are serious and undue optimism is to be deprecated, I cannot help feeling that we are ever the worst and that India with its sound banking and financial structure, actively developing its war resources in co-operation with the rest of the Empire, which is also growing stronger daily, can look forward with confidence to the ultimate outcome."

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Dewan and President of the Travancore Legislative Assembly made a statement at Trivandrum : "I have never asserted that India or any other nation has no right either to self-determination or independence when and if self-determination and independence can be asserted on the basis of righteousness and unity ; but to ask that an unarmed India should discard even Dominion Status and protection of British forces and should demand independence, is to pursue a mirage and cling to the illusion that the doctrine of non-violence can be carried into effect in a world full of violence."

6th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, two Government Bills, the Bengal Jute Regulation (Amendment) Bill, introduced by Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister for Agriculture and the Bengal Revenues (charged expenditure) Bill introduced by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Finance Minister, was passed.

At a meeting of the Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European education in Calcutta, a resolution urging the formation of a Cadet Corps in European schools in Bengal, was passed. Mr. J. M. Bottomley, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal presided.

Mr. G. S. Bhalja, Finance Secretary, C. P. gave an assurance that the C. P. Government would take care that the policy relating to prohibition in the province was not disturbed.

The Board of the Independent Muslims (Azad) Conference concluded its deliberations after sittings lasting four days.

Death of Khan Bahadur Nawab Ahmed Yar Khan Daulatana, chief Parliamentary Secretary, Punjab, at Karachi.

7th. H. E. the Viceroy in a statement issued from Simla, made a pronouncement with regard to India's constitutional development. The Viceroy declared that His Majesty's Government had authorized him to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join the Executive Council. His Majesty's Government also authorized His Excellency further to establish a War Advisory Council, which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

The Viceroy stated : "His Majesty's Government authorize me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up, after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life, in order to devise the framework of the new constitution, and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree."

"Meanwhile", His Excellency added, "they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and, secondly, upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself."

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Literature (*Honoris Causa*) of Oxford University, in the presence of a distinguished gathering at Santiniketan.

Dr. B. S. Moonje presided over the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Hindu Theological High School, and in the course of his address pleaded for the right type of education which would combine the training of the intellect and the body.

Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, President of the All-India Azad Conference, in the course of talks with Press representatives in New Delhi, said : "The aim of the Conference is to educate the Muslim masses and strive for the freedom of the country and to safe-guard Muslim religious and cultural rights."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru issued a statement from Allahabad, saying : "The new order by the Government of India in regard to volunteering will have far-reaching consequences. The Congress Working Committee will no doubt issue clear instructions in regard to it and so far as our province is concerned, the Executive of the Provincial Congress Committee will consider the matter."

8th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government policy in regard to the problem of jute prices was criticised at length on a resolution disapproving the Raw Jute Futures and Hessian Cloth Futures Ordinances of 1940.

In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India read out the statement of H. E. the Viceroy. The statement was well received among parties. When Mr. Amery sat down, the Rev. R. W. Sorenson (Lab.) referring to the Viceroy's statement asked, "In view of the very great importance and significance of the statement may I ask whether the Viceroy first communicated with the principal parties in India and will he (the Secretary of State) arrange for an early discussion in this House." Mr. L. S. Amery replied, "Mr. Sorenson will see that the Viceroy himself said that he had been in touch with leaders of political opinion in India and I understand that the Viceroy is also in close touch with them now."

Sir S. Radhakrishnan said in the course of a statement: "The Viceroy's statement deserves serious consideration ; it represents a decided advance on the previous British attitude. On the fundamental question of a constituent Assembly it accepts the Congress position."

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, interviewed by the Associated Press, said : "I welcome the statement issued by H. E. the Viceroy regarding the attittude of the British Government to the constitutional changes to be made in India."

9th. Dr. B. S. Moonje interviewed at Nagpur, said: "The Viceroy's statement creates a unique occasion for all political parties in the country to combine and formulate their response on some common principle with a view to taking a common line of action."

Sir N. N. Sircar, an ex-Member of the Viceroy's Council, said : "The most valuable and welcome features of the statement of H. E. the Viceroy are (1) that communal unity is not made a condition precedent to constitutional advance ; (2) a War Advisory Council is now to be set up ; and (3) the forum to be established for helping in the decision of constitutional issues 'will be a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life."

Dr. George S. Arundale, President of the New India League, in the course of a communication on the statement by H. E. the Viceroy, said : "In the coldest, most unimaginative, unwise and tactless spirit, not to say phraseology, the British Government states that when the time comes a constitutional scheme shall be framed primarily—whatever this word my mean by the Indians themselves, but it must provide for Britain's virtual paramountcy—I am not using the words of the statement because of Britain's obligations, whatever those may be, from which she cannot divert herself. 'You shall have a constitution, but it is more important that we should approve of it than that you should approve of it"—This is what the statement to all intents and purposes ordains. As for the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, it is to be by bureaucratic appointment, and will assuredly satisfy few but those who receive the appointments."

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, Dewan of Cochin, delivered the Convocation Address of the University of Madras. In the course of his address he said that it "is unfortunate that those who have been responsible for the administration of this vast country have completely ignored the importance of making the people of India fit to defend themselves. No time should now be lost in taking adequate measures to teach the people of India how to defend their country."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a plea for starting military colleges at University centres and enabling "all adult citizens of British India to keep arms for self-protection without any license," was put forward.—The resolution was lost by 18 votes to 12.

10th. The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, called a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress at Wardha on August 18.—The principal subject for discussion would be the latest statement of H. E. the Viceroy.

The early grant of "military self-government" to India was urged in a memorandum, submitted by a deputation of the National Liberal Federation of India to H. E. the Viceroy at Poona. The deputation was headed by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, President of the Federation.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha met at Nagpur, Dr. B. S. Moonje presiding in the absence of Mr. V. D. Savarkar. The main item for discussion was the Viceroy's latest pronouncement.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the all-India Muslim League, in a statement

after he had received and heard the deputation of the Punjab provincial League, in Bombay, expressed the view that there was no ground to make any exception in the case of the Punjab Muslims with regard to the ban imposed upon Muslim Leaguers not to join the War Committees, pending the result of the negotiations between him and the Viceroy.

11th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, speaking at Blackpool stated: "If Dominion Status can be finalized after the war there is nothing to prevent a preliminary discussion and negotiation during the war." He appealed to Indian leaders to join the Viceroy's Council and assist India's war effort.

Meanwhile, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in a statement made in Calcutta, said that he did not find any "meeting ground" for the Congress in the terms of the Viceroy's declaration and that he was not meeting Lord Linlithgow at present. He held the view that there was no scope for further discussion.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha while holding the view, that the Viceroy's statement was inadequate, authorized Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the president, to take final action on the matter after his interview with Lord Linlithgow in Bombay.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in an interview at Cawnpore on the Viceroy's latest pronouncement said, it was "thousands of miles removed from what the Congress thinks essential for India." He said that there was an enormous and unbridgeable gulf between the present position taken by the British Government and that of the Congress. He, however, did not altogether discount the possibility of an understanding.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a leading article in the *Harijan*, under the caption "Is non-violence impossible?" wrote: "If we believe that mankind has steadily progressed towards *Ahimsa*, it follows that it has to progress towards it still further.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a meeting at Ellore, said: "I am clear the Viceroy's statement will not satisfy me. I am angry with it. I want you also to feel like it."

12th. Sir Tej Bahadur, commenting on the Viceroy's statement at Allahabad, said: "The statement of the Viceroy issued four days ago makes a definite stage in the weary and by no means fruitful process of negotiations and interviews which, while they are encouraging to some, were equally discouraging to others."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, sponsored by Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister for Agriculture and Industries, came up for consideration.

The Bengal Legislative Council took up consideration, clause by clause, of the Bengal Shops and Establishments Bill as reported on by the Select Committee.

A big rally of Congress volunteers was held at Cawnpore at which Pandit Nehru took the salute.

13th. Mahatma Gandhi in response to the *News Chronicle's* request cabled the following statement: "The Viceregal pronouncement is deeply distressing. It widens the gulf between India, as represented by the Congress and England. Thinking India outside the Congress too has not welcomed the pronouncement. The Secretary of State's gloss soothes the ear, but does not dispel suspicion. Neither the pronouncement takes note of the smouldering discontent. My own fear is that democracy is being wrecked. Britain cannot claim to stand for justice, if she fails to be just to India. India's disease is too deep to yield to any make-believe or half-hearted measures."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, with the disposal of all the amendments, the concluding stage in the consideration of the Bengal Shops and Establishments Bill was reached.

14th. H. E. the Viceroy granted interviews to several Indian political leaders in Bombay before leaving for Poona. They included Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition in the Central Assembly, Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, and Mr. K. M. Munshi, former Home Minister, Bombay and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Moslem League.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha was asked by the Viceroy to meet him at Delhi before August 21.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Shops and Establishments Bill as settled in the Council, was passed.

The Government of Madras published a Bill to regulate and control the business of pawn-brokers, for eliciting opinion.

Mr. L. S. Amery, initiating the India debate in the House of Commons, said : "It is essential to keep these differences in mind when we talk of finding a solution of India's constitutional problems. They are at the moment still unbridged but I refuse to regard them as unbridgeable. India cannot be unitary in the sense that we are in this island, but she can still be a unity."

15th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, consideration of the Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, which provided for the registration and regulation of markets for agricultural produce in order to secure to agriculturists a reasonable price for their produce, was resumed.

The Government of India agreed to a proposal by the Government of Ceylon for an informal conference between Ministers from Ceylon and representatives of the Government of India.

16th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a warning was given by the Premier, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, in connexion with the discussion of the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill sponsored by Mr. Abdul Jabbar Palwan (Krishak Proja Party) : "If this Bill is passed, I will take it as an indication that this House does not want free primary education in this province."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru addressing a public meeting at Benares envisaged a World Federation of Nations. Pandit Nehru said that he was thinking of India's freedom, but at the same time, he was thinking of a world federation of nations. He could not support the idea of a Federation of the units of the British Empire. He was fighting to bring about the end of British Imperialism, but he wanted closer relations with the people of Britain.

17th. Speeches condemning the Communal Award were made at meetings held in various parts of Calcutta in observance of the "Anti-Communal Award Day."

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, former Finance Minister, Bengal, issued a statement to the Press condemning the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. While agreeing that proper measures for improving the standard and efficiency of secondary education should be instituted, Mr. Sarker said : "The moot point is as to whether the Government Bill will achieve this objective. To attain this object the necessary condition is to initiate measures with the object of improving secondary education in the province and not merely of transferring control from one body to another."

At a meeting of the Council of the Deccan Sabha at Poona, a resolution was passed demanding clarification and modification in several respects of the policy enunciated in the Viceregal declaration.

18th. The Congress Working Committee which met at Wardha to consider the Viceroy's latest pronouncement on India's political advance and the Government notification regarding volunteer organizations, held a six-hour session. Mahatma Gandhi was present throughout the session.

Maulana Azad told Press representatives that the committee held a general discussion on the Viceroy's declaration and that the offer woule be further discussed.

Mr. M. S. Aney addressing a public meeting at Wardha, in observance of the "Anti-Communal Award Day", said that the Award was a misnomer when the choice of the arbitrator had not been agreed by the parties concerned. The Congress had seriously blundered in not starting an agitation for its cancellation. "I am afraid", Mr. Aney continued, "Government has again created the minority bogey in the Viceregal and Mr. Amery's statement. We should resist such an anti-national move and take a bold stand. We want national and not communal representation and no weightage but joint electorates."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, expounded a thirteen fold programme of constructive work in the fulfilment of which would lie the non-violent attainment of Swaraj.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a note in the *Harijan*, wrote under the caption "Nazism in its nakedness", in which he quoted a Dutch friend who in a letter to Mahatma Gandhi gave a vivid picture of Nazi methods pointing out how non-violence might have no effect on Hitler.

Sir A. P. Patro presiding over a meeting at Saidapeth, observed, "Prudent and

wise statesmanship demands that we should take up the proposals of the British Government and by work and service, assert and realize our right of full Swaraj."

19th. The Congress Working Committee had a prolonged discussion on the Viceroy's declaration on India's political advance and the further programme of of Congress.—No decision was arrived at.

The Raja Sahib of Sangli, addressing the State Assembly, made an appeal to the people, British India and Indian States, to help Britain in the prosecution of the war.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed two official Bills—the Bengal Jute Regulation (Amendment) Bill 1940, and the Bengal Revenue (charged expenditure) Bill, 1940. A third measure, the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill, 1940 was under consideration when the House adjourned.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly consideration of the Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, which provided for the registration and regulation of markets for agricultural produce in order to secure to agriculturists a reasonable price for their produce, was resumed.

20th. The Congress President's reply to the Viceroy was sent to His Excellency and the Working Committee framed on the same lines a separate but more elaborate resolution on the Viceregal declaration.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, very little progress was made with the Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, the entire proceedings were devoted to the consideration of the nature of agricultural produce and markets to be brought within the purview of the measure.

Sir Akbar Hydari, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, in the course of his address at the Bombay University Convocation observed : "The problem of Indian unity is twofold. It is not confined to unity between the different peoples who inhabit this land but extends to unity between different political entities as well. The problem is not one of fusion which means dissolution of the parts in the whole ; it is rather the question of linking the parts together."

21st. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, confirmed in the course of a Press Conference, that he had already sent a reply to the Viceroy, declaring that there is no meeting ground between the Congress and the Government on the basis of the Viceregal declaration.

The Congress President further revealed that the Viceroy's letter to him had desired that if possible his reply to the Viceroy be sent on or before August 21. The Maulana stated that at the meeting of the Working Committee, he made a statement expressing the above view which the Committee had endorsed. The Congress President had accordingly sent a reply to the Viceroy on August 19. The Maulana had informed the Viceroy that the Working Committee would pass a detailed resolution on the Viceroy's declaration and this would also be sent to him.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, addressed a letter to the Viceroy intimating his inability to meet His Excellency on account of his illness. Mr. Savarkar, however, forwarded to the Viceroy a communication stating the views of the Working Committee of the Hindu .Mahasabha held at Nagpur.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier, emphasized the urgent need for introducing reforms in the existing system of secondary education in the province, when he introduced the Secondary Education Bill in the Assembly.

In the Bengal Council, consideration of the Bengal Alluvion and Diluvian (Amendment) Bill, 1940, was postponed to enable the President, Mr. S. C. Mitra, to obtain the sanction of H. E. the Governor to the measure.

22nd. The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution at Wardha on H. E. the Viceroy's offer and stated *inter alia* : "The proposals contained in the Viceroy's statement of August 8 last, and the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Commons on August 14, are wholly opposed not only to the principle of democracy acclaimed by the British Government in their War aims, but are also opposed to the best interests of India, and, therefore, the Congress cannot be a party to accepting these proposals or advising the country to accept them."

The Committee considered that the declaration and offers not only fell far short of the Congress demand but would prove an impediment in the way of the

evolution of a free and united India. The Working Committee, therefore, called upon the people of India to condemn the attitude of the British Government by holding public meetings and other methods and also through their elected representatives in the provincial legislatures. The Committee also noted with deep regret that the British Government rejected "the friendly offer and practical suggestions contained in the Poona resolution of the All-India Congress Committee."

The War Emergency Educational Arrangement Committee, Calcutta decided on certain arrangements for the education of European children who would normally have been at school in the British Isles.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Home Minister, made a reference to the steps taken by the Government of Bengal to maintain "civil order and security" in the province.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the debate on the Secondary Education Bill was resumed.

23rd. The Congress Working Committee concluded its six-day session after passing a resolution on the Ordinance on volunteer organizations. The resolution stated *inter alia* : "The Working Committee has considered the recent Ordinance of the Governor-General relating to volunteers. The Committee is not in a position to understand the real purpose underlying this Ordinance, and considers it to be too widely and vaguely worded, and liable to abuse on its application. The time chosen for its promulgation and the terms thereof are such as to lend some justification to the interpretation that it has been issued to prevent and hamper the normal activities of Congress volunteers."

In the Bengal Assembly, divergent views regarding the recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission were expressed when discussion was resumed on Mr. Mirza Abul Hafiz's resolution. The resolution wanted that steps should be taken to give effect to the recommendations of the commission with necessary modifications for the replacement of the Permanent Settlement and the zemindary system by a raiyatwari method by legislation.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, eleven non-official Bills were dealt with.—one was under consideration, one was passed, one was withdrawn, three were referred to Select Committees and five were directed to be circulated to elicit public opinion.

Mr. N. L. Puri, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, at a meeting in Calcutta, stressed the need for developing key industries and co-ordinate economy, especially in times of war.

24th. The Government of India issued a communique removing possible misapprehensions in regard to the orders affecting volunteer organizations in the country. The note was in the nature of a reply to the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the subject.

Maulana A. K. Azad asked about the attitude of the Gandhian members of the Working Committee who had remained neutral on the Poona resolution, said that since the Poona meeting things had changed. The Viceroy had rejected the Congress offer and their differences had vanished and the Gandhian members were one with the rest of the Committee now.

H. E. the Governor of Bombay addressing the meeting of the Bombay Presidency Landholders' League, observed : "There is only one task to be put first in these days and that is to bend all our energies to the work of mastering the menace which overshadows the world, which hangs over you and your lands just as much as it does over those who are at the centre of the battle over England—for it is not conquests here and there in Europe but world domination for this hateful creed that Hitler wants."

25th. The Council of the National Federation of India which met at Allahabad under the presidentship of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye to discuss the political situation, passed a resolution asking for certain clarification of the settlements of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India on the scheme for the political advance of India.

The Federation, among other things, wanted that a time limit for India attaining Dominion Status should be laid down, that the new members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be selected from the representatives of the various political parties in the country.

An attack on the Secondary Education Bill and the Calcutta Municipal (Second Amendment) Bill was made by various speakers at a meeting in Calcutta. Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee Presided.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, entitled "Equal Distribution", explained the doctrine of equal distribution mentioned by him as one of the thirteen items of the constructive programme, mentioned by him previously in the *Harijan*.

Mr. T. Prakasam, addressing a public meeting in Madras, appealed to the people to stand by the Congress in the coming years, which, he said, were very critical in the life of the country.

26th. Maulana A. K. Azad, stated in an interview at Wardha that instructions had been issued to provinces, including Assam, for the holding of meetings of protest against the viceregal declaration and Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons and endorsing the Working Committee's resolution. No instructions, on the other hand, were issued in respect of the Punjab and Bengal as they were non-Congress provinces.

The Government of India decided to introduce a scheme for compulsory war risk insurance of goods on land or inland waterways in India.

Mahatma Gandhi said to a batch of "out and out believers in non-violence", in Bombay : "The pity is that no one trusts me with the reins of Government. Otherwise I would show how to govern non-violently. If I maintain a police force, it will be a body of reformers."

In a communique from Simla, a proposal to establish ten training centres in India for the training of pilots in connexion with the air force expansion scheme was mentioned, giving details of the training.

27th. Mr. M. N. Roy, on behalf of the League of Radical Congressmen, in an appeal from Dehra Dun—under the heading "Down with Fascism"—to all freedom loving, progressive and democratic elements in the public life of India, urged them to co-operate in the organization of a mass anti-fascist movement to be inaugurated on September 1, the anniversary of the outbreak of the war, which was to be celebrated as "Anti-Fascist Day".

The Orissa Government issued a Press Note stating that 73 students of the Orissa Medical School were rusticated for one year.

At the fifth annual meeting of the Indian Science News Association in Calcutta, the need for intimate co-operation between Indian scientists and industries was emphasized. Dr. S. C. Law presided. Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Director of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research was the chief guest.

Sir A. H. Guznavi and Sir Abdul Hamid, members of the Central Assembly, Sir Mohamad Yakub, member of the Council of State, and Nawab Sir Mohiuddin Faroqui, a former Bengal Minister, issued a joint statement from Simla, remarking : In our judgment the British Government has given adequate proof of its bonafides with reference to Moslem demands. To avoid coming to grips with a vital question would betray a lack of constructive acumen which is not likely to enhance our reputation in any quarter.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, more than a dozen members took part in the resumed discussion on the Secondary Education Bill. While some members condemned the Bill as a reactionary and anti-national measure, others welcomed it as a much needed legislation.

At the Divisional Azad Conference, held at Etawah, a resolution declaring full independence of Muslims in India and refuting the charge that Muslims put obstacles in the way of its attainment was adopted.

28th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal and member of the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League sent an "open letter" to Mahatma Gandhi, dwelling mainly on the Viceregal pronouncement and Mahatmaji's indifference in the matter of Hindu-Moslem disputes.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly, after four days' debate, rejected by 131 votes to 71, the Congress party's proposal to circulate the Secondary Education Bill for public opinion. All the caste Hindu members belonging to the different parties voted in support of the proposal, while opposition to it came from the members of the Coalition, Krishak-Praja and European parties.

In the Bengal Council, when consideration of the Co-operative Societies Bill was resumed, the Opposition attack was mainly concentrated on clause 9 of the measure relating to the appointment of Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, the General Secretary of the Congress, sent copies of the three resolutions passed by the meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha to all the Provincial Congress Committees with instruc-

tions that the resolutions should be translated into the provincial languages and circulated in the provinces.

29th. The correspondence between H. E. the Viceroy and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was released for publication.

Maulana Azad in his telegram, dated August 10 from Calcutta stated : "I do not find any meeting ground for Congress in the terms of the declaration of August 8. Apart from other fundamental questions there is not even any suggestion for national Government. Under the circumstances I am unable to find any scope for further discussion. Calling Working Committee eighteenth to consider and decide."

It was arranged in Bombay that the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League would meet at Mr. Jinnah's residence to consider the Viceroy's statement as also the political situation. The Committee would also consider the notification issued by the Government of India in regard to volunteer organizations.

In the Bengal Council, the further consideraton of the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill was resumed. Clause 9 of the Bill under which "the Provincial Government may appoint a person to be Registrar of Co-operative Societies for Bengal and may appoint persons to assist him" was the only clause discussed.

30th. In the Bengal Council, education and shipbuilding formed the subjects of three non-official resolutions.

A non official resolution urging that an additional sum of one crore of rupees be set apart by the Government of Bengal in the course of five years for the expansion and improvement of primary education in Bengal was adopted by the Council, without a division.

31st. The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League held a six-hours' session in Bombay, when the offer made by H. E. the Viceroy in his statement and the question of the League members participating on the war committees were discussed. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the League President, explained to the members as to what transpired at his two interviews with the Viceroy in Bombay. He also informed the Committee the points on which he sought clarification.

At the annual general meeting of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, Mr. S. K. Bhatter, the retiring President, criticized the Government of India's attitude towards the promotion of new industries in India.

The Government of India decided to rescind the notification of March 20 declaring the Khaksars to be an unlawful association in the Delhi Province.

September 1940

The principal event of the month was the acceptance of the All-India Congress Committee of the Congress Working Committee's recommendation of the rejection of the Viceregal offer and the Secretary of State's speech thereon.

The Moslem League's Working Committee in Bombay declared itself satisfied that its point of view had been generally recognized by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and also decided to seek further clarification from the Viceroy.

In the former Congress provinces attempts were being made to get together meetings of Congress and other legislators with a view to obtaining support for the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Viceroy's proposals.

The Punjab Government withdrew the ban on the Khaksar organization.

The main conclusions of the Sukkur Riots Enquiry Report were published.

The Bombay Government applied for permission to bring the High Court's decision about the validity of the prohibition laws before the Federal Court.

In Bengal, the Legislative Assembly after a long and vigorous debate sent the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill to a Select Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay passed with few dissentients a resolution prepared by the Working Committee. This found the proposals of the Secretary of State unsatisfactory, pledged Congress to non-violence for the attainment of India's freedom, rejected mass civil disobedience, admired the bravery and endurance of the British against danger, and called on Mahatma Gandhi to lead Congress at the juncture.

At various places in Malabar, there were disturbances when people insisted on holding "protest day" meetings in defiance of magistrates' orders. A number of policemen and demonstrators were killed and injured.

Lord Lamington died aged 80. He was Governor of Bombay from 1903 to 1907 and before that Governor of Queensland.

Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi had interviews with the Viceroy about Moslem League and Congress policy.

The Roger Mission to survey war industrial possibilities in India arrived in the country.

Mr. Amery in London referred to India's magnificent war effort, regretted that differences between Communities were preventing constitutional advance, and appreciated India's sympathy with the people of Britain in their ordeal.

Calcutta's citizens in a Town Hall meeting recorded their sympathy with the people of London and supported the Mayor's proposal to open a fund for the relief of the sufferers.

1st. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, "It is not possible for a large and popular organization like the Congress to be wholly non-violent for the simple reason that all its members cannot have attained the standard level of non-violence. But it is perfectly possible for some of its members who truly understand the implications of pure *ahimsa* and observe it as the law of their life, to lead a successful Satyagraha movement. This truth has even been demonstrated so far by the Congress."

An "Anti-Fascist" demonstration was staged in Calcutta, when at a meeting held under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Branch of the League of Radical Congressmen, a call was made to all democratic elements in the country to rally to the support of Britain in her fight against Fascism.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting at Chaupathi, Bombay, criticized the British Government's attitude towards India and said that the Viceregal declaration had clarified the issues in as much as the stalemate had ended. Now it only remained for the Congress to go its way and they had to consider how best they could all pull together.

Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, addressed a public meeting in Bombay, in pursuance of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, calling upon the Congress Committees to condemn at public meetings the attitude of the British Government towards the legitimate demands and aspirations of India.

2nd. The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League (in Bombay) adopted three resolutions on the Viceroy's statement and cognate matters. The first resolution said that the Committee considered that the Viceregal statement and Mr. Amery's clarification constituted a considerable progressive advance towards the view-point taken up by the All-India Moslem League regarding the problem of the future constitution of India. The Committee recorded its satisfaction that "His Majesty's Government have, on the whole, practically met the demand of the Moslem League for a clear

assurance that no future constitution, interim or final, will be adopted by the British Government without the Moslem League's approval and consent."

The second resolution asserted that certain observations contained in the Viceroy's declaration and Mr. Amery's speech, regarding unity of natural life in India were non-existent and "historically inaccurate and self-contradictory." The resolution reiterated the Moslem League's faith in the Pakistan scheme adopted at the Lahore session of the Moslem League.

The Working Committee also passed a resolution appointing a committee to examine the cases of those members of the Council of the All-India Moslem League who joined the War Committees in contravention of the League resolution and take such disciplinary action as it may consider appropriate.

The Working Committee of the League concluded its three day session after passing a resolution permitting such Moslems who thought they could serve any useful purpose by merely associating themselves with war committees to do so.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, good progress was made with the Bengal Co-operative Credit Societies Bill 1940, when clauses 9 to 30 inclusive were passed.

3rd. In the Bengal Council, considerable progress was made with the consideration of the Co-operative Societies Bill, when nearly 20 clauses were passed.

In the Bengal Assembly, practically the entire sitting was devoted to the Damodar-Hooghly-Howrah flushing scheme.

Mr. M. N. Roy, speaking at a public meeting at Dehra Dun observed : "If we do not feel it to be our duty to help the British people in their fight against foreign Fascism and the intrigues of the friends of Fascism at home, we talk of freedom in vain."

4th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab in an interview at Lahore, expressed satisfaction with all the decisions of the League, and said that while the League was seeing a clarification of certain points there was an opportunity for others (meaning the Congress) to seek further elucidation. The Premier, however, could not say whether there would be further talks between H. E. the Viceroy and the Congress. Replying to the question whether Khaksar prisoners would be released in view of the withdrawal of the ban on their organization, Sir Sikander said that the cases of those Khaksars who had not been convicted of violence would be examined.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister for Local Self-Government, moved the reference of the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill (1940) to a Select Committee.

5th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, issued a statement, in which he said he asked Sardar Sampuran Singh, Leader of the Congress party in the Punjab Assembly, to "fully clarify the situation" regarding certain incidents at a dinner at Patiala.

In the Bengal Council, consideration of the Co-operative Societies Bill was resumed,—whether the auditing of accounts of Co-operative Societies should be independent of the control of the Registrar or not was discussed.

6th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, practically the entire sitting was devoted to further consideration of Mr. Lalit Chandra Das's resolution urging the establishment of a ship-building industry in the province. The resolution was carried without a division.

In the Bengal Assembly, not less than 20 private members' Bills were disposed of without much discussion.

7th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, asked in Madras, as to what he thought of Mr. Amery's 'No' to a question in the House of Commons whether he would not consider a new approach to the Indian problem, said : "I have nothing special to say about it. There are many 'noes' in history that have been made into 'yeses'. The present war is itself a vast and tragic commentary on this truth. If thirty crores say 'yes', one man's 'no' will be soon forgotten".

The annual general meeting of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha commenced at the Indian Association Hall under the presidentship of Sir Manmathanath Mukherji.

A meeting of the Council of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee was held at 'Anand Bhawan', Allahabad.

8th. Mahatma Gandhi replying to an open letter addressed to him by the Bengal

Premier, said : "If the cases of injustices quoted by him (Mr. Fazlul Huq) are on a par with the Biswa case, his indictment singularly fails."

In response to His Majesty the King Emperor's call, Calcutta in common with the rest of the British Empire observed the day as a day of National Prayer, when Christians, Hindus, Moslems, Jews, Armenians, Parsis, Jains and other communities all united in prayer for the success of the British aims.

Mahatma Gandhi declared in a note in the *Harijan* : "If this conflagration is to be put out through non-violent efforts, it will be done only by India."

9th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in opening the City Fourth Circle Political Conference (Madras) declared that it was not wise or just or even practicable to govern a huge nation against its own will and with the sole aid of those that opposed the national organization on the other hand, the representatives of the Congress with their desire for adjustment and accommodation, would have shouldered the responsibility of running the administration and prosecuted the war well, at least so far as it affected India.

H. E. M. Louis Bonan, Governor of French India, informed the Press from Pondicherry that "the French Indian Colonial Government rallies round General de Gaulle's Government of the Free French Nation and denounces Marshal Petain's Government."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, discussion on the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill was resumed ; it was practically confined to the members opposing it.

The first meeting of the Kerala Provincial Congress Working Committee was held at the residence or Mr. H. Manjunatha Rao (Calicut).

At a special meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, a resolution endorsing the declaration of the Congress Working Committee on the Viceregal pronouncement and assuring the Congress High Command of its preparedness to "join the struggle" was adopted unanimously.

Maulana A. K. Azad, replying to an address presented to him on behalf of the Allahabad University Union, said : "As far as the ordinary normal political routine of the country goes, you, as students, are not concerned with it and must devote your time to studies. But there are abnormal times in the political life of a country when it is a matter of life and death, and of self-respect. In such times, you have to answer the call of the country. That day for India has come."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing the Allahabad Students, said that the time of testing had come. This would be a hard test, and if the University had not prepared them for it, then their education and the whole system of education was defective.

Sardar Patel in the course of a speech at Ahmedabad observed that the declarations made on behalf of the British Government constituted an attack on the very existence of the Congress.

10th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, after a four-day debate, the House rejected by 127 votes to 88 the Congress party's proposal to circulate the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill for public opinion. As proposed by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister-in Charge of the Department of Local Self-Government, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee, the voting in the case being 127 for the motion and 82 against it.

The trial began at Alipore, of the case in which Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was prosecuted under the Defence of India Rules in connexion with two speeches alleged to have been delivered by him at Ballygunje and Belliaghata.

11th. H. E. the Marchioness of Linlithgow, broadcasting from Viceregal Lodge, Simla, announced the formation of a body of voluntary women workers to be called the Women's Voluntary Service.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was prosecuted before the Additional Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta under the Defence of India Rules in connexion with a speech alleged to have been delivered at Mahomedally Park, Calcutta on April 11 and an article appearing in the Forward Bloc of May 18.

The finding of the Court of Inquiry—conducted by Mr. Justice Weston—into the Sukkur riots was : "The cause of the Sukkur disturbances was undoubtedly the long Manzilgarh agitation."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha had an interview with Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the Sabha. Mr. Savarkar

authorized Dr. Moonje to officiate as the Working President of the Sabha during his illness and to convene an urgent meeting of the Working Committee.

12th. Mahatma Gandhi accompanied by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Dr. Syed Mahmud arrived in Bombay for Congress meetings and had informal discussions with Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel, Pandit Nehru and other members of the Congress Working Committee.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Shops and Establishments Bill which sought to regulate the hours of work and payment of wages of persons employed in shops and other establishments and to provide holidays and other amenities, was passed.

In the Bengal Legislative Council the consideration of the Co-operative Societies Bill reached the concluding stage when all the amendments to the 139 clauses of the Bill were disposed of.

Mr. M. N. Roy in his letter to the United Provinces Congress Committee which took disciplinary action against him, asserted that the charges against him were unfounded. He further observed : "I beseech you to discipline your intolerance which is converting the Congress into a stagnant pool of uncritical conformism and blind obedience. These are not the assets for a really powerful political organization of the people. I have done nothing other than to combat those dangerous tendencies."

13th. The Congress Working Committee met at Birla House, Bombay, Maulana A. K. Azad presided. Mahatma Gandhi was present at the meeting. The sitting lasted six hours. It was undersood that Mahatma Gandhi made a long statement on the political situation.

A Press Note from Simla explained that Vice-Admiral N. Fitz Herbert, Flag officer commanding the Royal Navy would have by next year under his command the most powerful naval force that India had ever had for keeping watch on her immense coastline and vital major ports.

Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad, the Liberal Leader, in a statement from Bombay expressed the view that the launching of Satyagraha by the Congress would create greater gulf between the various communities and retard the object of creating a powerful and united India.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, an account of the financial position of the Government of Bengal was given by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Finance Minister, during a debate on a resolution moved by Mr. Nur Ahmed.

At a meeting of the members of the Bihar Legislature convened by the Congress Legislative Party at Patna, a resolution rejecting the proposals contained in the statements and declarations made by the Viceroy and the Secretaty of State for India and condemning the attitude of the British Government, was passed.

14th. The Congress Working Committee had another three-hour discussion on the political situation.

Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, moved a resolution rejecting the Viceroy's offer at a meeting of the members of the Bombay Assembly. The Moslem League, the Independent Labour Party and the Progress Party did not participate. Mr. Kher said that hopes were entertained that the spirit of co-operation and goodwill between Britain and India, which had been so carefully fostered and built up during 2½ years of Congress administration would be valued and continued by the British Government but it was now obvious that it had disappeared due entirely to the unsympathetic attitude of the "bureaucracy."

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta moved an amendment to the resolution, and said that while he was in full agreement with the resolution and in the condemnation of the British Government's offer, he asserted that it was due to the vacillating policy of the Congress that the minority question had assumed such an inflated importance. The resolution was passed as also another protesting against the suppression of the legislature.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption "Economic Ruin in Sind" : "It is as much the duty of the Congress as of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha to deal with the situation in the right spirit. The Government of Sind will be judged by the manner in which they handled the situation."

Mr. J. Aitken, President of the Indian Sugar Mills Association, in his address at the eighth general meeting of that organization at Cawnpore, said : "An industry vital to the United Provinces and Behar has been brought to its knees

and a large section of it is still by no means free of the risk of bankruptcy, and I think you will agree that this warrants drastic measures."

15th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in a note in the *Harijan*, "I am being innundated with letters complaining that by giving my definition of Ahimsa before Poona Congressmen, who saw me recently at Wardha. I have seriously circumscribed the scope of ahimsa." He adds : "These friends forget that my remarks were confined to Congress ahimsa only. Personally, I would not kill insects, scorpions or even snakes. Nor would I under any circumstances take meat. But I may not impose the creed of such ahimsa on the Congress."

Opening the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, announced that Mahatma Gandhi had once again agreed to take up the active leadership of the Indian National Congress.

The resolution on the political situation—passed by the Congress Working Committee and placed before the All-India Congress Committee for the latter's consideration—endorsed the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha.—"The Congress", the resolution said, "is pledged under Mr. Gandhi's leadership to non-violence for the vindication of India's freedom. At this grave crisis in the movement for national freedom, the A. I. C. C. requests him to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken."

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the A. I. C. C. said : "there is no question of mass civil disobedience. There may be—I am still not sure—individual civil disobedience. I am still searching for some thing. So far, I have not been able to find anything."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad after reviewing developments since the Poona session of the A. I. C. C. said : "The offer that Britain has made through the Viceroy is not even worth looking at."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, acting President of the Hindu Mahasabha, sent a letter to the Viceroy seeking an interview to explain the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha in regard to the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

16th. The All-India Congress Committee concluded its session in Bombay after passing the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the political situation.—All the amendments which demanded the immediate launching of mass civil disobedience were rejected by overwhelming majorities, not more than five voting in favour of any of them. Mahatma Gandhi, who addressed the meeting, remarked that the resolution was "a great step towards Swaraj". He said that he was unable to define Swaraj, but that the basis of Swaraj was the right of free speech and civil liberty for every one. These two were the 'root' of Swaraj and the "foundation" of Swaraj. Referring to the demand of certain members for mass civil disobedience, Mahatma Gandhi said : I know when to start mass civil disobedience and I would ask you to leave the matter in my hands." The country, he said, was not in a position to launch such a movement.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, acting President of the Hindu Mahasabha, had an interview with H. E. the Viceroy at Simla. It was understood, Dr. Moonje placed before the Viceroy the Hindu Mahasabha's position, laying special stress on the points made in the statement issued by the Mahasabha President.

17th. It was understood that Mahatma Gandhi drafted a long letter to the Viceroy enclosing the A. I. C. C. resolution on the political situation and seeking an interview with His Excellency.

The Muslim League's demands were strongly denounced at a public meeting (at Simla) of Hindus and Sikhs, with Raja Sir Daljit Singh in the chair.

18th. The Congress Working Committee concluded its session in Bombay after passing the following resolution : "In view of the resolution just passed by the All-India Congress Committee, the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organizations to stop all civil disobedience, individual or other, pending definite instructions from Mahatma Gandhi. He regards this suspension as indispensable for his forthcoming interview with His Excellency the Viceroy and as a test of discipline of registered and unregistered Congressmen and all Congress-minded men and women, and also as a short course of obedience to law before recourse to civil disobedience, should it become necessary."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, Acting President of the Hindu Mahasabha in a statement, said : "The Congress resolution is an enigma."

19th. Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview given in Bombay to a London newspaper, gave a special message to the British people. Replying to the charge of apparent inconsistency between his previous declarations and his present attitude, Gandhiji said : "I thought that I had clearly and sufficiently explained my position in my speeches in anticipation of the change of inconsistency. If there is any inconsistency it is due to the ever changing and, in this particular instance, changed circumstances. My sympathy is not only the same as I expressed in Simla on the declaration of war, but it has grown deeper because the imaginary has become so vividly real. In Simla, almost a year ago, I had expressed my grief over what might befall Britain. Today the dreaded thing has happened and is still going on. Freedom of speech and corresponding action is the breath of democratic life. Freedom of propagating non-violence as a substitute for war is most relevant when indecent savagery is being perpetrated by the warring nations."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill, 1940 was passed and the Bengal Water Hyacinth (Amendment) Bill, 1940 was taken into consideration.

Lord Beaverbrook, Minister for Aircraft Production, sent a telegram to H. E. the Governor of the U. P. expressing his gratitude at the magnificent gift of Rs. 16 lakhs from the United Provinces for the purchase of aircraft.

Sir K. Nazimuddin replying to a question in the Bengal Assembly, said : "Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is being detained not under an order of the Government of India, but under an order of the Government of Bengal, who do not contemplate withdrawal of the same."

20th. Mahatma Gandhi in a statement issued to the Press from Wardha said : "Assuming that the interview is granted, I do not go to hold a pistol at the Viceroy's head if the contemplated civil disobedience is to be taken as such. But I go, as I explained in my speech before the All-India Congress Committee, in order to make sure I am right in the inferences I have drawn from the acts of Government commencing from the declarations of H. E. the Viceroy. If the premises on which the Congress is built are wrong, there is no case for civil disobedience."

Mr. M. N. Roy, commenting on the A. I. C. C. resolution, said : "It will only please Berlin and Rome. It is beyond mortal understanding. Low moral support for Britain and professed abhorrence for Fascism are reconciled with anti-war propaganda. The object of this propaganda is obviously to prevent India's participation in the war."

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur, presiding over the annual Muslim Youth Conference in Madras, said : "My advice to young Muslims is that you should forget your religious differences, attempt to have one common platform and come under the Muslim League, which is the only organization of the country."

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, Congress Secretary, issued a circular from Bombay, stating : "There should be no 'all provincial day' or processions or hartal. In no case must the explanation of the resolutions made an occasion to develop into anti-recruitment and anti-war contribution propaganda."

21st. An emergency meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was held in Bombay, to consider the Viceroy's proposals in the light of the latest interview between the Viceroy and Dr. B. S. Moonje. The meeting was expected to give the Mahasabha's final reply to the Viceroy's proposals for the expansion of the Executive Council and the constitution of a War Advisory Committee.

22nd. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, addressing a meeting of about 500 Bengal Congress workers at the B. P. C. C. office in Calcutta, described the policy of the Congress and explained the implications of the resolution passed by the A. I. C. C. at its meeting in Bombay.

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha (in Bombay) adopted a resolution offering the Mahasabha's co-operation with the Government in its war effort on "honourable terms of equity and justice." The Mahasabha urged the Viceroy to make a definite declaration that the Government had not approved or accepted the Moslem League's scheme of partitioning India and claims "in view of the reported understanding between the Viceroy and the League" representation of six seats on the expanded Executive Council on the population basis.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, said that he was the sole authority on Satyagraha.

23rd. Four persons were killed and twenty-six injured, when the police opened fire on a riotous mob following a communal disturbance at Kulti (Assansol).

At a conference in Calcutta, the Congress workers of different shades of opinion explained the various difficulties which they were experiencing in the course of Congress work, to the Congress President.

Mahatma Gandhi in a statement observed : "I shall strain every nerve to avoid a civil disobedience struggle. But it would be wrong for Congressmen to sleep while an effort of peace is being made. I hope no Congressman will think that because I have undertaken command of the struggle, if it comes, the spinning and Khadi conditions are waived."

24th. H. E. M. Louis Bonoin, Governor of French India, in contradicting a news agency report from Chandernagore stated : "It is absolutely inexact that my decision to range myself on the side of the National Committee of General de Gaulle has been taken in conformity with instructions from the Vichy Government. Simple commonsense indicates it sufficiently. "That which has given rise to a confusion, which I believe to be involuntary, is that in the declaration read before elected representatives, notables and officials, I said that till the day of my decision our relations with neighbouring authorities—meaning the British India Government—had not ceased to be amicable, and that I had received in this matter the approval of the Vichy Government."

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant addressing a public meeting under the auspices of the District Congress Committee, Naini Tal, declared : "It is a matter of immense gratification that Mahatma Gandhi has again assumed the leadership of the Congress." He added that Mahatma Gandhi had asked them to wait and suspend all forms of civil disobedience till he had met the Viceroy. As disciplined soldiers, they must faithfully carry out these instructions and, in the meantime, consolidate their forces.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru addressed about 300 City Congress Workers at Allahabad. He explained to them the stand taken by the Congress and the political situation in the country in general. Pandit Nehru stressed the need for discipline and exhorted the workers to be prepared.

Mr. Asaf Ali, a member of the Congress Working Committee, said at Karachi, "As the Congress is pledged to non-violence and Mahatma Gandhi is our general, we have to follow him on whatever path he guides us."

25th. The Committee of Inquiry consisting of Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and Mr. M. H. B. Lethbridge appointed by the Government of Bengal to inquire into the incidents that took place on July 22 and July 24 at and in the neighbourhood of the Islamia College and other educational institutions of Calcutta, submitted its report. The report contained a narrative of facts, as far as the committee was able to ascertain them, concerning the incidents at the Islamia College on July 22 and at the Calcutta Madrassa and the Presidency College on July 24. It also contained the Committee's remarks on the evidence that was tendered before it.

Mahatma Gandhi accompanied by Mr. Mahadev Desai and Mr. Pyarelal, left for Simla to meet the Viceroy.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, President and Lala Hariram Seth, Secretary of the Hindu Sangathan Committee returned to Lucknow after attending the Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee meeting at Bombay.

"The Hindu Sabha stands for responsive co-operation", said Lala Hariram Seth, interviewed by the Press. There was genuine desire and complete unanimity among the members of the Working Committee, to stand by Britain in her hour of trial. The Mahatma really meant co-operation and had not made impossible demands. As a matter of fact these were far below their legitimate due. He hoped that the British Government would rise to the occasion and not neglect the Hindus.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech in London expressed regret that the leaders of the Indian National Congress had rejected the Viceroy's offer. Mr. Amery said : "I fully recognize the sincerity of Mr. Gandhi's pacifist convictions. The practical question is : "How is he to reconcile his demand on his own behalf and on behalf of the Congress for freedom to voice this conviction with his own statement, which I sincerely welcome, that he does not want to embarrass the Government in its conduct of the war."

H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala (at Simla) made an appeal to the Sikh community to unite and maintain their martial traditions by actively supporting Britain.

The Pakistan delegation of the Moslem League arrived at Arrah and addressed a meeting of Moslems in the evening. Khan Bahadur S. M. Ismail, president, provincial Moslem League, presided.

26th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, commenting on Mr. Amery's speech (in Madras) declared : "I am convinced that the Secretary of State for India has at a critical moment done the greatest disservice to his country by advising the rejection of the offer that the All-India Congress Committee made at Poona.

The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee circularised all subordinate Congress Committees in the province to celebrate Gandhiji's 72nd. birthday on October 2.

27th. The interview between Mahatma Gandhi and H. E. the Viceroy took place at Simla. The interview began at 2-45 P. M. and ended at 6-15. Gandhiji decided to stay on at Simla for a few days.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru addressing a students' meeting at Lucknow asked the students to have before their minds' eye an image of India as they wanted her to be and then strive their utmost to achieve that ideal.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, in a message from New Delhi in connexion with Gandhi Jayanti, said : "The best way to celebrate the Gandhi Jayanti and do honour to our leader is to help in the life-giving activity he has devised to fill the empty stomachs of millions of our starving countrymen." He added, "By purchasing Khadi, we shall not only help our poor, but gladden the heart of him whose whole life is dedicated to the service of the poor, the lowly and the down-trodden."

The General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress (in Bombay) discussed a draft resolution which would satisfy the different shades of opinion with regard to the political situation.

28th. The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League passed a resolution in New Delhi, regretting that they were unable to accept the offer of the Viceroy. The resolution stated *inter alia* : "The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League at their meeting at Bombay on September 2 last, after considering the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated August 14 last and addressed to the President, containing a specific offer in regard to the proposed expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council, requested His Excellency to reconsider the matter and authorized the President to seek further information and clarification, particularly on the points set out in the resolutions before the Committee could deal with the offer.

29th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah released to the Press the correspondence that passed between him and His Excellency the Viceroy.

The Council of the All-India Moslem League unanimously passed its Working Committee's resolution rejecting the Viceroy's offer. Mr. Jinnah, in a speech to the Council on his negotiations with the Viceroy, described His Excellency's offer as follows : "Two seats on the Governor-General's Executive Council will be allotted to the nominees of the Moslem League out of a number we do not know yet." He had urged that should any party now refusing to co-operate later decide to accept the Viceroy's offer, its nominees should be allowed to join the Council only in agreement with the parties already represented. If the Congress came in, Moslem representation should be equal to that of the Hindus ; otherwise they (Moslems) should have the majority of the additional seats as "in that case the main burden and responsibilities will be borne by Moslems."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, in a statement to the Press from New Delhi, said : "My attention has been invited to a statement in the Press to the effect that I stated at the meeting of the Working Committee of the Moslem League that I was the originator of the Pakistan scheme, and that the only difference lay in the way in which it had been presented to the public. This statement is incorrect, unwarranted and mischievous."

Dr. Paranjpye, President of the National Liberal Federation said (from Poona) : "It is rather unfortunate that the Working Committee of the Moslem League took such a decision."

30th. H. E. the Viceroy wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi, summarizing the

position as it emerged after the interview which the Viceroy granted to Gandhiji at Simla. He said : "It would clearly not be possible, in the interests of India herself, more particularly at this critical juncture in the war, to acquiesce in interference with the war effort which would be involved in freedom of speech so wide as that for which you have asked." The Viceroy made it clear in his letter that the action suggested by Mahatma Gandhi would certainly amount not only to the inhibition of India's war effort but to the embarrassment of Great Britain in the prosecution of the war which the Congress said it was anxious to avoid.

Mahatma Gandhi, who left Simla, replied : "It is unfortunate that we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on the single issue of freedom of speech. But I shall hug the hope that it will be possible for the Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position." He also declared that the Congress still desired to refrain from embarrassing the British Government but it was impossible for the Congress to make a fetish of such policy by denying its creed. He added : "If the Congress has to die it should do so in the act of proclaiming its faith."

October 1940

The meeting of H. E. the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi at Simla though infructuous caused a good deal of sensation in Indian political circles. The next item of interest was the meeting of the Eastern Group Conference in New Delhi, which was presided over by the Viceroy ; a message of goodwill was sent by the Prime Minister.

The Moslem League rejected the Viceroy's offer to fill two seats in his enlarged Council from among members nominated by it. In rejecting the offer the League made it clear that it stood for co-operation in India's war effort.

After an interview with Mahatma Gandhi the Viceroy found it not possible to acquiesce in interference with the war effort of the kind proposed by Gandhiji, who asked for permission for all who so wished to write and speak against participation in war in general or in this war in particular. Gandhiji issued a detailed statement on his interview with the Viceroy and the reasons for the breakdown of the talks. While paying a tribute to the Viceroy for the courtesy and patient attention shown to him he conferred that, inspite of his clear presentation of the Indian case, the Viceroy "would not be drawn into a discussion." He described how he showed the untenability of the British view that lack of communal agreement barred the way to freedom. He added : "There is a certain cold reserve about the British official world, which gives them their strengh and isolation for surroundings and facts. I suppose that is what is meant by the steel-frame." Concluding, Gandhiji pointed out that "the immediate issue is the right to exist, which broadly put, means free speech. This the Congress wants not merely for itself but for all."

The serious illness of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore caused concern in every part of the country.

The Government ban on the Goodwill Mission to Waziristan was strongly criticized by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mr. Asaf Ali, members of the Mission, in the course of a statement issued from Peshawar.

Dr. B. S. Moonje made a plea in the course of a statement that

the Congress should seek an ally in the Hindu Mahasabha in dealing with the Muslim League's claims.

The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha. It passed a resolution stating that the action of the Government in refusing permission to the Goodwill Mission to proceed to Waziristan and even banning a visit to Bannu, "confirms the impression that the British authorities are not desirous of encouraging or permitting the development of friendly relations between the people of India and the trans-border people."

The Hindu League Executive decided on a Anti-Pakistan front. Mr. Amery, the President, was authorized to seek the co-operation of other political organizations in this behalf.

A Goodwill Mission from Thailand Siam) toured Northern and Western India and arrived in Calcutta.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Opposition in the Bengal Legislative Assembly and former member of the Congress Working Committee, was removed by the Congress Working Committee from the Bengal Congress Assembly Party and called on to give up his seat in that Assembly, on the ground of disobedience to Congress orders.

In accordance with the Congress Working Committee's resolution, Mahatma Gandhi took upon himself the responsibility of starting "Selective Civil disobedience". At his direction Mr. Vinoba Bhave made speeches explaining why Congress was opposed to India's participation in the war.

The Provincial Congress Committees were asked, according to a circular intimating the desire of Mahatma Gandhi, to push on the constructive programme of the Congress with vigour and enthusiasm. "There is a close and organic connextion between the constructive programme and the civil disobedience movement."

Mr. Vinoba Bhave was arrested under the Defence of India Rules when he was preparing to make his fifth speech and was sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment.

H. E. the Viceroy opened the Eastern Group Conference which discussed the part that the Eastern Countries of the British Empire could take in developing war industries for the common effort.

1st. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a press interview in Calcutta, on the meeting between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi, said: "I admit that the outcome of the Simla meeting is not contrary to expectations." The Congress President added, "The very presence of the British Government in India indicates one reality from whatever angle we see the denial of free will of India. Naturally, therefore, we cannot expect her to tolerate the free expression of our decision about the war, even if it be of a purely non-violent nature."

Mahatma Gandhi, replying to a question by a United Press representative prior to his departure for Wardha from New Delhi, said: "The next step is likely to be taken at Wardha, when the Working Committee meets. If my countrymen are determined to win Swaraj, I am confident Swaraj would touch our feet within the shortest possible time. My message to my countrymen, at this juncture, is only this that they should strengthen the hands of their General and establish unity in the country at all cost."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, addressing a gathering of ryots at Nuh (Gurgaon district) said that Mahatma Gandhi was among the first Indians to denounce Hitler's acts of aggression and to declare that his sympathy lay entirely on the side of Britain in this war. Since that declaration was made the Congress had

been changing its position from time to time until at last the Mahatma had formulated his demand for freedom to carry on propaganda against participation in the war.

The All-India Radio's War Work was reviewed and a scheme of programme planning considered at a conference of Station Directors which began in Delhi under the chairmanship of Mr. A. S. Bokhari, Controller of Broadcasting.

2nd. Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement from Nagpur saying : "Your telling me this or that mattered little. The attempt was worth making. I had told you that even if I did not get what I wanted from the Viceroy I would bring from Simla added strength for myself. Who knows that to have added strength is not better than weak success ? But my wisdom will be tested by the manner in which I use the strength."

A Press Note from Simla stated that the skill and bearing of the units of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps in France, during the days leading up to the great evacuation, were warmly described in reports which reached the Government of India.

Sir S. Radha Krishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University opening the building of the Brahmachari Vadi at Ahmedabad, declared : "Instead of civilizing the barbarian, the modern system of education barbarised the civilised man."

3rd. A charge under the Defence of India Rules was framed against Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, who was prosecuted on a charge of having committed prejudicial acts by delivering a speech in Hindi on April 11 last and also by writing an article entitled the "Day of Reckoning" which appeared in the forward Bloc of May 18 of which he was the editor.

According to a statement issued by the Bombay Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Savarkar, in his latest letter, thanked His Excellency the Viceroy for rejecting some of the demands of the Moslem League. Mr. Savarkar added that the turning down of demands removed misgivings in the mind of the Hindu public raised by the League resolutions.

4th. Mahatma Gandhi issued the following statement from Wardhaganj : "It is my firm conviction that British statesmen have failed to do the right thing when it was easy to do it. If India is wholly in favour of participation in the war they could have easily disregarded any hostile propaganda. But determination to gag free expression of opinion provided it was not in the least painted with violence shatters Britain's claim that India's participation is voluntary. Had the Congress proposal been accepted, such and as Britain would have got from India would have been an asset of inestimable value. The non-violent party would have played an effective part for honourable peace when the proper time for it was in sight as it must be some day."

Mr. H. A. Barnes, Political Agent, Zoab District, Baluchistan, was shot dead by a tribesman.

5th. Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement from Wardha and stated *inter alia* : "Before I do so, I think it is necessary to say a few words regarding Lord Linlithgow. He is straight in his talk and deliberate and economical in his language. He is never equivocal nor leaves you in doubt as to his meaning. He conveys the most unpalatable decisions with a calmness and courtesy which for the moment make you think that you have heard no harsh or hard decision. He listens to your argument with a patience and attention I have never known in any other Viceroy or high functionary. He is never ruffled or discourteous. With all this, however, he is not to be easily moved from his position. He meets you with his decision already made on the matter under discussion. He takes care not to let you think that it is so. But there is no doubt that his decision is unchangeable."

At a meeting at Masulipatam, the Executive Committee of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee adopted a resolution fully supporting Mahatma Gandhi : "The Committee pledges the full support of Andhradesa to any measures that Mahatmaji, as leader of the Indian National Congress, may prescribe to meet the situation created by the apparent failure of the Gandhi—Viceroy negotiations which, in their opinion, have added immensely to the strength of the Congress and its General."

6th. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Liberal Leader, presiding over a public meeting

in Bombay declared : "Whatever may be our grievances against Britain, it is clearly the duty of every Indian now to support her to win this war." Sir Cawsjee Jehangir, in his speech, asked the audience to visualize the fate of India under the Nazis. It might be argued (he added) that if England won the war there might not be much difference in the condition of India. But if Hitler won the war, it was the opinion of all the clearest thinkers in this country, that India would be used for the utilitarian purposes of Germany and Italy and there would be an end to civil liberties and aspirations of India.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, in the course of a speech at Coimbatore, said that the attitude that the Congress had been compelled to take was intellectually sound, honest and unanswerable.

7th. Mr. S. Srinivas Iyengar, a former President of the Indian National Congress, presiding over a meeting at Alundar, Madras, said : "The Gospel of non-violence is good for a Sanyasi, a man who has renounced the world and who finds happiness in surrender. But this will not do for one who wants to live an active life, much less for a nation." Continuing Mr. Iyengar said : "This is a gospel of cowardice. If some brave men can be non-violent, many more people who are cowards can take shelter under it. To accept this creed is not patriotism. It is a direct invitation to other countries to invade India and plunder the country as happened formerly."

Mr. M. N. Roy said at Dehra Dun, "To enable India to make the fullest contribution to the triumph of democratic and progressive forces, her war efforts must be democratized."

H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras presiding over a public meeting in Madras, said : "This is a war for democrary. This is a war to see that we have a right to live in future as a civilized nation whether in India or in Britain. This is a war which is fought by the common people as well as the ruling classes and this is a war in which everyman, woman and child can help to win, whether here or in other parts of the Empire."

Master Ajit Singh, General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal, in the course of his presidential address at the Akali Political Conference, Lahore, said : "The only way open to the Congress to win the hearts of the Sikhs is to make a clear and unequivocal declaration accepting their demands."

8th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Gorakhpur, said : "The war has made it clear that smaller nations could not exist as separate entities." He added that it was difficult even for greater nations to claim separate existence or to command wide empires. One had to think of federations of nations.

A Press Statement from Simla observed : "India is now in a position to provide her own military requirements in the way of ammunition, light armament and other equipment. India, it is understood, is also preparing for the day when she will be able to supply enormous quotas of these items to the Allied forces overseas."

Dewan Bahadur R. Srinivasan, in a statement to the Press from Madras declared : "Mr. Gandhi and the Congress have done more harm than good in their treatment of the Scheduled classes.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a meeting of the residents of Halls Garden, Royapettah, Madras, dwelt at length on the work of Mahatma Gandhi for the uplift of the Harijans and observed that he would without exaggeration say that there was no truer, no greater friend and servant of the Harijans than Mahatma Gandhi. It was the duty of all lovers of India to help him.

9th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, informed the Press that the All-India Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee took disciplinary action against Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Congress Assembly Party in Bengal, and expelled him from the party.

Mr. L. S. Amery presided at the East India Association meeting at Caxton Hall when Lord Erskin read a paper on "Madras and the new constitution."

Lord Erskine began by saying that it was certainly true that Madras was quite ready to receive a large measure of Self-Government inherent in the India Act of 1935 since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms had worked better in Madras than elsewhere.

Mr. Vijayalaxmi Pandit addressing a meeting at Cawnpore, said : "Every woman in this country should be ready to take part in the struggle for freedom."

A resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Provincial Moslem League at Karachi, expressed the hope that the Hindu organizations in Sind would co-operate with the President of the Sind Provincial Moslem League in easing the communal situation.

Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sant Singh, Minister, Kapurthala State, in an interview at Lahore stated : "The whole of the Sikh Panth, from Prince to Peasant, is united today in a win-the-war effort."

10th. The Government of Madras, in reviewing the annual report for 1939 of civil hospitals and dispensaries of modern medicine, observed : "The Government learn with satisfaction that the use of hospitals by the sick has become more popular and that there is a greater tendency to take advantage of the most modern methods."

11th. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha at Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's Guest House. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. Mahatma Gandhi who was invested with full powers by the Bombay meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, was present. Among others who attended were Sardar Patel, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Acharya Kripalani, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Mr. Shankar Rao Deo, Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Mr. Asaf Ali.

Nearly a dozen air raid shelters were built in Bombay. Most of them were of the Anderson type.

Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab, replying to an address of welcome at Amritsar, made the statement that those who refused to make any sacrifice for the liberty of mankind could not expect to share the fruits of that liberty.

Dr. P. V. Naidu, President, Provincial Hindu Mahasabha (Madras) wrote : "The Twenty-second session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha will be held on December 27, 28, 29 (1940) at Madura, the most ancient and historic city of the Hindus in South India."

12th. At the resumed sitting of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha, the President stated : "There can be no going back on the Bombay resolution ; the only question before us is what form the struggle should take."

The Working Committee of All-India Hindu League (in New Delhi) decided upon the creation of an anti-Pakistan front. Mr. M. S. Aney, President of the League, presided. The meeting authorized its president, Mr. Aney, to invite the co-operation of the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, the National Liberal Federation, Sikh organizations and other bodies for joint deliberations to fight the Pakistan scheme.

Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit left for Bulandshar in pursuance of the decision of the United Provinces Congress Committee to depute prominent Congress Leaders to tour important districts of the province.

The Congress Working Committee issued the following resolution : "The Working Committee considered the report presented by Dr. Subbaroyan and Mr. R. K. L. Nand Keolyar upon the affairs of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee. In view of the circumstances reported, the Working Committee appoint (1) Mr. R. K. L. Nand Keolyar, (2) Mr. M. P. Govinda Menon, and (3) Mr. C. K. Govindan Nair, to take charge of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee and carry on the work in the province till further instructions were forthcoming. This committee of three shall exercise all the functions of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on the report of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mr. Asaf Ali relating to the Goodwill Mission to Waziristan and stated *inter alia* : "The Committee are convinced that the policy so far followed by the Government of the frontier is wrong and harmful and has completely failed. The people of India will gladly develop friendly contacts with the transborder tribes and thus put and end to a conflict which is harmful to both.

The Mysore Representative Assembly met in the Jagamohan Palace pavilion with Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan President, in the chair.

13th. The Congress Working Committee's three day session concluded at Wardha. The Committee approved Mahatma Gandhi's plan for individual civil disobedience by a limited number of Satyagrahis chosen by him. The committee issued the following statement : "The Working Committee met at the instance of Mr.

Gandhi and listened to the account of his talks with the Viceroy and the plan of campaign in so far as he has been able to envisage it.

"The Working Committee approved of what he has done and repeated the instructions given to Congressmen and Congress Committees by the A. I. C. C. at its last meeting in Bombay, that they would give him the fullest possible co-operation in all that he may require or expect them to do."

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* : "It is difficult for those who suffer at British hands to shed either their dislike of or a disinclination to help them. But the present is a real testing time for ahimsa which alone can throw light on our path."

The Working Committee of the A. I. Hindu League concluded its two-day session in New Delhi after passing several resolutions. The Committee differed from the opinion of the Congress Working Committee embodied in the resolution passed in Bombay, which had failed to take a realistic view of the situation and give a correct lead to the country at this critical hour. ,

14th. The Federal Court in New Delhi heard arguments in one of a series of cases bearing on the Moneylenders' Act, passed by a number of provincial legislatures.

The Mysore University Convocation was held at the Jagamohan Palace, Mysore. H. H. Sri Jayachamaraja Wodiyar presided.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Mayor of Madras, presiding over the fifteenth anniversary of the Devakotta Saraswathi Vasagasalai at Devakotta, complimented the members of the Reading Room on effectively putting a stop to animal sacrifices on festive occasions, and on their city cleaning campaign and other national welfare work for the last 15 years.

The Punjab Provincial Moslem League at Lahore, formulated a five year plan to enrol at least eight lakhs of members in the province.

15th. Khan Bahadur Allah Buksh, ex-Premier of Sind, in the course of a Press interview at Karachi, that the joining of all Nationalist Moslem members of the Sind Assembly with the Congress Party in the Legislature and the drawing up of a common programme to educate the masses so as to raise them politically and teach the province to give up its present communal outlook, was the only way of saving Sind from drifting into the hands of rank communalists.

Mahatma Gandhi in the course of a statement from Sevagram, said : "This will be the last civil disobedience which I will conduct. Naturally I would want it to be as flawless as it can be."

His Excellency the Governor of Madras, addressing a public meeting at Ootacamund, made a fervent appeal to all people to recognize that if the war was not won, the world would be very different from what they wished it to be.

In response to the representation made by the Gujranwala District Congress Committee to the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. to attend to the differences between the Sikhs and the Congress in the Punjab, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru sent a letter to the General Secretary of the Gujranwala Committee, stating *inter alia* : "Your resolution has my sympathy in so far as I regret any differences between the Congress and Sikhs. It is strange, however, that you address the Congress Committee to attend to these differences. They have done or said nothing to create any differences."

16th. A statement issued by the Executive Committee of the provincial League of Radical Congressmen (Bengal) said : "The action of the United Provinces Congress Committee in suspending Mr. M. N. Roy from membership of the Congress for one year is a negation of democracy."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru returned to Allahabad after attending the Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

Mr. G. V. S. Corea, Minister for Labour, Industries and Commerce, Government of Ceylon, who arrived in Madras from Trivandrum, interviewed by a Press representative, said : 'I go to Indo-Ceylon Conference fully convinced that the settlement of such differences as may have arisen could and would be solved, for I feel that the representatives of the two Governments will approach the problem with sympathy, understanding and goodwill towards each other."

Havoc was caused by cyclonic storms which swept Bombay. Railway traffic was seriously disorganized and telegraph and telephone communication dislocated while many people lost their lives.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer in an interview in Madras on Mahatma Gandhi's

statement, said : "By endorsing a plan of action which is most ill-advised and calculated to jeopardise the safety and best interests of the country the Congress will be betraying the true interests of the country and making itself the laughing stock of all sensible and patriotic people."

Sir A. P. Patro observed :" Non-violence would never bring about political and constitutional changes in the country. It is a philosophy of inaction or non-action which would not help in practical life or stage-craft."

17th. Mr. Vinoba Bhave. under instructions from Mahatma Gandhi, addressed a meeting at Panam of about three hundred persons. The audience included Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Mr. Mahadev Desai and about 50 women from the Mahila Ashram at Wardha. Mr. Bhave said that the Congress would not on ethical grounds, help Great Britain in her war effort. He wondered why Great Britain claimed to fight for democracy, which she denied to India.

18th. Delegates began to arrive in New Delhi for the Eastern Group Conference to discuss war supply questions.

The manifold activities of the Ramkrishna Mission and its world wide ramifications were described in the report of the working of the mission for 1938-39.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha sent a telegram to the Sind Governor urging him to take over the administration of the Law and Order departments immediately in view of the increasing number of members of Hindus in the province. Mr. Savarkar assured His Excellency that the Mahasabha would support him in all the drastic measures taken to root out lawlessness.

19th. H. E. Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provinces, welcoming the members of the Roger Mission to Cawnpore, declared : "It is the war and nothing but the war and every thing else must be left out of account."

The Mysore Rastriya Mahasabha held a public meeting at Subbarayan Kere maidan with Mr. H. B. G. Gowda in the chair.

20th. Delegates to the Eastern Group Conference from Australia, Malaya and Burma arrived in Calcutta.

The disciplinary action taken by the Congress High Command against Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose. Leader of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, was condemned at a public meeting in Calcutta under the auspices of the All-India Youth League. Sardar Sardul Singh Caveesher of the Punjab, President of the All-India Forward Bloc, was in the chair.

21st. The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association (Bombay) in a statement declared : "In the interest of India herself, it would be suicidal to do anything that is likely to prejudice Britain's efforts in her life and death struggle and it is nothing short of the greatest disservice to the country to lose the present of helping in the better defence of the country and in ultimate political freedom."

In the Central Assembly, a resolution demanding the grant of Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety to India obtained last place in the ballot. The resolution was in the name of Mr. Abdul Rashid Chaudhury.

Sir Walter Massey Greene, leader of the Australian delegation to the Eastern Group Conference observed in a statement : "What the Eastern Group Conference is concerned with, as I understand it, is the battle on the home front. If all the resources of Britain's Eastern Empire are only marshalled we can take a great strain off the shoulders of Britain and make a very valuable contribution to our common war effort."

The Allama Mashriqui, leader of the Khaksar movement in India, had authorized him to offer financial help from the Khaksar organization for fitting up a fighter aircraft for the defence of the British Empire, was revealed in the course of a statement to the Press issued by Aga Ghaznafarali Shah of Bulandshar, Hakim-i-Ala of the Khaksars of Burma.

An amendment to the Defence Rules published in a Gazette of India Extraordinary laid down that : "The Central Government or the Provincial Government may, for the purpose of securing the defence of British India. the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war by an order addressed to a printer, publisher, or editor or to printers, publishers, editors generally (a) require that all matter or any matter relating to a

particular subject or class of subjects shall, before being published in any documents, be submitted for scrutiny to an authority specified in the order; (b) Prohibit, or regulate, the printing or publishing of any document or class of documents, or of any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subjects or the use of any printing press.

Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement after the arrest of Mr. Vinova, advising Congressmen not to be impatient about the next step.

22nd. Mahatma Gandhi addressed a communication to Sir Abdulla Haroon, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, offering him his help and co-operation in producing an atmosphere of communal harmony in Sind.

Mr. F. D. Souza, special officer, in his report on the working of the rules and orders relating to the representation of minority communities on the State managed Railways, said : "The interests of minority communities with regard to recruitment to the services of the four State-managed Railways in India have been safeguarded in the manner and to the extent laid down by Government, although certain errors of procedure have been noticed on particular railways."

The action taken against Sj Sarat Chandra Bose, by the Congress High Command, was condemned by the All-India Forward Bloc, (in Calcutta) and in a resolution stated, the action "betrays the most callous indifference to the cause of national independence and welfare."

23rd. Changes in the Governorship of Orissa and Sind were announced in a Press communique issued from New Delhi.

"Sir Hawthorne Lewis, K.C.I.E., C.S I., I.C.S., at present Reforms Commissioner, is to be Governor or Orissa in succession to H. E. Sir John Hubback when Sir John vacates that post on April 1,'41.

"Mr. Hugh Dow, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. at present Vice-President of the War Supply Board is to be Governor of Sind in succession to H. E. Sir Lancelot Graham on Sir Lancelot's vacation of the post on April 1, 1941."

Maulana Syed Hussain Ahmed Madni, President of the Jamiat-ul-ulema, in a statement to the Press from Sylhet, observed : "On the question of individual civil disobedience, we must have full confidence in the commands of Mahatma Gandhi."

24th. The Bengal Cabinet met for the last for the season in Darjeeling. H. E. Sir John Herbert presided. The desirability of appointing a committee to investigate the police firing at Kulti on September 22, was discussed.

Some noteworthy improvements in the economic condition of the Indians in South Africa were mentioned in the Annual Report of the Agent-General for India in the Union of South Africa for the year ending December 31. 1939.

A notification in a Gazette of India Extraordinary, said : "Three batches of the Indian Territorial Force have been or will soon be embodied to support and supplement His Majesty's regular forces in India."

The Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Amendment Act, which received the assent of the Governor-General, came into force in the province.

Sardar Patel, presiding over a meeting in Bombay, under the auspices of the All-India States' People's Conference, observed ; "Our attitude towards the Indian States will continue to be what it is."

25th. The Eastern Group Conference was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy in the Chamber of the Council of State in New Delhi. His Excellency declared his satisfaction that they had it in their power, working together, to make towards the common cause, a contribution destined to be of the greatest value and which, might prove to be decisive. Mr. Winston Churchill also had a message for the delegates and at the conclusion of his speech the Viceroy said : 'The Prime Minister asked me to convey the following message from him to the Eastern Group Conference" : "The assembly of representatives of all our Governments in the Eastern Hemisphere to plan more effective mutual integration of their resources is a remarkable event. In defence of our common freedom you are indeed building up a new world of armed strength to redress the balance of the old."

Mahatma Gandhi announced the temporary suspension of the *Harijan*, the *Harijan Bandhu* and the *Sevak* following the receipt of a notice by the editors of the papers from the District Magistrate directing them to submit to the Chief Press Adviser in Delhi all the news relating the Vinoba Bhave's Satyagraha before publication. Mahatma Gandhi in a statement said that he had been corresponding with the Viceroy on the subject.

Following the resignation of Master Tara Singh, President of the Shiromoni Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, from the Congress, Master Ajit Singh, General Secretary of the Shiromoni Akali Dal also resigned.

26th. H. E. the Governor of Bengal addressed a meeting of the Darjeeling district war committee at Darjeeling. Bengal's war effort earned a tribute from the Governor.

Mr. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha wrote a letter to H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, congratulating him on his recognizing Hindi Script and granting it an equal status with Urdu in the State.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, addressing a meeting of the Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee at Ahmedabad, declared : "Mahatma Gandhi is conducting his non-violent experiment in the midst of violence raging in the world with consummate tact and experience of the past struggles. You have not to fill the jails or non-cooperate in any way but devote your full time to the vigorous prosecution of the constructive programme of the Congress."

At the fourteenth session of the Indian Medical Council held in New Delhi, under the presidency of Dr. B. C. Roy, the constitution of a General Reciprocity Board for purposes of facilitating reciprocal recognition of medical qualifications between India and various countries comprising the British commonwealth and the creation of an All-India Medical Register were among the decisions taken.

27th. The Central Executive Council of the League of Radical Congressmen concluded its meeting at Meerut. The Council expressed the view that "the Victory of Fascist powers would seriously prejudice the cause of India and Radical Congressmen, therefore, could not approve, even tacitly, of the policy of the Congress leaders regarding the war."

Mr. M. S. Aney, replying to felicitations extended to him at a function arranged in his honour in Bombay, made the plea that all political parties in India, whatever their persuasions and lines who believed in the freedom of India and the integrity of the Nation should rally on one common platform to frustrate the Pakistan ideal and achieve the independence of India.

The delegates to the Eastern Group Conference, in New Delhi, sent a message to the British Prime Minister through H. E. the Viceroy in reply to the former's message communicated to them at the opening of the conference.

Maulana A. K. Azad, in the course of a letter to the Secretary of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, stated : "Not a single heart in Bengal would be more pained at the present decadence in the political life of the province than mine, and all that I am doing is a result of that pain."

Sj. Santosh Kumar Bose, the Deputy Leader of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, replying to the Congress President's letter appealed to the Maulana Saheb to withdraw the disciplinary action taken against Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose in order to "save the Congress Party and the entire opposition in the Bengal Assembly from the inevitable doom."

The Central Executive of the Radical League, adopted a resolution proposing a joint conference of representatives of various groups to discuss the possibility of forming a National Democratic Bloc as the basis for coalition cabinets.

28t. The Punjab Government passed orders for the release of 617 Khaksar prisoners. The cases of remaining Khaksar prisoners not convicted of offences involving violence were being examined.

H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore presided over the Second Annual Convocation of the Travancore University.

29th. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, ex-Finance Minister, Bengal, in a Press statement on the Eastern Group Conference in New Delhi, remarked : "Active and willing Co-operation in the organization of war effort by the Indian mercantile community depends in a large measure upon the way in which the Indian personnel will be treated in the deliberations of the conference."

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was declared elected to the Central Legislative Assembly at the by-election in the Dacca Division non-Mohammedan Rural Constituency. The vacancy was caused by the death of Mr. Surya Kumar Shome.

Warm tributes to the work of Mr. S. Satyamurti, the retiring Mayor of Madras, were paid by several councillors and commissioners of the Corporation.

30th. His Excellency Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab in the course of a speech at Sheikhupura made a forceful appeal to the urban classes to make

sacrifices for the common cause. He said : "Almost every day the tide creeps forward. We cannot assume that it will halt before it reaches India's frontiers."

Mr. Bunde Ali, the Premier, in a statement made an appeal to the people of Sind to co-operate with the Government in its difficult task of stamping out lawlessness and restoring normal conditions in the province.

Sir Abdulla Haroon, President of the Sind Provincial Moslem League, issued a statement embodying a written message from the Pir of Bharchundi condemning the murders in the Rohri Division and appealing to his disciples to assist the Ministry in stopping lawlessness.

31st. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru was arrested at Chheski (Allahabad). The Pandit was returning to Allahabad from Wardha after his talks with Mahatma Gandhi.

Nawab Ismail Khan and Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman, leaders of the Provincial Moslem League had an interview with the Governor at Lucknow.—It was understood that the main topic of discussion was the Governor's invitation to them to join the provincial War Help Committee.

Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy, General Secretary of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, in a statement to the Press maintained that while admitting that there was not a single member in the party who did not sincerely deplore the circumstances which led to the disciplinary action against Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, the Leader of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, "the issuing of a whip contrary to the decision of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, was a clear breach of discipline."

November 1940

H. E. the Viceroy's address on the political situation in India and the Secretary of State's announcement attracted a good deal of attention. The rejection of the offer made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government, was regretted alike both by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India.

Lord Linlithgow's term of office as Viceroy was extended for a year.

The Central Legislative Assembly began its session in New Delhi. The Working Committee of the Congress decided that the Congress group might attend it, in order to oppose the Finance Bill.—The object of the Bill was to raise additional revenue necessary because of the expenditure on war preparations. An addition of 25 p.c. to the income tax was its chief feature. There were also increased charges for letter postage and telegrams.

The Eastern Group Conference Sub-Committees were at work in New Delhi.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru was sentenced to three terms of 16 months' rigorous imprisonment to run consecutively, for anti-war speeches made in Gorakhpur district.

Mahatma Gandhi abandoned his intention to fast, as Congress agreed to an extension of individual Satyagraha.

Gandhiji, replying to Pandit Malaviya's message appealing to him not to undertake a fast, said : "I am in God's hands. Will avoid if possible."

In the Central Assembly the Finance Bill was discussed.

Mahatma Gandhi decided on an extension of individual civil disobedience and drew up a list of 1500 Satyagrahis, including some members of the Congress Working Committee.

The Government of India withdrew its Press regulations.

The Government of Bengal sent a message to both Houses of the Legislature requesting them to reconsider clauses of the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill 1939 in the light of his recommendations and to accept them or reject them in toto.

Calcutta gave a civil reception to the Chinese Goodwill Mission.

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected the supplementary Finance Bill by 55 votes to 53. When the Viceroy returned it in a recommended form, it was again rejected by the same majority. Members of the Moslem League did not vote.

The Viceroy in an address to the Assembly and the Secretary of State in the Commons said that the British Government stood by its declaration of August 7 and though the proposals for the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council were kept in abeyance the offer stood and the door was open.

In consequence of Mahatma Gandhi's extension of selective individual civil disobedience a number of prominent Congress leaders were arrested. They included two ex-Premiers of Congress Governments.

India's war effort was described in detail in the Viceroy's address and the India Secretary's speech.

Among Satyagrahis arrested were the former Premiers of the U. P. and the C. P. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Mr. Ravi Sankar Shukla, as well as several former Ministers, including Dr. K. N. Katju, Mr. T. Prakasam and Mr. B. Gopala Reddi.

The Eastern Group Conference came to an end, but its work was to be continued by a small committee.

In Bengal, attempts were being made to bring about a settlement between Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, who led the Congress Opposition in the Bengal Legislative Assembly and was ordered by the Congress to resign from the Assembly, and the Congress Working Committee.

1st. Mr. M. N. Roy in a Press statement from New Delhi, stressed the need for a new political party in India, in view of the world crisis. The rise of such a party, he said, was a historical necessity.

H. E. the Marchioness of Linlithgow issued an appeal for the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene in India.

Sir Manmatha Mukherjee, President, Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, commenting on the disciplinary action taken against Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, expressed the opinion that the Congress High Command hardly took any notice of Bengal, except when "it wants to punish or expel its outstanding leaders."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab addressing a public meeting at Lahore, in connexion with the "Muslim Countries Day", took the opportunity to elaborate his charges against Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma's campaign, he said, amounted not only to stabbing Britain in the back but also to a betrayal of the best interests of India and the Islamic world.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, addressing a public meeting in Bombay, declared: "It is our duty to help our Muslim brethren wherever they may be, from China to Peru, because Islam enjoins that it is our duty to go to the rescue of our Muslim brethren." The meeting was held in observance of the "Muslim Countries Day."

A communique from New Delhi stated: "The following announcement has been made from No. 10 Downing Street. His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve the retention of his office by H. E. the Marquess of Linlithgow, P.C.K.T., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., C.B.E., T.D., Viceroy and Governor-General of India for a further period of one year from April 1940.

2nd. The Prime Minister conveyed the following message to the Eastern Group Conference in New Delhi, through H. E. the Viceroy:—"Please convey to

representatives of the Dominions, India, the Colonies and Mandated territories assembled in the Eastern Group Conference my appreciation of their encouraging message. I an confident that their decisions will contribute most effectively to that victory which the Empire is united in its determination to win."

Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, addressing a public meeting at Anantpur (Madras) declared: "The war vitally affects India, her men, women and children, because unless Great Britain and the British Empire win this war, it will be the end of civilization not only in Europe, but throughout the world."

Mr. S. Srinivas Iyengar, in the course of a lecture at Mylapore (Madras), suggested a new order based on non-party democracies, reasonably militarist and fairly Socialist in character.

3rd. The trial of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru began in the district jail at Gorakhpur before Mr. G. V. Mess, District Magistrate, Gorakhpur.

Mr. M. N. Roy in a statement at Lucknow said: "I have all along maintained that whatever might be the motive of the British ruling class, it is absurd to regard this war as England's war and be indifferent to its outcome. As I have pointed out from the beginning it has become India's war."

The annual Id Reunion held on the Calcutta maidan attracted a representative gathering. Mr. Fazlul Huq, in declaring the function open, appealed for unity among Moslems, who he said, were now at the parting of ways and whose further position would depend on the course they adopted. Moslems should try and develop along the progressive lines of the best races in the world. He implored Moslems to work for the benefit of the world of Islam and never to forget this duty to the Holy Prophet.

4th. H. E. the Viceroy in opening the 11th meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation in New Delhi, made the following observations: "My interest in agriculture and in the welfare of the Indian cultivator in particular, is keen and abiding, and it therefore, gives me a very special sense of pleasure to have this opportunity of meeting and speaking to those on whom, in this country, the fruitfulness of the land so largely depends."

Orders were reserved at Gorakhpur, in the case in which Pandit Jawharlal Nehru was charged under the Defence of India Rules in connexion with certain speeches made by him.

At the Parsi Youth Conference at Karachi, which met under the presidency of Dr. Jal Bulsara of Bombay, resolutions regarding the educational, social, and political advancement of the Parsi community in Sind were adopted.

5th. The autumn session of the Indian Legislative Assembly met in New Delhi. Sir Abdur Rahim, President, was in the chair. Congress members were absent, while Muslim League members numbered about a dozen. Other section of the House were fully occupied.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, introduced a supplementary Finance Bill imposing a twenty-five p. c. surcharge for central purposes on all taxes on income, including Super tax and Corporation tax. The Surcharge, which was expected to yield Rs. 5 crores in a full year, would be imposed as a Federal Surcharge. The entire proceeds would thus go to the centre to finance the war effort which was costing over Rs. 20 lakhs a day.

The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha. Maulana A. K. Azad, Congress President, presided. The Committee discussed the general political situation in the country with particular reference to Pandit Jawharlal Nehru's conviction. Mahatma Gandhi, who was present for the greater part of the meeting, acquainted the members with his correspondence with the Viceroy.

Pandit Nehru was sentenced by the District Magistrate of Gorakhpur on three charges under the Defence Rules to an aggregate term of four years' rigorous imprisonment on three counts.

6th. The Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution at Wardha: "In view of the necessity to oppose the Bill introduced to finance the war, the Working Committee requests the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to attend and take part in the proceedings relating to the Bill."

Mr, Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature issued the following statement: "In view of the necessity to oppose the Finance Bill introduced by the Government of India to finance the war, the Working Committee has declared that the Congress members of the Central Legislative

Assembly should attend the Assembly for that purpose. I accordingly request all the members of the Congress Party to proceed to Delhi immediately."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the dissatisfaction expressed in an adjournment motion at the Government's failure to call a meeting of the Central Assembly between April and November, found sympathy in many quarters.

The President announced in the Central Assembly that Pandit Lakshmi Kant Maitra's adjournment motion had been disallowed by the Governor-General on the ground that it related to a matter which was not primarily the concern of the Governor-General-in Council.

The Assembly, discussing non-official resolutions, rejected without a division, the one moved last session by Sir Raja Ali recommending the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to examine the Government of India's fiscal policy.

Mr. D. V. Savarkar issued a long statement from Bombay, on Pandit Jawharlal's sentence and the attitude of the Congress and the Hindu Sabha.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, addressing a public meeting at Montgomery, declared : "It is a hard fact that unless the forces of Nazi and Fascist aggression are effectively checked and overcome, a disastrous future is in store not only for the Moslem countries in the Near and Middle East but ultimately for India herself."

7th. Mahatma Gandhi in an interview at Wardha said : "In view of the extension of individual civil disobedience, the idea of a fast naturally remains in abeyance."

In the Central Assembly, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed asked the Finance Minister to lay on the table a list of expenditure, votable and non-votable, which he had sanctioned outside the budget for 1940-41. Sir Jeremy Raisman referred the questioner to the statement made by him on the opening day explaining the financial position.

The Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha sent the names of Mr V. D. Savarkar, Sir M. N. Mukerji, Mr. Shyamaprosad Mukerji, Dr. B. S. Moonje and Mr B. L. Bhopatkar for nomination to the Presidentship of the All-India session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Madura.

Mr. Mehar Chand, Office Secretary, the Punjab Socialist Party, was arrested at Lahore, under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Questioned in the House of Commons regarding the trial and sentence on Pandit Nehru, Mr. Amery stated : "Pandit Nehru was prosecuted under the Defence of India rules. He was charged, I understand, with delivering speeches in the early part of October of a character likely to prejudice recruitment and stir up disaffection and feelings of enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects and influence public opinion in a manner likely to be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the War. I have not yet received the full report but I have seen messages that he was found guilty and sentenced to four years' imprisonment."

In the Central Assembly, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, in reply to a question put by Sir Ziauddin Ahmed said that the Government had received no offer from Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, to give soldiers to fight for the British.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued the following statement from Bombay : "In accordance with the resolution of 29th September of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, authorising me as President to decide the date and venue of the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League, I have, after considering the various proposals and invitations from different provinces, finally accepted the invitation of the Madras Provincial Muslim League to hold the next session in Madras during the Easter Holidays."

8th. All the members of the Congress Working Committee met at Wardha. Mahatma Gandhi was present at the meeting. The Committee came to certain tentative decisions regarding the conduct of Congress affairs in so far as civil disobedience was concerned.

In the Central Assembly, five official Bills were passed after a brief debate. Four of the Bills related to the Defence Department and were amendments to the Indian Works of Defence Act, the Indian Navy Discipline Act (two amendments) and the Indian Cantonment Act. The fifth, moved by Sir Zafrulla Khan, was to repeal certain enactments and amend certain other enactments.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, wanted to remove hardships and anomalies in the operation of the Excess Profits Tax Act by an amending Bill.

Maulana Azad, Congress President, in a Press statement at Wardha said : "For the present, there was no question of Mr. Gandhi's fast. As for the Congress programme, the scheme of individual civil disobedience as directed and guided by Mr. Gandhi stood."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad addressing a meeting of Congress Workers at Jubbulpore, said that Mahatma Gandhi had postponed his fast only for the time being, but he had not given up the idea or changed his programme. The only question before Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Prasad added, was when and on what issue he should undertake the fast.

9th. The sentence of eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment awarded to Mr. Maganlal Bagdi, a Socialist leader, was reduced to nine months on appeal by the District and Sssion Judge, Nagpur.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in an interview at Patna stated that the members of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature, had been permitted to participate only in those discussions in the Central Assembly, which related to the Finance Bill. He added that the Working Committee had, however, given permission to the Congress Party for attending any other also which might be in connexion with war effort involving fresh taxation.

The death occurred of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, ex-Premier of Britain at his country-home at Hampshire.

10th. H. E Tai Chi Toa, Member of the State Council and President of Examination Yuan of the Chinese Government, who was on a goodwill visit to Burma and India, arrived in Calcutta.

Mahatma Gandhi, under the captain, "To The Reader" wrote in the *Harijan* : "You must have seen through my Press notice that the publication of the *Harijan* and the other two weeklies have been suspended. In it I expressed the hope that the suspension might be only for a week. But I see that the hope had no real foundation. "I shall miss my weekly talks with you, as I expect you, too, will miss them. The value of those talks consisted in their being a faithful record of my deepest thoughts. Such expression is impossible in a cramped atmosphere. As I have no desire to offer civil disobedience, I cannot write freely."

11th. In the Central Assembly, members of the Congress Party attended the session. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai took his place as leader of the Congress Party. Mr. Jinnah also appeared for the debate on the Finance Bill.

Sir Jeremy Raisman made a statement on the Finance Bill, the back ground to which, he explained, was given in his comprehensive review of the financial position when the session opened. He spoke, therefore, only about the provisions of the Bill itself. Mr. S. Satyamurti gave the Congress reasons for not supporting the Bill, The Government, he declared, were getting from India men, materials and money, but they were not enjoying the whole-hearted intellectual and moral co-operation of the people. His party was determined not to pay up for a war in the declaration of which they had no part.

Mr. K. Srinivasam, Managing Editor of the *Hindu*, in his opening address as President of the Newspaper Editors' Conference in New Delhi mentioned the withdrawal of the order under the Defence Regulations prohibiting publication of matter calculated directly or indirectly to foment opposition to the successful prosecution of the war.

Owing to the war the usual ceremonial in connexion with Armistice Day was not held in Calcutta but the customary two minutes' silence in honour of the dead was observed.

12th. In the Central Assembly, during question time, Sir Andrew Clow, Communications Member, informed Maulavi Abdul Rasheed Chowdhury that the cause of the accident to the Dacca Mail on August 5, was the removal of a rail from the track.—No inquiry Committee had been appointed, but the accident was inquired into by the Senior Government Inspector of Railways and a copy of his report was in the library.

In the Assam Assembly, the Decree Settlement Bill 1938, was referred to a Select Committee.

The House by 53 to 44 votes rejected an adjournment motion tabled by the Opposition to discuss the action of the Government in framing and putting into

operation rules under the Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1939, without giving an opportunity to the House to consider the rules.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in the course of a speech at Lahore demanded the withdrawal by Mahatma Gandhi of his remarks in the *Harijan* that the Punjab was a recruiting ground for mercenary soldiers.

Pandit G. B. Pant, ex-Premier of the United Provinces and a member of the Congress Working Committee addressing a public meeting at Jhansi declared : "We praise the heroic resistance of the British people who, despite the indiscriminate bombing of their cities, the destruction of their homes, hearths, families and kith and kin, are bearing these sacrifices cheerfully and courageously."

18th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, discussion continued on the Finance Bill.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal sent a message to both Houses of the Provincial Legislature regarding the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill 1939, which was passed by both Houses, and was awaiting the Governor's assent. The message contained certain recommendations about some of the clauses and directed the legislature either to accept or to reject them, in toto, after due consideration.

The Additional Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, proceeded with the further hearing of the case in which Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was charged under the Defence of India Rules.

Mahatma Gandhi drew up a list of nearly 1500 Congressmen, to court imprisonment by resorting to individual civil disobedience.

14th. H. E. Tai Chi Tao, Dr. T. K. Tseng and the members of the Chinese Goodwill Mission were accorded a civil reception at the Town Hall, Calcutta,

In order to increase the period of enlistment of entraints to the Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion) from three to seven, the Government of Bengal proposed to amend the Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion) Act.

In the Assam Assembly, Sir Muhammad Saadulla, Premier, presented a list of supplementary demands for grants totalling Rs. 2,25,435 for the year 1940-41.

15th. In the Central Assembly, Mr. C. P. Lawson of the European Group urged that maximum economy, maximum speed and maximum efficiency in India's war effort were the great essentials.

A communique issued from New Delhi said : "The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, has elected the following five persons to act as non-official Press Advisers on behalf of the Conference with the Central Government : Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Mr. B. J. Krichner, Mr. B. Shivarao, Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta and Mr. J. N. Sahni (convener)."

16th. Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee issued the following circular to all provincial Congress Committees.

"Mahatma Gandhi issued instructions on October 31 about what was to be done in case of Jawharlal's arrest. Mahatma Gandhi's instructions reached the A. I. C. C. office on the evening of November 3. These instructions say that no attempt should be made to coerce shopkeepers to close their shops and extra precautions should be taken to prevent noisy demonstrations."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel notified the District Magistrate of Ahmedabad of his intention to offer Satyagraha, by delivering a speech in the compound of the District Local Board.

Planned rural development, started by the Government of Bengal, was reported to be making steady progress.

Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, presiding over the ninth Hindu Conference held at Krishnagar, declared that the Hindu Mahasabha was not an anti-national organization, that it was not harmful to the cause of the Moslems, and that its activities were not influenced by low political motives. Dr. B. S. Moonje, acting President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, Dr. Syamaprosad Mukherji and Mr. N. C. Chatterjee were among those present.

An important recommendation regarding Members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, who might be arrested, detained, convicted or imprisoned and thus prevented from attending the session of the Assembly or any meeting of any committee of the House was made by the Committee of Privileges of the Assembly.

17th. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was arrested at Ahmedabad. The arrest was under sec. 129 of the Defence of India Act, which empowered the detention of persons

who were acting or about to act in a prejudicial manner towards the successful prosecution of the War.

An interesting and instructive demonstration covering every phase of A. R. P. activities was given in Calcutta.

Mr. Brijlal Biyani, President of the Vidarbha Provincial Congress Committee, who started Satyagraha, was arrested by the Deputy Commissioner, Akola, under the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal opening the first U. P. Moslem Students' Conference at Allahabad, said : "To a certain point communalism is essential—it is a kind of sacred feeling."

18th. Mr. Biswanath Das, former Orissa Premier and his two ex-colleagues in the Congress Ministry received an invitation from Wardha to meet Mahatma Gandhi on December 7.

In the Central Assembly during question time, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed asked whether the Government had rented private houses in New Delhi for the accommodation of the extra members of the Viceroy's proposed expanded Cabinet. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar answered in the affirmative.

The most notable speech in the Finance Bill debate on the question of India's co-operation or non-co-operation in the war effort, was made by the Leader of the House, Sir M. Zafrulla Khan.

Mr. M. N. Roy addressing the U. P. Moslem Students' Conference at Allahabad, said : "The present constitutional deadlock can only be ended by Coalition Ministries in the provinces."

19th. The Central Assembly rejected by 55 votes to 53, the motion for consideration of the new Finance Bill. The Moslem League Party did not vote on the motion, while the Congress Nationalist Party voted with the Congress bloc against the motion.

Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, a former Minister of Madras, was arrested in Trichinopoly under section 129A Defence of India Rules.

H. E. the Governor of Bengal, in a speech replying to addresses of welcome at Comilla, explained the circumstances which had led to the depression in the jute trade. The present war, he said, was a struggle between the forces of tyranny and freedom, of civilized life and barbarity ; it was also an economic struggle in which the essential supplies of war were of paramount importance.

20th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, on the reintroduction in recommended form of the Supplementary Finance Bill, the House voted 55 in opposition and 53 in support of the Government.

H. E. the Viceroy, addressing both Houses of the Central Legislature in New Delhi, said that in the matter of the expansion of his Executive Council, he had not secured the response that was hoped for from political leaders in India. His Excellency continued : "His Majesty's Government note this conclusion with sincere regret. The proposals in question would place real power and real responsibility in Indian hands. Their acceptance would afford the most hopeful contribution which Indian political leaders could make at this critical time towards the preservation of Indian unity, and towards an agreed constitutional settlement for the future. His Majesty's Government do not propose to withdraw them, and are still prepared to give effect to them as soon as they are convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support is forthcoming. But as that decree of support has evidently not yet manifested itself, His Majesty's Government have decided that I should not be justified in proceeding with the expansion of my Executive Council or the establishment of the War Advisory Council, at the present moment."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, speaking in the House of Commons, recalled India's great part in the last war when she put over 1,500,000 trained men into the field on many fronts. Mr. Amery answered some crititism about the political situation in India. The British White Paper Offer, he affirmed, was not made in a half-hearted or tentative sense. Even if the independence of India were declared tomorrow, India would for many years have to rely on the British frame work in the Army and the Air Force. He regretted that the Congress had rejected a great opportunity of real power and responsibility. There was still, however, nothing to prevent responsible leaders in India from thinking out among themselves the difficult and complex problem of the Indian constitution. "We are only too willing to welcome and promote any such action."

Mr. Morarji Desai, ex-Minister of Bombay was arrested under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

21st. In the Central Assembly, Sardar Sant Singh suggested that the powers under the Defence of India Act were being used by Provincial Governments against their political opponents.

The Assembly agreed after some criticism of the Government, to the motion of the Leader of the House, Sir Mohd. Zafrulla Khan, to elect three members to serve for the remainder of the year on the Standing Committee to be attached to the Supply Department.

The Finance Bill was certified by the Governor-General. It was laid on the table of the Council of State.

In the Council of State, all the non-officials who spoke on the subject supported Pandit H. N. Kanzru's resolution asking for the construction of air-craft and automobiles in India.

Mr. B. G. Kher, former Congress Premier of Bombay and Mr. D. N. Vandrekar, a leading Congressman, were arrested in Bombay under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Act.

22nd. Sir N. N. Sircar, ex-Law Member of the Government of India in a statement on the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, said :—"To the Congress demand of the declaration of independence after the war, Mr. Amery has given a clear and emphatic negative. As I am one of those who has repeatedly said in public that India's interest is best served by her remaining within the British Impire, I am for obvious reasons not criticizing Mr. Amery's statement. "What I do seriously complain of is Mr. Amery's discreet silence on the Moslem attitude in general and in particular on what Mr. Jinnah has even in his latest statement on the floor of the Assembly declared to be his ultimate and indispensable goal—Pakistan."

The Council of State passed 12 Bills passed by the Central Legislative Assembly.

Three former Congress Ministers of the Central provinces (Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra, Mr. S. V. Gokhale and C. J. Bharucha) were sentenced to a year's rigorous imprisonment each, in connexion with the Satyagraha campaign.

23rd. Maulana Azad said at Karachi, "The present action of the Congress is the only reply which the country can give to Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, in a speech in New Delhi, declared : "The spokesmen of the British Government have recently declared that the door for negotiations is still open. We the Moslems also re-echo the statement and say that the door for negotiations is still open."

At the annual constituent conference of the All-India Women's Conference, Calcutta Branch, various matters relating to the status of women educationally and socially were discussed. Mr. A. N. Chaudhuri presided.

Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, ex-Premier and Leader of the Opposition in the Sind Assembly, was sworn in as Ministers at the Government House, in the place of Mr. G. M. Syed, Muslim League Minister, who tendered his resignation.

24th. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, former Premier of the U. P. was arrested at Haldwani. The arrest was effected under the Defence of India Rules.

Miss Maniben Patel, daughter of Sardar Patel was arrested at Bareja.

The part that women can play in promoting communal unity and in working for the development of international understanding was emphasized at the annual constituent conference of the All-India Women's Conference in Calcutta.

25th. In the Council of State, when Mr. P. N. Sapru spoke on the Indian political situation, he suggested that a good will mission of broad minded Englishmen should visit India in an effort to find a new approach to the country's constitutional problem.

Dr. T. S. Rajan, the former Madras Minister, was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1000 in default six months' rigorous imprisonment.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment.

The concluding plenary session of the Eastern Group Conference was held in New Delhi. The appointment in India of a representative Standing Body to continue the work of the conference and, within a defined field, to co-ordinate, supply, plan production and assist in arranging new sources of production was to be

recommended by the delegations to their respective Governments. Such a body, it was emphasized, could not be established by the conference itself. The recommendation, like all other recommendations, must be submitted to all the participating Governments, but the leaders of the delegations expressed the hope that the proposals would meet with their support and acceptance.

Mr. T. Prakasham, President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee addressed a communication to the Government, informing them that he proposed to offer Satyagraha.

26th. The Council of State passed Pandit H. N. Kanzru's resolution concerning the Supply Department.

Mr. T. Prakasam, an ex-Minister of Madras was arrested and sentenced to a year's simple imprisonment.

Mahatma Gandhi, in a message to the Congressmen of Bengal, said : "I expect great things from Bengal. My expectations can be realized only if all parties sink their differences and work for the common cause."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, interviewed at Lahore, expressed complete satisfaction at the result of his efforts to form a stable Ministry in Sind. He said that in the special circumstances of Sind, the best and only course open to Congressmen in that Province was not to offer Satyagraha but to support the Ministry in maintaining law and order.

27th. The Central Assembly held a brief sitting, during which it passed the Excess Profits Tax Amendment Bill, with two amendments, and adjourned *sine die.*

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, before leaving Lahore, in a statement reiterated that he was personally in favour of mass civil disobedience but since they had entrusted every thing to Mr. Gandhi they must carry out the Mahatma's programme.

The security deposit of Rs. 2000 of the English weekly "Forward Block" was declared forfeited by the Government of Bengal under the Press Emergency Power Act.

28th. A communique issued in New Delhi said : His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Lieutenant-General Claude John Eyre Auchinleck, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E., Indian Army to be Commander-in-Chief in India in succession to His Excellency General Sir Robert A. Cassels, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., D.S.O., Indian Army, with effect from a date early in 1941."

In the Council of State, Sir Girija Shanker Bajpai summed up the deliberations on the supplementary Finance Bill.—The House passed the Bill by 27 votes to 11.

H. E. the Governor of Bengal was at Khulna, and in the course of a speech, observed : "My final appeal is for willing and hearty co-operation. We have got to remember that this may be a long war, and, therefore, we may have to make a long and sustained effort."

Sardar V. Patel was detained under Sec. 26 of the Defence of India Act.

Sir Jagadish Prasad (ex-Member, Viceroy's Executive Council) in a statement to the Preess on the political situation in India, observed *inter alia :* "The fears of some of us have only come too true. Political disagreements have ended in open conflict between Congress and Government. Those who not long ago were governing large provences with publicly acknowledged success are already in prison or will soon be there. An attempt to fix responsibility for this deplorable outcome will only renew barren controversy. At the moment both sides appear to be in an unbending mood."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a motion by the Congress Party for adjourning the business of the House in order to criticize the Bengal Government order, prohibiting the publication of news or comment in regard to hunger strikes in jails or places of detention was defeated by 104 votes to 64.

Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, ex-Premier of Behar was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

29th. In the Council of State, during question time, Mr. G. S. Motilal asked how many ships on the Indian water were affected by the restrictions imposed by the Government of India.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Finance (Sales Tax) Bill, 1941 introduced by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, met with considerable opposition.—The

opposition speakers generally condemned the Bill which, they said, would operate harshly on the people who could illafford to bear any additional burden of taxation. Mr. Suhrawardy explained the main principle of the Bill and the way in which it would work.

30th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the concluding stage of the debate on the Sales Tax Bill was reached.—The principal points which the Opposition stressed were that the tax would weigh heavily on the poorer people, that it was inopportune in view of the war, which had imposed additional burdens on the people in various ways, and also that it was not urgently necessary.

The Governor-General gave his consent to 12 Bills passed by the Central Legislature :—

The Indian Navy (Discipline) Act : The India Works of Defence (Amendment) Act : The Indian Navy (Second Amendment) Act : The Cantonments (Amendment) Act : The Repealing and Amending Act : The Indian Registration (Amendment) Act : The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Act : The Indian Companions (Amendment) Act : The War Donations and Investments (Companies) Act : The Reserve Bank of India (3rd. Amendment) Act : and Motor Spirit (Duties) Amendment Act.

December 1940

The arrests of those offering Satyagraha against the country's war effort continued : a number of prominent men and women were arrested.

In Bengal, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was released from jail, where he was under trial in connexion with the Holwell Monument agitation. Since November 29, he had been on hunger strike and the Government were advised that persistence in this would involve serious danger to his health.

A short session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly ended. Its chief feature was the introduction of a Sales Tax Bill to increase provincial revenues. The general rate of tax was 2 p c. and many articles of food were exempted. The Punjab considered a similar measure.

A conference about jute was held in New Delhi, and it was agreed that the mills would work to a purchase programme in which dates and prices and quantities were to be set out. In this way it was hoped to improve prices for the grower.

The standing committee of Princes and Ministers met in Bombay, to consider a number of matters, one of them, the adequate representation of the States on all committees concerned with the war effort at the Centre.

There were more arrests of Satyagrahis. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who was arrested, was released for considerations of health.

A statement was issued by Mahatma Gandhi. emphasizing that Satyagraha would not be regarded by any Congress member as compulsory, and that the restrictions he imposed aimed at limiting the movement to those whom he considered fittest for it.

The Government of India's War Supply Department was decentralized, to get work done more quickly.

Mr. Fazlul Huq's appeal to Mr. Jinnah to take the initiative in reaching a settlement with the Congress won some support from prominent public leaders.

Mr. Amery in London made a speech stressing India's underlying unity and suggesting as a principle of action "India first".

H. E. the Viceroy addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, explained in detail India's war effort and the constitutional position.

Mahatma Gandhi ordered the suspension of the Satyagraha movement during the Christmas season.

Some members of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party met in Calcutta and re-elected Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose as their leader. The Party Secretary, who convened and afterwards cancelled the meeting, dissociated himself from its proceedings. The Congress President threatened disciplinary action.

Mr. Jinnah re-stated the Moslem demands in a speech at Karachi.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued a statement on the political situation which attracted wide attention.

In a Civic Guard and A. R. P. parade on the Calcutta maidan, the Viceroy inspected over 7000 of these services.

Nine M. P.'s issued an appeal to India's political leaders to end the deadlock.

The National Liberal Federation of India was in session in Calcutta.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha was in session at Madura.

Mr. Jinnah received congratulations and good wishes on his 64th birthday.

Mr M. N. Roy, in Bombay, said that Pakistan was not an immediate issue and India's immediate problem was to make the war effort a fully national and democratic purpose.

The Army Council issued a warm appreciation of the part taken by Indian troops in the fighting in North Africa.

1st. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech at New Market referred to India's growing status in the British Commonwealth of Nations and reiterated Britain's pledge to her of equal partnership in the Empire.

Mr. Amery also reviewed the war situation and expressed the view that Greek successes in Italy opened up for Britain "a vista of opportunity which, if we can turn it to full account, may be of immense and even decisive influence upon the whole course of the war. The responsibility of the Empire, the right of imperial initiative, is, to-day, vested in each member of the Commonwealth. That is the aspect of the Delhi Conference, which is not without its constitutional significance. Nor is it without special significance for India. In her internal and constitutional development India has not yet attained to that free measure of Self-Government which we have declared to be our goal. Its full attainment to-day depends, indeed, more upon agreement between Indians themselves as to the right nature of India's future constitution than upon ourselves."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, both members of the Congress Working Committee and Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa, President, Bombay Legislative Council, were arrested in Bombay under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, interviewed at Wardha, stated: "Assam M. L. A.'s and A. I. C. C. members are permitted to offer Satyagraha."

2nd. The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed a resolution that the Government of Bengal should take immediate steps "to ensure higher prices of raw Jute for the cultivator in the current season by adopting such necessary and suitable measures as may be economically justifiable."

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, a member of the Congress Working Committee and Mr. Kumar Chandra Jana, President, Midnapore district Congress Committee were arrested and sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment each under the Defence of India Rules.

3rd. Sir Jagadish Prasad, a former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council asked for a Committee of non-party men to consult political leaders,

including Congress leaders in jail, on means by which the Central Government could be reconstructed to secure the willing and energetic co-operation of the whole of India in the one supreme task developing the country's war effort.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, was arrested and sentenced to a year's simple imprisonment.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad issued the following statement: "I have received the following telegram from Mr. Gandhi: 'Bihar accounts disturbing. Why does a province that was best causing anxiety. There should be no demonstration. Only authorities should be informed, not the public, of impending resistance'."

The Bengal Legislative Assembly passed the Local Authorities Census Expenses Contribution Bill, which provided for contributions by certain local authorities of a portion of the expenses incurred or to be incurred in connexion with the census.

4th. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji of the Calcutta University prepared a scheme in which he suggested that the leaders of the communities of India should first achieve a preliminary agreement on the differences on which the communities were to separate and on the sphere of unity in which they could work together to build up India as a democracy.

Mr. Biswanath Das, former Premier of Orissa, was arrested.

The Conference between the representatives of the Government of India, the Governments of the jute growing provinces and of the mill industry to deal with the problem of surpluses opened in New Delhi.

Miss Khursed Ben, grand-daughter of the late Dadabhai Nowroji, was arrested under the Punjab Frontier Crossing Regulation of 1873.

5th. Sj Subhas Chandra Bose, who was arrested on July 2, in connexion with the Holwell Monument agitation under sec. 129 of the Defence of India Rules was released from the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, from detention.

Mrs. V. L. Pandit, former Minister of the United Provinces, was arrested.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar issued a statement from Madras, in which he stated *inter alia*: "Mr. Amery's stigmatising the Indian political agitation as artificial is not only baseless but a gross insult to India. India as a whole wants independence and that reality of power which it alone can give, exclusively for her own sons and daughters."

6th. The Federal Court unanimously held that the United Provinces Act of 1938 regularizing remissions of rent was within the competence of the provincial legislature. Their Lordships gave the judgment in an appeal by the United Provinces Government from an order of the Allahabad High Court declaring that the Act was ultra vires of the U. P. Legislature.

The telegraphic communication that had passed between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. B. P. Pain, member of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, on the Congress parliamentary affairs in Bengal, was released to the Press. In releasing the correspondence, Mr. Pain said: "Encouraged by Mahatma Gandhi's message to Bengal to sink all differences and unite, I appealed to him to help us to do so. I regret to have to confess that I failed to obtain the Mahatma's sympathy." Mahatma Gandhi sent a telegram to Mr. B. P. Pain: "Regret inability, even unwillingness, to interfere notwithstanding my regard and friendship for the Brothers. Feel ban cannot be lifted without their apologising for indiscipline."

The Federal Court by a majority consisting of the Chief Justice and Sir S. Varadachariar, dismissed the appeal questioning the validity of the Madras Agriculturists Debt Relief Act.

The fine of one anna imposed upon Sardar Sampuran Singh was paid by Mr. Henderson, District Magistrate, Lahore, from his own pocket.

7th. The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, called for an explanation from Sardar Sampuran Singh, Leader of the Congress Assembly Party in the Punjab, after reading the judgment of the District Magistrate in the case against the Sardar for offering Satyagraha. Mahatma Gandhi issued the following statement on the Sardar's case:—"I have just read Sardar Sampuran Singh's astounding statement before the Court. I do not know who passed his name. In my instructions I had explicitly prohibited the inclusion of names such as his. But I compliment the Sardar on his courage in telling the truth at the cost of his political reputation. Let his example be a warning to others that I attach no value to empty and meaningless discipline in whose name Sardar Sampuran Singh offered civil disobedience."

8th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a public meeting in Bombay, said: "If the Congress wants to achieve independence there is no other way of doing it except by the two communities agreeing to live as separate entities. Pakistan is the only way to India's freedom."

Sardar Sampuran Singh, Leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, was asked by the Congress President not to offer Satyagraha again unless he received further instruction from the Congress President.

In continuation of his appeal to Mr. Jinnah to reopen negotiations with the Congress Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, requested the members of the Council of the All-India Moslem League to write to Mr. Jinnah asking him to call an emergency meeting of the Council of the Working Committee of the Moslem League

Mr. M. N. Roy presiding at the C. P. and Berar Youth Conference at Amraoti, expressed the view that the national interests of India could no longer be promoted by disregarding the fate of the rest of the world. He stressed the need for fighting Fascism in India's interest.

9th. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Mr. Nityananda Kanungo, former Ministers in the United Provinces and Orissa respectively, and Mr. Asaf Ali, M. L. A. (Central) and a member of the Congress Working Committee, were among those who were sentenced in connexion with the Congress Satyagraha movement.

Dr. and Mrs. Subbrayan were arrested at Salem and sentenced each to six months' simple imprisonment.

10th. A special meeting of members of the Indian Jute Mills Association was held in Calcutta, at which consideration was given to the results of the New Delhi Conference of December 4 between representatives of the Government of India, Governments of the various jute growing provinces and the Jute Mills Association.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed the Water-Hyacinth (Amendment) Bill, introduced by Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister for Agriculture.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya in the course of an appeal to the students of Madras, said: "Students could do no better in this transitional stage, if they are anxious and sincere in their desire to contribute something to the fight for Swaraj than to spin for at least one hour every day and to wear Khadi and nothing but Khadi."

A meeting of Newspaper Editors in Bombay City and the Province was held in the hall of the Bombay Journalists' Association.

Sj. Subhas Chanda Bose, in the course of a statement on the situation arising out of the disciplinary action taken by the Congress High Comand against Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party in Bengal, suggested that all the Congress members of the Assembly should resign and seek re-election on the issue. He threw a challenge to Mahatma Gandhi to set up the Working Committee's candidates to fight the elections as against candidates set up by the suspended Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

11th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who was arrested in connexion with the Congress Satyagraha movement was released from Yervada Jail, Poona, for reasons of health.

In the Supply Department Organization of the Government of India, decentralization was the object of important changes.

12th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, speaking at a luncheon in London, applied the slogan "India First". He said: "It is of the essence of politics in our democratic age that it is largely governed by slogans, by simple words or phrases, which sum up a principle, a method or purpose which can be applied to almost every situation and which gain strength by constant reiteration. Is there such a slogan or watchward which can be effectively applied to the affairs of India in the present difficult juncture and applied not only by Indians of every community or section in their relations to each other or to the British Government but also by Englishmen whether here or in India in their outlook upon the Indian problem and afford equally helpful guidance to all of us ?"

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose issued two further statements in connexion with the disciplinary action taken against Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose by the Congress Executive. In his first statement Sj. Bose replied to the charges levelled by Maulana Azad, Congress President against Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose,

In another statement, Sj. Subhas Bose said : "In Wednesday's statement I think I have been able to prove that the Maulana's charges against Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose have no leg to stand on. The Maulana too is not altogether oblivious of the weakness of his position. That is why in private and in public he has to fall back on his one stock argument, viz, breach of discipline."

Lord Lothian, British Ambassador at Washington died. He was associated with India at the Round Table Conference as under-Secretary of State and chairman of the Franchise Committee.

13th. Sir Tej Bahadur issued a statement to the Press, from Allahabad, drawing attention to the political situation in the country. He suggested that Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah should meet immediately to discuss the political situation, in a free, open and large hearted manner, with a fixed determination to come to a settlement ; that they should invite one or two leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, the Sikhs and the Depressed classes ; then they should see the Viceroy and press on him the necessity of reconstructing for the period of war his Government, so as to give it in substance the character of a National Government."

Main conclusions of the report of Dr. T. E. Gregory and Sir David Meek who were sent by the Government of India in July last to the United States of America to investigate the extent to which it would be possible to find markets there for exports excluded from Europe as a result of the blockade, were made available.

Mr. R. A. Kidwai and Mr. F. A. Ahmed, former U. P. and Assam Ministers respectively, and Mr. S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, were among those who were arrested in connexion with the anti-war campaign by the Congress. Mr. Satyamurti was sentenced to nine months' simple imprisonment.

14th. H. E. the Viceroy arrived in Calcutta, for his annual cold weather visit. He was received at Howrah station by H. E. the Governor and the Lady Mary Herbert.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a statement on Lord Lothian's death, said : "I can say with absolute sincerity that there was no Englishman who had a more keen and direct interest in the development of Indian freedom."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, addressing a public meeting at Allahabad that after satyagraha "had spread right down to the village mandal, the next step would be that all four-anna members of the Congress who undertook to follow the conditions laid down by Mr. Gandhi and who sent in their names for approval by him, would be allowed to offer satyagraha."

The latest scheme formulated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, for the disposal of surplus sugarcane in Bihar and the United Provinces was criticized in a statement by Mr. Karam Chand Thapar, chairman, Indian Sugar Syndicate.

"War and Humanity", was the subject of an address delivered by Sir M. Zafrulla Khan, Member in charge of Law and Supply, Government of India before a gathering of students in Calcutta. Sir Zafrulla expressed the hope that this war might prove to be a "surgeon's knife" and lead to fair, just and equitable economic, social and political adjustments between nation and nation. Unless this was achieved there would be no peace in the world and war would follow war.

15th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a meeting at Karachi, said : "The failure of the Viceroy's and Mr. Amery's efforts is due to the weak, vacillating and indecisive policy of the British Government."

Dr. G. S. Arundale, President, Theosophical Society, addressing a public meeting in New Delhi, made an appeal to India to use not only her material resources but her soul force on Britain's side and to Britain to win India over by a bold political step forward.

The Karachi Indian Merchants' Association in the course of a representation to the Government of India made an appeal to the Viceroy and the Government of India to bring pressure on His Majesty's Government to explore all possibilities and avenues of a settlement with the Congress.

In pursuance of a notice issued by Mr. Kiron Sankar Roy, General Secretary of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, 27 members of the party out of a total strength of 60 met at the residence of Maulana Azad, the Congress President, and re-elected Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, President of the Bengal Parliamentary Party and Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly.

Mahatma Gandhi permitted the resumption of Satyagraha in the Punjab under certain conditions. The campaign in the province would be under the direct supervision of the Mahatma.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad issued a statement explaining the reasons for postponing the meeting of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party.

16th. H. E. the Viceroy, when he addressed the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, made a comprehensive survey of the Indian political field and of India's contribution to the Empire's war effort in terms of labour and supply. His Excellency said that His Majesty's Government fully sympathised with the suggestions made from various quarters that Indian political leaders and Indian political parties should come together and seek to reach agreement among themselves The Viceroy declared, "we are entitled to claim, we do claim, and I claim today that it is for the Indian parties themselves, for those communities, interests and political leaders concerned, to get together and to see what they can do by way of reaching an accommodation with one another." His Excellency referred to the achievements in the Western Desert of Indian troops, "who have shown themselves worthy of their highest traditions, and have borne themselves with the utmost distinction.

The first official announcement about the construction of aircraft in India was made by Government in New Delhi. "A factory is to be established 'somewhere in India' with American technical assistance and the machines produced will be bought by Government."

Sir Sikandar Hyat, in his inaugural address at the Indian History Congress at Lahore, stressed the need of a proper understanding of India's past for the purpose of devising the right constitutional expedients for the new India which was being born.

17th. Mahatma Gandhi said in reply to a letter of a political worker of Jind State : "There is to be no civil disobedience, individual or mass, in the States."

The Congres President, Maulana A. K. Azad, wrote to all the members of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party who attended the meeting at his residence on December 15 and re-elected Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose as their leader, asking them to explain why disciplinary action should not be taken against them for having flagrantly disobeyed the decision of the Parliamentary sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress regarding Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose."

Dr. Khan Saheb, former Premier, the North-West Frontier Province, addressing a meeting in a village in the Peshawar district, referred to the Government's "no arrest" policy and said : There is a good deal of wild talk about our not being arrested. We neither drag about it nor are we sorry, because, we are fighting for freedom of speech, and the Government have conceded our demand."

Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Executive Council, addressing the Hyderabad Legislative Council, observed : "In the distracted conditions of today when a great convulsion is shaking the very foundations of established systems all over the world with evident repercussions on India, Hyderabad and Indian State's in general can play a noble and distinguished role and serve the ends of victory in war and concord in peace."

18th. Sardar Sampuran Singh, Leader of the Congress Assembly Party in the Punjab was expelled from the party by the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, for his conduct in court after his arrest. In the course of a letter to the Sardar Sahib, the Congress President said : "There is nothing in the explanation you have sent me. Your replies in the court clearly demonstrate that you do not agree with the decision of the Congress about war. In spite of this, you offered yourself as a Satyagrahi, and made both yourself and the party of which you had the honour of being the leader, ludicrous."

Mr. H. P. Bagaria, in his presidential address at the annual general meeting of the East India Jute Association in Calcutta, discussed various matters relating to the jute trade.

Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee addressing a meeting of Hindus at Munshiganj observed that the Hindus should consolidate their position in the country in order to protect their rights and privileges.

19th. The Government of Bengal were, said a communique, gratified to note that the arrangement arrived at a conference held in Delhi between the Government of India, the Government of Bengal and certain representatives of the Indian Jute Mills Association was unanimously accepted without reserve by the members of the Association.

Negotiations between the Mysore Durbar and the promoters of the Indian Aircraft Manufacture Company represented by Mr. Walchand Hirachand were completed and an agreement arrived at.

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice or India, in the course of his Convocation Address delivered at the Osmania University, observed : "Where Universities have been destroyed by a brutal conqueror, there still remains the citadel of man's unconquerable mind. The destruction or suppression of so many of the greatest Universities of Europe will surely inspire the Universities of India with a new determination to preserve and maintain that freedom of thought for which a University above all stands, and which is mankind's only hope for the future."

20th. Mahatma Gandhi issued the following statement from Wardha :

"Sardar Sampuran Singh has seen me with reference to the statement I published on his conduct at the recent trial. Though what I said about not passing men like him is true, I recognize that he was permitted by the Provincial Congress Committee to offer civil disobedience and from that he had taken it for granted that permission must have been given under my instance. I recognize therefore that he was fully justified in offering Satyagraha in so far as permission was concerned. Nevertheless his conduct at the trial was wholly unjustified and I believe that the Sardar now understands and appreciates the meaning of my criticism."

At the meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha, Madras, with Mr. Lodd Govindas in the chair, the Pakistan scheme was criticized by several speakers.

21st. Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin uttered a note of warning to students against being involved in party politics, when he opened a conference of Calcutta Moslem students in the Moslem Institute Hall, Calcutta.

Sir P. C. Roy in his presidential address at the Bengal Secondary Education Bill Protest Conference in Calcutta, said : "The Secondary Education Bill is not an educational, but a political and communal measure."

22nd. The members of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, who were asked by the Congress President to explain their conduct in connexion with the meeting they held at his place on December 15 sent a reply to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, justifying their conduct and declaring the election of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose to be in no way invalid.

The Conference to protest against the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, in Calcutta, concluded its deliberations, after passing a number of resolutions.— One of the resolutions set out in detail, the reasons why the Bill was unacceptable to the Hindu Community and demanded its withdrawal. Another resolution proposed the boycott of the proposed Secondary Education Board.

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League considered the situation with regard to the League organigation in the province both inside and outside the Legislature.

23rd. Fourteen members of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, including its Deputy Leader, Mr. Santosh Kumar Bose were expelled from the party by the Congress President, who was also the chairman of the All-India Congress Parliametary Sub-Commitiee. The members expelled included among others—Mr. Santosh Kumar Bose, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Rai Harendra Nath Chowdhury, Mr. Debendralal Khan, Mr. Manmathanath Roy, Mr. Pratul Chandra Gangully and Mr. Baroda Pain.

Mahatma Gandhi when questioned by a deputation of workers from Mewar and some Rajputana and Himalayan States as to whether Satyagraha in the States had also been suspended, said : "Anti-war Satyagraha is not to be resorted to in the States, but the people of the States, if they are strong enough, can offer Satyagraha on their own responsibility in order to have local issues and grievances redressed."

Mr. M. N. Roy, invited fifty-seven leaders from all over India to a conference in Calcutta on December 30 and 31 in order to discuss problems of the moment and to give the country the correct lead.

The second annual conference of the Bihar Moslem Students Federation was held at Patna under the presidentship of Mr. Ghulam Imam, President of the City Moslem League, Lucknow.

24th. Nawab Muhammad Ismail, M. L. A., presiding over the U. P. Provincial Moslem League Conference at Allahabad, decleared : "The war is

being waged with a ruthlessness and ferocity unknown in history. Even the tales of cruel atrocities perpetrated by Huns and Tartars pale into insignificance before the devastation, agony and annihilation brought by the death dealing instruments and machines of war."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, in the course of a statement asserted that the agitation against the proposed Bengal Secondary Education Bill was based on intensely communal grounds.

Commenting on the disciplinary action taken by the Congress President against the Deputy Leader and 13 others members of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in a statement to the Press, said : "It is of no concern to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that what he is doing is ultra vires of the Congress constitution itself. And it is of no consequence to him that through his penal measures he may soon be expelling the entire public from the Congress."

25th. Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of a letter to Lala Duni Chand M.L.A., President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee observed that nobody was obliged to court imprisonment merely as a matter of discipline.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, in declaring open "Lord Govinda Hall" at Royapetta put in a strong plea for renovating Hinduism by spreading its principles among the people at large with the same missionary zeal with which people of other religions spread their faith.

Mr. M. N. Roy, in an after dinner speech in Bombay, expressed the view that Pakistan was not an immediate issue that stood in the way of progress of the country or in aligning various parties in the country in the fight against Fascism.

The Radical Democratic People's Party concluded its inaugural conference in Bombay.

The sixth session of the All-India Students' Federation which commenced at Nagpur, witnessed a rupture in the organization, the delegates from Bihar, Bengal and United Provinces seceded almost in a body.

26th. The slogan "Islam First" was raised in a resolution adopted unanimously by the U. P. Muslim League conference at Allahabad, endorsing the Pakistan scheme.

Under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, a public meeting of the Muslims of Madras was held at the premises of the Wallajah Masque, Triplicane, to celebrate the birthday of Mr. Jinnah.

27th. Dr. N. B. Khare, former C. P. Premier in a statement referring to the appeal of Members of Parliament to the Indian people for understanding and constructive co-operation in the war effort, said : "The Indian people should thank the British people for their expression of Christmas Goodwill and should reciprocate the same good feelings towards the British people as a whole with whom they have no quarrel."

Many shops in the different parts of Calcutta remained closed as a mark of protest against the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Bill introduced by the Government in the last session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Mahatma Gandhi invited Master Tara Singh, a prominent Akali leader, to meet him at Sewagram. Master Tara Singh had resigned from the Congress following lengthy correspondence between him and the Mahatma on the question of non-violence.

The 17th. All-India Medical Conference, which was held at Vizagapatam, was presided over by Dr. K. S. Roy.

Lady Mirza Ismail, chairwoman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates to the fifteenth session of the All-India Women's Conference at Bangalore, observed : "Today, the world is threatened with ruin by circumstances that have been created outside the influence of women. Our deepest hope that the deliberations and activities of this conference may be guided towards the attainment of peace of both India and the world at large."

The open session of the second All-India Urdu Conference was held at Cawnpore under the presidentship of Justice Sir Abul Quadir of Lahore.—Begum Aijazrasul, M.L.C. chairwoman of the Reception Committee, in her address stressed that urdu was not the monopoly of Moslems. Both Hindus and Moslems had contributed to the growth of Urdu and had enriched its literature. Urdu was India's most popular language.

28th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, presiding at the 22nd. session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Madura, observed : "I find no detail or issue important enough to compel us to resort to civil resistance at the sacrifice of important facilities we have gained, and the opportunity that has presented itself to us enabling to effect the militarization of the Hindu people to a substantial extent." Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, chairman, Reception Committee, in his speech strongly criticized the Pakistan scheme and said that Moslems were a part of the Indian people and could not be a nation by themselves despite the slogans of the Moslem League. Turning to the political situation in India, the speaker said that the Congress wanted to overthrow the Nazis and yet, by their civil disobedience, it was helping the Nazis.

Mr. V. N. Chandravarkar, in his presidential address at the annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India, in Calcutta, declared : "This is as much our war as it is that of those in power ; we must not let the domestic quarrel between Britain and India queer the pitch for action against the common enemy of mankind." The remedy he suggested was that the British Government should make an unequivocal declaration that it would confer on India Dominion Status of the Westminster variety at a definite date—"say within two years after the war"—and in the meantime England should send a good-will mission to India, composed of "first class statesmen", to pave the way for framing a "Treaty of Friendship between England and India."

Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, opening the 51st. session of the All-India Moslem Educational Conference at Poona, referred to the educational problems of Moslems. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq presided. Sir Roger Lumley in his address laid special emphasis on the need for spread of education among Moslem women.

29th. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Madura passed a resolution demanding the immediate unconditional release of Hindu political prisoners and the recalling forthwith of political exiles. A resolution, adopted without opposition, reiterated the condemnation of the Communal Award "as it is opposed to all principles of democracy."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, in a Press interview at Poona, referred to his move for a settlement between the Moslem League and the Congress and said that the move had been misunderstood in certain quarters.

The All-India Women's Conference at Bangalore recommended the removal of illiteracy by the introduction of free compulsory primary education for all boys and girls and the promotion of communal unity.

30th. The National Liberal Federation of India, in Calcutta, passed a resolution calling upon the people of India to help Britain to the utmost in the successful prosecution of the war. Two other resolutions passed by the conference related to the future constitution of India and the defence of the country.

The All-India Hindu Mahasabha passed the resolution on the general political situation in India at the open session of the Conference by an overwhelming majority.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in the course of an interview at Lahore, said : "If India is invaded tomorrow and there is no other alternative to defend my country, I will not hesitate to take up arms and fight."

Views of the Indian Christians on the political situation in India were expressed at the All-India Christian Conference at Lucknow, Mr. Ram Chandra Rao presiding.

31st. A proposal to form a representative body, called the National Democratic Union, with a view to mobilizing public opinion for a united war effort in India was made at a conference of Indian leaders, convened by Mr. M. N. Roy, leader of the Radical Democratic Congress Party, which concluded its deliberations at Behala (Calcutta). Some of the objectives aimed at were: "Defeat of Fascism and Nazism and the rapid development of all the resources of India for that purpose. Sharing responsibility for the defence of India, and with that purpose, to press upon the Government the necessity of winning popular confidence."

Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Director, Scientific and Industrial Research, Government of India, in an address on "National Defence and Scientific Research" at the Calcutta Rotary Club, made an appeal to Indians and Europeans to develop that greatness of mind which had made the Commonwealth idea a practical possibility."

India in Home Polity

Introduction

The defeat of France and her retirement from the fight with Germany in the middle of June, 1940, will remain a landmark in world history. It stupefied the world for a while. It took men and women time to get over the shock, to think over and understand the situation created by this undreamt-of event. But they had no time to sorrow over this state of things. They had to prepare themselves, the men and women of Europe and America, to meet a triumphant Germany, either as friends or as foes. The interpreters of these happenings in the Western world have told us that they were, willingly or unwillingly, taking sides in a great battle that covered oceans and continents. They said that the battle-lines were clearly drawn between "free capitalism and autarchy", between the semi-democracies and the totalitarians, between the "Have-gots" and the "Have nots", between the potentially powerful Anglo-Saxon Powers and the "immediately" powerful Axis Powers. In the last volume of the *Indian Annual Register* I have tried to indicate the lines along which the world was being divided. It is not in the material plane only that the fight is being waged ; in the world of faith, in the world of philosophy influencing conduct, men and women are as greatly divided and as aggressive.

The war of continents & oceans

The propaganda on behalf of Britain and her allies has told the world what is at stake in this war. Herr Hitler has told the workers and women of Germany the issues of the present war in course of a speech delivered in the Rhein-metall-Borsing Munition Works :

Herr Hitler's thesis

".....In fact, it is a struggle between two worlds. 46 million English rule and govern a territory of roughly 40,000,000 square Kilometers in this world. 85 million Germans have a living space of hardly 600,000 square Kilometers.....This earth, however, was not distributed by Providence or by Almighty God."

"All my life I have been a have-not.....Now again, I enter the fight as the representative of the have-nots....."

"The slogan of liberty really means freedom of economy, namely, for everybody to grab for himself without State control....."

"These people, to give but one example, have the possibility of pocketing up to 160 per cent dividend from the ammunition industry. They say that if these German methods gain ground and prove victorious all this will stop. They are right. I believe 6 per cent sufficient....."

"Two worlds are in conflict, two philosophies of life. They say we should help to keep up the gold standard—of course, for they have the gold and we have not....."

"If we already have no gold, then we have the power of work, and German power of work is our gold and our capital, and with this gold I can beat any other power in the world. I built up my entire economy on the conception of work....."

"What we are reconstructing is not only a world of co-operative labour, but also a world of co-operative duties....."

In these words we have had drawn for us the lineaments of the

"new order" that the ruling classes of Germany wish to see established in Europe, in America, in the world. Even among people who have been fighting the Nazis are there people whose minds have been moving towards certain of the ideals which Herr Hitler indicated in the parts of the speech quoted above. But National Socialism has lost its appeal to the mind and conscience of men and women by its association with the vulgarities and cruelties implicit in the "Nordic race theory" and the other methods by which Nazism has captured the power of the State in Germany. The technique of warfare which the Nazis have introduced, illustrated by the aerial bombings of innocent people in Warsaw, in Rotterdam, in Britain, has created a revulsion of feeling and revolt of sentiment against Nazism. The triumphs of Germany has not helped to conciliate these or appreciate the value of German success in military, political and economic fields in the market-place of modern world affairs. It is not fear of changes alone that has ranged countries in Europe and in America against the "new order" promised by Herr Hitler and the other leaders of the Reich. In fighting Germany many of her adversaries have been adopting the methods and patterns that have won such resounding successes in the fields of battle. Private profiteering, maldistribution of wealth, security of work—all these problems are being tackled so that the "man in the street" may feel that he is really a member of the community, of the State, that "60 Families" or "200 Families" are not exploiting his labour, and are not in the defence of their particularistic interests sacrificing him and his children at the altar of the war-god.

Murder & cruelty that prepare the "new order."

European thinkers have been increasingly realising that the "inevitably harmonious society of nationalist parliamentary democracies", the establishment of which was the special contribution of the 19th century to the world's contrivances for human good, have outlived their usefulness ; that political liberty, secured under this dispensation, has not provided economic security to the commonalty of the world. This insecurity and the recurring wars and threats of war have been the breeding grounds of the totalitarianisms and dictatorships that have become the marks and notes of history for the last twenty years and more. Middleton Murray has described this evolution in the following words :

Democracy *versus* Totalitarianism

".....They (totalitarianisms) explicitly repudiate the theory of the responsible person on which representative democracy is based. They declare.....that the free and enlightened citizen of democratic theory is an illusion ; he does not exist. The ordinary member of a modern nation.....is quite incapable of the responsible freedom with which democratic theory credits him. He doesn't want it ; it is useless to him if he has it ; and he does not mind if it is taken from him. What he does want is something more material : he wants security.....what the mass-man wants .... is a strong leader about whom he can feel enthusiasm and from whom he can expect protection."

This writer goes further into the etiology of the disease in the world's body politic. He suggests that "the prodigious developments of the machine are always working powerfully against the realisation of responsible freedom", that mass production, and mass unemployment, ("which is an essential part of the system"), have "cut the mass-man clean away from the roots of a natural culture". This interpretation cannot

Industrialism & Totalitarianism

represent the whole truth of the matter. And even if it does so, it is too much to expect that mankind will let go all the advantages and comforts that industrialism has brought into its life, that it will agree to scrap the railway, the ocean and the air liner, the electric wave that has made possible the telephone, the radio and television. Science has opened out these fields of knowledge, has put such demonaic powers into the hands of men ; and science cannot sit still and see all the havoc that its offspring has been working but must find a way out to make human nature worthy of these powers and blessings. It may be true that "great ideas enter into reality with evil associates and with disgusting alliances". But the glory of human endeavour has ever been to transform and transmute the evil in us and in our institutions into the patterns of our hearts' imaginings about the true, the good and the beautiful.

Failure of Liberalism

Looking at the matter from this angle the real fight of the World War No. II of the 20th century must be fought out in the realm of thought, in the region of ideas Totalitarianism is no freak ; it has grown out of and gathered strength from the break-down of the Liberalism that has been one of the creative forces during the last one-hundred and fifty years. But the years have revealed the causes of the break-down in this noble endeavour. Don Salvador de Madriaga who for years was Spanish delegate to the League of Nations, a man of letters and a man of affairs, has indicated these in an article in *World Review*.

"Uncorrected by some kind of balancing principle, Liberalism leads to anarchical behaviour, selfish fastidiousness and a complete atomization of the individual, whose psychic life, cut off from the common soul, wanders in aesthetic frustration or strays in psycho-analytical misery. This explains why so many intellectuals have sought relief in communism and even why, far from being deterred by its dogmatic and orthodox ways, they have eagerly shut themselves into the rigid tenets of the Sovietic Church."

"Instinct for unifying Europe"

We have to find, therefore, out of the wrecks of destruction left by this war the seeds that will germinate with promises of creation, of a "new order" in Europe, in the world. Herr Hitler may be one of the "scourges of God" that have carried death and destruction through the world, doing "a masterly demolition job" so that something better and more imposing may be erected for the comfort and convenience of men, for the beautification of their life. We have quoted in the last volume of the *Annual Register* from the *Voice of Destruction*, written by Dr. Hermann Rauchnigg, the words describing the idea of European reconstruction that Herr Hitler entertained, how an "instinct for unifying Europe" seems to be driving him, as J. L. Hammond recognised in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian* (July 16, 1940). The Federation of Europe of which many of Europe's sanest of thinkers and statesmen have dreamt, and for which they have worked since unremembered centuries, may be one of those paradoxes that will issue out of the present war. Horsfall Carter, formerly editor of the London *Fortnightly Review*, discussed this problem in course of an article where he asked for a "planning" for such a Europe. In the absence of such forethought it may happen that people will be constrained to think that "European unity can only come about

by the absolute supremacy of one nation over all others"; in the absence of "Western civilisation's alternative to the *Pax Germanica*", the "moral basis" of the present war falls to the ground, and Germany by virtue of her population, of her geographical position in the heart of the continent, of her high degree of organising ability, by her industrial and technical competence, will easily occupy that suzereign position. One of the grievances of Germany has been that it was British interference with Europe's internal affairs that has been helping to delay the fruition of this historic process ; and so convinced is she of the correctness of her diagnosis that she has become prepared to settle the matter by the only method she believes in —the method of "blood and iron".

The rise of "Anglo-Saxony".

The article under notice appears to be a protest against the easy solution of the problem of Britain's place in the future world organisation, provided by "Anglo-Saxony", the evolution of which we have traced in the last volume of the *Annual Register*. This London-Washington Axis is being sought to be built up on "the scaffolding provided by the common effort now forthcoming from the Dominions and the United States." Horsfall Carter appears to feel very strongly on this possible development, which would be flying in the face of geography and history. Britain with all her extra-European affiliations is physically in Europe ; with all her prestige and power she is physically a tiny spot in the continent of Europe ; she has to live and work as a European power ; her traditions bind her to Europe ; and she cannot live and work always quarrelling with her European neighbours. In the Federation or Union of Europe she has to find a place ; geography will not allow her to remain aloof from this super-State. The little of separation that the English Channel and the North Sea afforded has been erased by the coming in of the aeroplane ; and the invasion-efforts of Germany show the direction in which Britain's interest lay. Horsfall Carter thinks that it would be a fatal delusion to think that "the blessed consummation of a new-style *Pax Britannica*—with U. S. A. as a sort of honorary Associate member will help us to keep Europe in order." He thinks that the isolation spirit in America is too strong an element in the make-up of that continent or rather continents on which Britain could safely rely for rescue from every danger every twenty or twenty-five years.

A natural & inevitable process

This plea for "European-ness" does not, however, appear to have had any great influence with the ruling classes of Britain. Horsfall Carter has "detected among the Sahibs and the higher-ups in the Services a certain sense of relief that England has now cut loose from those foreigners". He quotes a slang to express the belief or feeling of disgust with foreigners—"the niggers begin at Calais"—to drive home his point. Any feeling or consciousness that Britain must seek and find her salvation in and through Europe cannot remain strong when all Europe appears to being arrayed under German dictation and hegemoney for a final reckoning with Britain. This loneliness is not new in British history. A century and a half ago Europe was set up against Britain by the genius of Napoleon Bonaparte. British diplomacy could, however, find allies from

among European States to beat back this attack and break up the Napoleonic Alliance. Today, confronted by the same danger, Britain has sent her cry for help to the gatherings of all her clans—which are her own Dominions and one of which is a sovereign State—spread over the seven seas. The chiefest of them and the most powerful is the United States of America to whom the cry has not gone in vain. When in August, 1940, the British Premier, Mr. Winston Churchill, spoke the following words, he prophesied a historic development which international conflicts have been forcing towards a concrete shape. Under the ornament of imagery he indicated the organisation of what has come to be known as "Anglo-Saxony".

"The British Empire and the United States will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. For my part, looking out upon the future I do not view the process with any misgivings. No one can stop it. Like the Mississippi it just keeps rolling on. Let it roll. Let it roll on in full flood, inexorable, irresistible, to broader lands and better days."

Identity of interests between Britain & U. S. A.

In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we have traced the personal and impersonal forces that have been working towards such a consummation. In tracing this history we referred to Admiral Mahan's article in the *North-American Review* (1894). The article was entitled—"Possibilities of an Anglo-American Re-Union." It was commissioned by Andrew Carnegie to "promote rapprochment between the two nations." It asked each of the two nations to be "educated to realise the length and breadth of its own interest in the sea." It made a remarkable prophecy when the United States under the compulsion of "experience" will betake herself to "external action."

"In this same pregnant strife the U. S. doubtless will be led by undeniable interests and aroused national sympathies to play a part, to cast aside the policy of isolation which befitted her in infancy, and to recognise that.....now to take her share of the travail of Europe is but to assume an inevitable task.....in the work of upholding the common interests of civilisation."

"Aid to Britain short of war"

What Admiral Mahan said forty-seven years back has overtaken his country. The realisation of the identity of interests and sentiments between Britain and the United States has become vivid since the fall of France in the middle of June, 1940. The days that followed coincided with the time when preparations were being made for the election of the President of the Republic. Mr. Wendell Willkie (Republican) urged in his election speeches that the U. S. must "send and keep sending aid to Britain, our first line of defence, and our only remaining friend.....In the Pacific our best ends will be served by a free, strong and democratically progressive China, and we should render China economic assistance to that end." Franklin Roosevelt (Democrat), who broke a great tradition of U. S. A. constitutional history which forbade a President from seeking election for a third term, was no less emphatic in promising that he was in favour of the policy that rendered "all aid to Britain short of war." When he was re-elected, and preparations were going on for his inauguration, in a broadcast to his nation made in the first week of January, 1941, he emphasised how the democratic institutions of his country stood to gain by Britain standing whole and erect ;

"If Britain goes down.....all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun.....To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militarist power...."

"We must become the great arsenal of democracy."

It was after this election (November, 1940) and inauguration (January, 1941), that the aid to Britain took definite legal shape. Though certain of these latter developments do not naturally form part of a study of affairs that happened during the months of July to December, 1940, their bearing on the elucidation and interpretation of American attitude is so revealing that without reference to them the evolution of U. S. policy towards the present war cannot be explained. The Lease-Lend Plan was introduced as Bill No. 1776 entitled "A Bill to Further Promote the Defence of the United States, and for Other Purposes." This Bill aligned in a way the defence of America by the side of that of Britain. The second section of the Bill authorised the President "to order any Government official to manufacture.....or procure in any way any defence article for the use of any country the President names—"notwithstanding the provisions of any other law" ; he was authorized to "order any defence article sold, exchanged, transferred, leased, lent, or tested.....repaired, outfitted or reconditioned for the use of any country he may name"—without regard to any previous law ; any plan, specification, design, proto-type or information about any defence article may be communicated to any Government the President may name ; any defence article may be released for export to any country at his order.

Lease-and-Lend Act

The passing of the Lease-and-Lend Bill may be accepted as an expression of U. S. feelings and sentiments that have been growing in volume and intensity as they watched the magnificent defence put up by the British people under the superb leadership of Mr. Winston Churchill. In August and September of 1940, the aerial invasion of Britain began. German bombers and fighters darkened the British sky showering death and destruction over wide areas of the country, demolishing ancient landmarks. London and her dockland which were responsible for moving one-third of the country's export and import trade was disabled for the time being ; Coventry and Birmingham, Britain's industrial nerve-centres where her weapons of offence and defence were forged, were almost wrecked. The 22 miles of sea-water that separated the southern coast of Britain from the "invasion ports" of France made it difficult for Germany to launch a naval invasion of the island. Therefore, the method of aerial attack was adopted to disorganise "industrial Britain", to disorganise "the Government", to "strike at the national morale" of the British people. This attempt became possible because Germany enjoyed a vast superiority over Britain in this instrument of warfare. Estimates differed as to the proportion of this superiority. There was perfect secrecy with regard to this matter, and attempt at misleading by giving out exaggerated numbers. Since the days of Munich (September, 1938), Germany has had double the number of planes either in production or in use that Britain had. At that time one estimate had it that Germany had 3,300 first-line planes and Britain 1,600 ; the monthly

Magnificence of British defence

production was 600 for Germany, 300 for Britain. The expansion of Britain's Imperial Air Force and aircraft production that is being worked in Canada and in the U. S. A. does not appear to have been able to minimise the gap that has been standing between German and British aeroplane production. With regard to their quality the opinion of Major-General James E. Chaney of the U. S. A. Army Air Corps who was Official Observer in Britain between October 10 to November 20, 1940, is not complimentary. *Time*, the New York Weekly, dated December 16, 1940, said that Major-General Chaney "low-rated" U. S. A. and British aeroplanes in engines, armament and fire-power, compared to German planes. This advantage in numbers and quality lying so much with Germany has not, however, been able to knock Britain out of the fight even as we write, that is, in the spring of 1941. This intrepidity of the British people, this dogged pertinacity, this grim endurance have come as a surprise to the world, and enlisted on her side the sympathy of many who are daily repelled by her sin of imperialism. It is this heroism that has stirred the U. S. A., the majority of that country, to demand of their Government that such a centre of noble conduct cannot be allowed to be burnt out by German bombers. Apart from material considerations Britain's resistance appears to have started a wave of idealism in the great republic which finds expression in words like these :

"Then, under such conditions, the struggle that Britain is now waging, with a heroism to which any tribute is almost an insult, a heroism that is so high that it is laughter for the participants and tears for the beholders, becomes our struggle too."—(*William Hard in Reader's Digest*).

President Roosevelt's admiration and hope

It is the inspiration of this heroism that must have moved President Roosevelt to quote from Longfellow, while introducing Mr. Wendell Willkie to Mr. Churchill, the following lines :

" ....Sail on, O Ship of State !
Sail on, O Union, strong and great !
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate !"

This outburst of idealism and admiration carries a message of hope to the hard-pressed people of Britain. It supplies a spiritual tonic. But in the material plane the help that has been flowing from the U. S. A. to Britain has not been as imposing. William Bullitt, former U. S. A. ambassador to France, who is reported to be a confidante of the President, in course of a speech delivered at the Oversea Press Club made public declaration that his country had not been producing weapons "fast enough", and that it was "not supplying weapons in sufficient quantities to the British, the Chinese, and the Greeks", that it was only "making just the effort that it is not troublesome to make". The causes of this apathy were indicated by him : the unwillingness of the people to read the meanings of the Totalitarian Alliance ; the strength of the isolationists' desire to retreat into the pre-1914 world ; the exploitation by Communists and Nazis of U. S. A internal weakness. Mr. Bullitt thinks that his people could rise only "to a visible opportunity, to a felt contingency"; they could not be "scared into action from afar."

U. S. A. help not "fast enough" nor "sufficient"

Meanwhile the "isolationists" and the "interventionists" are having their propaganda in the country holding up the production of essential needs to be supplied to Britain. The name of Colonel Charles Lindbergh has become famous as a representative of the former group. Giving evidence before the House (of Representatives) Foreign Affairs Committee, he was quite frank in his opposition to help to Britain at this late stage.

Due to Strong Isolationist feeling

"Our aid is not going to be sufficient, and I believe that we have encouraged a war in Europe that is not going to be successful."

This insinuation of encouragement had reference to the German allegation that President Roosevelt had encouraged Poland to oppose the German demands on Danzig. Another leader of the "isolationists", Senator General Hugh Johnson was for "aid to Britain", but he was opposed to the crusading spirit that gets hold of his people now and then ; this he stigmatized as "humanitarian lollipopping all over the world." But the most significant of U. S. figures who was cynically opposed to all "lollipopping" was Henry Ford, "the auto-car king." He made a suggestion which an American paper has characterized as "a cold, terrible-child-like idea." In a "copyright" interview to the *Atlanta Constitution* he suggested that the U. S. A. give both Britain and the Axis Powers "the tools to keep on fighting until they both collapse." Warming into fervour he continued :

"There is no righteousness in either cause.....If we can keep both sides fighting long enough until they cannot fight any more, then may be the little people will open their eyes.....With both people equally collapsed into internal dissolution, then the U. S. A. can play the role for which it has the strength and ability.

"World leadership" & "Union Now of the U S. and six British Democracies"

What this role is likely to be, was described by Wendell Willkie—"here is an international situation which by reason of its very chaos offers to America the opportunity for world leadership." Whether or not this leadership will take shape in another imperialism lies in the womb of the future. But there is no doubt that the mind of the United States is being made ready for this leadership. Clarence Streit of the *Union Now* book fame (July, 1939) has begun propaganda in this behalf. An organisation known as *Federal Union* was founded about that time to push his plan for a "Union of 15 Democracies." It has 60 Chapters in the U. S. A. ; 60 more are being organised. The British organisation has 250 Chapters with 10,000 members. There are in U. S. A. about 3,000 College students and Faculty members. In the third week of July, 1940, he got published in the *New York Times* a full-page advertisement, "paid for by a group of American citizens", proposing "Union Now.....of the United States and the six British Democracies.....before it is too late." Pending a Constitutional Convention, an Inter-Continental Congress should be set up "on this side of the Atlantic", composed of 27 representatives of the U. S. A., 11 from the United Kingdom, 3 from Canada, 3 from Australia, 2 each from Eire, Union of South Africa and New Zealand. The Union would be empowered to handle foreign affairs and relations, establish a common currency, common citizenship,

common communications in the Federal Union. All powers not specifically granted to the Union would be retained by each State which could be Socialist or Capitalist or a Republic like the U. S. A. or a Monarchy like Britain. Each State would have to incorporate a Bill of Rights granting freedom of speech, of worship, of the Press, the right to freedom of assembly. An interesting item in the advertisement is the following :

"The British Fleet would be secured against surrender, and united with the U. S. A. Fleet, to rule the waves, even though England and Ireland were invaded and crushed."

We do not know what consolation will be derived by the people of Great Britain, of Northern Ireland and Eire from this scheme, and how it is proposed to console or compensate them when the U. S. A. and Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand will be sailing away with "the British Fleet."

Britain & U. S.— "relation of mutual selfishness"

But these speculations are concerned with the future. Here and now Britain is in peril and has been yearningly looking out towards the U. S. A., beyond the Atlantic, to come to her rescue, to take part in the crusade of the 20th century for the defence of democracy. The great republic also appears to have become afraid of the triumphant advance of Nazi Germany. Her politicians, her strategists, make no secret of the fear. "If Great Britain is defeated", says Admiral William Standby, former chief of Naval Operations, "the United States will find it impossible to cope with the combined sea strength of the Axis Powers." He is also convinced that "short of active co-operation by our American naval resources, the survival of the British Empire is a desperate gamble. Failure to give this co-operation is, therefore, a desperate gamble with American security." The recognition of this "relation of mutual selfishness" has become a plank of Anglo-American unity of war efforts, as both the States lie between "the unquenchable passions of Western Europe and the reawakening activities and ambitions of Eastern Asia." In the present war which has been developing into a second "world war", the dispersion of the British Empire over the seven seas, and of the United States over two oceans—the Atlantic and the Pacific—requires that their combined navies should equal if not surpass any possible combination of navies. But an estimate has it that even in 1943 when it is expected that U. S. A. production would be reaching its highest mark, the number of war-ships will be for Germany-Italy-Japan —962 ; for the United States—422. The estimate explains the cause of the anxiety which the U. S. A. has been feeling for the safety of the Navy. It has, therefore, been thought necessary that the British Navy should pass under the joint control of the two States (The *Streit Plan of Union Now*). The fall of France was followed by a wild spate of speculation in the Press of the United States about the fate of the British Navy. For, it was felt to be almost certain that Britain could not stand up to the German might. Publicists got busy speculating on the proportion of the British Navy that would be destroyed in the fight with Germany —the proportion that would destroy itself rather than fall into German hands, the proportion that could not

escape capture, and the proportion that would escape into the United States and into the Dominions. These speculations have been falsified up-to-date by Britain remaining whole and fighting.

"Exchange' of destroyers for naval and air bases

Britain was also anxious for co-operation with the republic. It was, therefore, natural that she should welcome occasions that would enable her to oblige her Anglo-Saxon "uncle" of the U. S. A. It was in this spirit that she must have facilitated the setting-up of the Joint Defence Board between Canada and U. S. A., arranged at the Ogdensburg (New York State) talk between President Franklin Roosevelt and the Canadian Prime Minister, Mackenzie King. The reality of Canada's international relationship - tied to the United Kingdom by heart-strings and to the U. S. A. by social and economic ties—made such a development inevitable. Canada's economic tie-up with her southern neighbour becomes easy to understand with the help of the following figures. Out of the total U. S. A. foreign investment of about 2,500 crores of rupees Canada nurtures more than half ; out of the total Canadian foreign investment of 730 crores of rupees more than half has been put into U. S. A. ventures. The growing complexity of international affairs and the approaching threat of the Totalitarianisms have forced on these two neighbours a joint effort in defence and offence. The "mother country" of both these States has blessed this arrangement. She has done more. She has leased to the U. S. A. on "a 99-years leasehold basis" certain areas in certain islands in her possession in the Atlantic border of the republic where existing naval and air bases can be improved and new ones built up. The islands are—Newfoundland, Burmuda, Antigua, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Georgetown, Bahama and Jamaica. In exchange for these Britain has got 50 "over-age" destroyers ; these are "good for convoy duty." A U. S. A. publicist has worked out the profit of the U. S. A. through this deal. The bases that there are and will be built up are the "equivalent of 5 battleships, or 2,500 aeroplanes, or an Army Corps, or a couple of new armoured divisions."

U. S. frontier advanced far into the Atlantic

The history of this "exchange", as it was given by Mr. Winston Churchill in August, 1940, in the House of Commons, is interesting. "Some months ago we came to the conclusion" that the interests of the U. S and of the British Empire both required that the U. S. should have facilities for the naval and air defence of the Western Hemisphere. "Presently we learnt" that anxiety was also felt in the U. S. about the air and naval defence of their Atlantic sea-board. President Roosevelt made it clear that he would like to discuss with the governments of Britain, of Canada, of Newfoundland, the development of American naval and air facilities. As a result of these discussions the "exchange" described above took place. To a distant observer it appeared that the U. S. A. had driven a rather hard bargain in the matter. But the publicists and public men of Britain appeared to be more enthusiastic over the deal than their opposite numbers in the U. S. A. The *Nation & New Statesman,* the London weekly, hailed the deal as "a miracle of improvisation", as "one of the most far-reaching commitments in human history". In excess of enthusiasm the paper wrote ;

"We are content that this should be so. We are their brothers in arms, in war, as in peace, for a century to come."

The British Premier was more sober in language. On September 5, 1940, announcing the deal, he said :

"This is why I am glad that the armed air and naval frontiers of the U. S. have been advanced along a wide area into the Atlantic Ocean, and that this will enable them to take danger by the throat while it is still hundreds of miles away from the home-land."

Joint ownership of British & American Fleets

Developments in the Atlantic sea-board of the United States of America, about 10,000 miles distant from Indian shores, that have occupied our attention so long and so far may not appear to have any connection with our "Home Polity" in India. The other developments, that have been brewing in the mid-Pacific in the cauldron of Japan's ambitions and desires to build up a "Greater East Asia", are about half that distance from our shores. Trusting to this distance we cannot live in peace. Our inclusion within Britain's "dependent empire" has drawn us into the maelstrom of international politics. India's strategic frontiers have been extended to Egypt in the west and Hongkong or Singapore in the east. And viewing matters from Clarence Streit's angle of the *Union Now*, or looking into the future, we in India cannot or will not be allowed to live a hermit's life during times when history and geography are being re-made, made anew, almost every six months. In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we have traced the movement of thought and dream that destiny appears to be charting for the people of the United States. Not all the people in that republic who have been thinking and dreaming of "world leadership" for their own country are thinkers and dreamers. There are many hard-headed men amongst them who have been drawing up a balance-sheet of profit and loss that would accrue as a consequence of an Anglo-American partnership in world affairs. Their mind peeps out of the words that appeared in an article published in the U. S. A. monthly—*The Living Age*—in its February, 1941, number :—

"Physically speaking the British Isles are of little value to us, even if they survive; systematic destruction of their facilities (ports, communication heads, industrial installations etc.) continues unabated. We do want, however, tariff free access to the vast markets of the Dominions and Colonies. We want free access to their sources of tin, rubber, nickel, magnesium, gold, vegetable oils, iron, and a long list of other materials..... We want a more responsible interest in the British Navy, and we could doubtless save millions in projected naval construction by a joint ownership of the British and American Fleets."

"Dollar Imperialism" on the wing

It is the hard-headed appraisers of assets under British control, represented by the article quoted above who, we may be sure, will be dominating policy in the coming years. In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we have discussed how the "mixing up" of Anglo-American affairs, so hopefully and exultantly welcomed by Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Premier, is being brought nearer by the Anglo-German War, by the adversity of Britain shrewdly exploited by the ruling classes of the United States as the opportunity for the expansion of "dollar imperialism" over the far spaces of the world. Clarence Streit's *Union Now* is an indication of some such develop-

ment. His omission of any reference to India in the scheme he has advertised exposes the workings of a mind that is blinded by credal and colour conceits in sketching political and economic arrangements. We can pass by this scheme as we believe that no "new order" in the world can be established or be made stable which ignored India or thought that India could be kept satisfied and contented as part of the "dependent empire" of the Anglo-American "Union". For the present war will be but an episode in the procession of international bitterness if it failed to settle the problem of "Have-got" and "Have-not" Powers. Ambitions of defeated and "Have-not" Powers, the insulted self-respect of peoples, will start another conflagration before the losses of the present one has been made up. The ruling classes of the modern world know this more than any body else. But as in the past, so in the present, they cannot halt the march of greed and pride. Teachings of religions, the experience of the futility of wars, did not teach our Aryan fore-fathers, filmed in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, to behave better. The European and American peoples, those of the Soviet republics and of Japan, appear to be following the same round of folly, to be heading for the same sufferings and age-long frustrations.

Berlin-Rome-Tokyo-Treaty 1940

Today when the European continent appears to be shaking under the tramp of Germany's triumphant hosts, when Japan has been doing her best and worst to subdue China and establish a "Greater East Asia", we in India appear to be watching events, described in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The causes of the disputes might have been different, but in methods of warfare, in the bitterness of warfare, in the sense of injustice and cruel wrong, in the pride of power, the heroes of those unremembered days did not differ much from the Hitlers, the Mussolinis and the Churchills of the present day. Modern interpreters of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* stories have told us that behind the slogans of right and justice uttered by the combatants of those days there were material interests for which they sacrificed themselves in such profusion. Today also we are asked by the combatants to suffer and sacrifice for the establishment of "new orders" in Europe, in Asia and in Africa. What the leaders of the Axis Powers—Germany, Italy and Japan—want, we know. Britain through the lips of Mr. Winston Churchill has not cared to give the world any better idea of her war aims than opposition to and destruction of all that the European and Asiatic dictatorships stood for. The Axis Powers appear to desire that Britain, which has bossed over the world for about two hundred years, should allow them to have a try at the same game. They do not make a secret of the fact that Britain stands between their desire and destiny; that the United States by supporting Britain in this madness must share a part of the guilt for frustrating a historic process. In the Preamble of the Axis Treaty signed in the morning of September 27, 1940, is a charter of the "new order of things calculated to promote and maintain the prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned" (of Europe and Greater East Asia.) In Art. II Japan "recognises and respects the leadership

of Germany and Italy" in the European new order ; Germany and Italy "recognise and respect the leadership of Japan" in the new order in Greater East Asia. Art, III of the treaty holds a threat of "political, economic and military means" which will be used if and when "one of the contracting parties is attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European war or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict." This Article has been interpreted as directed specially against the United States ; President Roosevelt has done so in a broadcast in the first week of January, 1941 : "the threat that if the United States interfered with or blocked..... a programme aimed at world control—they (the Tripartite Powers) would unite in ultimate action against the United States."

Japan's southern march

Since those days men and women in the world have been speculating about the time and place when and where Japan would make good this threat. British administrators who till the time we have been dealing with had been asking us to trust to British power on sea on land and in the air for the defence of India's frontiers awakened themselves and wakened us to the danger that appeared to be approaching us from the east, from Japan. Speculations in the Press also became busy with regard to the possible moves of Japan. It was apparent that with her control of the Island of Hainan north-east and of the Spratley Island south-east of Indo-China, Japan has established her dominance over the sea-route to Singapore. But "a graver aspect of this business centres in Siam...With the help of Buddhist propaganda, Siam has for some years revolved in the Japanese orbit". *(New Statesman & Nation).* There has evolved in Burma also a "Fifth Column" through whom Japan has been irritating the fear in Burman hearts of the peaceful hordes of China who have been flooding into Burma. We have a certain feeling, however, that Japan would not be moving against Malaya or Burma before things got busy in the East Mediterranean and the British lost control over her special possessions in and around this area—Egypt, the Suez Canal, Palestine, Iraq ; that Japan would not dare move her Navy so far away from her Home Base. For, her Navy like that of Britain is her "life-line" ; she cannot risk it. The more possible moves are to be made through Indo-China and Siam.

The preliminary steps

As soon as France fell in Europe Indo-China became a helpless victim to the aggression of Japan and Siam. The latter country demanded certain "frontier rectifications" east of the river Mekong. The French administration in Indo-China had to yield to this demand. It was given out that Japan had acted the part of an "honest broker" in this affair ; that the commission that she had extracted from both the contestants has not been inconsiderable. From Indo-China she demanded the following : "virtual monopoly of Indo-China's production of rice ; rubber and coal : free-hand to exploit Indo-China's natural resources ; military garrison along the Chinese frontier (6,000 according to Japanese report ; 60,000 according to Chinese) : Japanese inspectors at all Indo-Chinese custom houses ; a naval base at the Camranh Bay ; defence concessions at Saigon ; air bases throughout Indo-China." From Thailand (Siam) she demanded : "a Naval Base at

the Gulf of Siam for a Fleet of 15 battleships, cruisers and auxiliary crafts." The delegates signed as the threat was held that unless the terms were accepted naval units would go into action, and invasion of both the countries would follow.

Japan during first decade of 20th century & now

It does not require much thought to understand that these Japanese activities are a threat to the certainties of existence to which India has got habituated during about the last two hundred years In Vol. I, of 1938 and Vol. I of 1940, of the *Annual Register*, we have discussed the various ways in which India has been influenced during the last forty years by Japan. During the first decade of this century Japan was the centre of hope of all the Asiatic peoples ; and how since she occupied Korea and began to practise all the arts of expanding imperialism, she has suffered in the estimation of her fellow-Asiatics. This disillusionment may be due to the fact that we, Indians, looked on Japan through a halo of romance and idealism ; that without any experience of "high politics" we fell easy victims to the slogans about Asiatic unity, about Japan anxious and ready to help fellow-Asiatics who lived under European domination. The rude shaking that we have received from Japan has, however, been a distinct boon. We have learnt that idealism does not move State policy ; that group or national self-interest cannot afford to be guided by idealistic motives ; that an individual Japanese, an individual Briton, an individual Indian, an individual German can make the utmost sacrifice in defence of justice, but that none of the conglomeration of these individuals which are nations are capable of such idealistic conduct. Therefore is it that we can look with a certain amount of detachment on the conflicts and competitions between nations between "the Powers" of Europe, Asia and America ; and we can prepare ourselves for the uncertainties of the "new orders" that German, Anglo-American, Japanese or Soviet leadership has been building up for the world. This may sound cynical. But this amount of cynicism or agnosticism is helpful in these hectic days in maintaining some sort of a balance, in looking at world-shaking events.

The enigma of the Soviet

We have dealt so far with developments, near and far. One enigma, however, remains which has defied the scrutiny of the most wise of statesmen, and the utmost curiosity of newspaper correspondents. The Soviet dictator has been this enigma since August, 1939 when he allowed the Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov and the German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to effect the Non-Aggression Pact. Since then the question has been repeatedly asked—who has gained by the Pact ? The Soviet has gained Poland, has been able to rope in Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia as units in the Soviet State ; has gained Bessarabia. All these territories she has gained without shedding a drop of blood, so to say. Her adventure in Finland has not been as creditable. But Germany has gained more. And when she stretched her hands towards Rumania and helped to disrupt this State by distributing chunks of Rumanian territory among her proteges—Hungary and Bulgaria—and forced her entrance into the Black Sea, speculations got busy with the reactions of the Soviet to this

German movement towards the East. It was asserted that the Soviet could not tolerate this. But the Soviet did tolerate it. It is difficult to imagine that Germany could do this trick without the connivance of the Soviet, could sport in the waters of the Black Sea without Soviet approval. A clause in the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact had spoken of the signatories remaining "in continuous touch with each other for consultation and in order to inform each other regarding questions that concern their mutual interest." It is difficult to believe that the Soviet did not have any interest in the changes in Rumania that have made the Nazi and Soviet States near neighbours which, we have been told, was the one thing both wanted to avoid.

"Germany's military re-birth" & Soviet help

History, recent history when Herr Hitler was cursing Communism with such gusto, does not support the thesis that the ruling classes of the Reich and the Soviet were at daggers' drawn with each other. The predecessors of the Nazis in the government of the "Republic", their military advisers, saw "Germany's military rebirth" resulting from "a conjunction with Russia", to quote General Schleicher who was for a short while Chancellor of the German Republic; he was the predecessor of Von Papen who made way for Herr Hitler. General Hans Von Seeckt, the creator of the Reichswehr which form the officers' cadre of the German Army even of to-day, was the moving spirit in helping to reach an understanding with the Soviet by the Treaty of Rappallo and the Military Agreement of 1922. Chancellor Scheidemann revealed in the Reichstag on December 16, 1926, that the Reichwehr was enabled to maintain a special group which spent about seven crores of rupees every year for the manufacture of arms in the Soviet in contravention of the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty. German rearmament centres were allowed to be built by the Soviet on her own soil. Over a hundred Reichwehr offfcers were given constant leave for special military duties in Russia. Marshall Keitel, the present Commander-in-Chief of the Germany Army, was one of them; General Hasse was another of the leaders of the pro-Russian party.

Russia— "arsenal of Totalitarianism"

This may appear as old history today. But even as late as the autumn of 1939, after the present war had started, the Soviet Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, M. Viacheslav Molotov, was as solicitious of German interests and sentiments. He proposed a "Mutual Assistance Pact" with Turkey. Such a Pact means that if one of the signatories is attacked the other is obliged to come to his aid. But M. Molotov insisted on an "escape clause" that such a Pact "would not induce it to actions which might draw it into an armed conflict with Germany". This history discredits the thesis that the Reich and the Soviet have been pulling away in opposite directions. It rather supports the statement made by one of the most prominent of Hungarian radio commentators that "if the United States was the arsenal of Democracy, Russia must now become the arsenal of Totalitarianism." The ruling classes of the Soviet State cannot, it appears, even now forget "all the possible acts com-

mitted by Britain" against their country. The appointment of Sir Stafford Cripps as Britain's ambassador at Moscow, the Soviet capital, has not realised all the hopes entertained. M. Molotov thinks it "possibly does indicate a desire on the part of Britain to improve relations between the two countries." But this recognition has been, it appears, weakened by certain air activities. At the opening session of the 7th session of the Soviet Parliament on August 1, 1940, M. Molotov referred to these without naming any names.

".....late in March two foreign planes coming from the direction of Iran visited the region of Baku. The Iranian Government deemed it necessary to deny this fact. but the documents of the German White Paper threw sufficient light on the incident. The repeated dispatch of this reconnaissance air craft could not aim at anything other than the complication of our relations with neighbouring countries. Undesirable visits of air-craft to Baku and Batum were interpreted by us in this sense....."

The Soviet—corner-stone of peace in Southern Asia

In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we drew attention to the discussion in the British Press going on in the beginning of spring, 1940, that the Soviet should be invaded either from the north through Finland or from the south through Iraq, and quoted the *Sunday Times* as saying that "air-aids on Baku from advanced 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." As we write, the wisdom of the British Government appears to have put a stop to this ripple of a brain wave. And Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Afganistan, and India who are neighbours of the Soviet have been spared the extension of the war inside their territories. Not one of these countries could have liked this prospect. As it is, Germany is the victor on the European continent. The wonderful and magnificent defence put up by little Greece against the Rome partner of the Axis, the defeats inflicted on the Italian Army in the hills and dales of the Greecian peninsula by the small Greek Army, by its 100 aeroplanes, will have a place in world history. There cannot be any manner of doubt that Britain was strengthening Greek resistance by the help of munitions ; it was given out that in November, 1940, the Greek Government had allowed Britain to establish naval and air bases in the Island of Crete, less than 100 miles from the mainland of Greece. The continuing unsuccess of the Italian adventure in Greece, the possible opening up of a new front directed against Germany being organised by Britain in the isles of Greece which might be easily transferred to Greece—these developments will force Germany to intervene with all her might in Greece. For, Germany cannot afford to have two fronts to fight against. This had been the one consideration that influenced the Nazi leaders to swallow their much-advertised prejudice against Bolshevism, and enter into the Non-Intervention Pact on the 23rd of August, 1939, with the Soviet. The consideration that influenced the Russian rulers was that on no account and under no circumstances will they allow their country to get entangled in the present war—an imperialist war according to their view of things—though it is difficult to forget the fact that the Russo-German Pact hastened this war by assuring Germany immunity from any attack from the east.

Russia's benevolent neutrality has kept western Asia free from the distractions, the dangers and the losses of war. We who live in the middle of southern Asia also enjoy the fruits of this policy—for how long only the future can say.

Separatist feelings and activities in India

But this freedom from external danger has not made our country and people happy. Internally we have been quarreling with one another—Hindu and Muslim, Bengalee and Beharee, the Tamilian and the Andhra ; the rulers of the Indian States apprehensive of their privileges, threatened by the rising tide of democratic feeling, of a feeling for the better distributiou of wealth and the amenities of life. In successive volumes of the *Indian Annual Register* we have been trying to understand and explain the many forces, personal and impersonal, that have been responsible for embittering human relations in India. We have tried to trace the emergence of an all-India feeling that would build a new unity in India through "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 the first President of the Indian National Congress, W. C. Bonnerjea (Woomesh Chandra Bonnerjea). In this field of noble work there have been many labourers belonging to every community in India. In many directions their work has been crowned with success. But the success has not been as complete as the pioneers of the Congress had dreamt of. The "prejudice" born of racial or credal or provincial or linguistic differences has by a curious trick gained the upper hand in India to-day, and threatens to start a "civil war" in the country. Through the Press and on the platform there has been resounding all over India the cry that India was no nation, that in theory and in fact, she has been never a nation ; that in India there could be a Hindu nation, a Muslim nation, a Dravid nation ; that there can be only Hindustan or Pakistan or Dravidistan or Shikhistan—not India one, whole, and indivisible. The controversy lashed by these separatist conceits and slogans has been as vigorous during these six months (July—December, 1940). The demand of the Muslim League embodied in the Lahore resolution suggesting a division of India into Hindu Zones and Muslim Zones has created a "civil war" mentality in the country. Even so sedate and sober a public man as Sir Sivaswamy Iyer of Madras has been led to declare that this division would be resisted at the cost of a civil war.

Challenged in Convocation addresses

In the rising temper of communalism men of good will are being pushed aside. But they have not been yielding place without a struggle. During the period we have been dealing with in many of the Convocation Addresses delivered to the different Universities the theory of the Hindus and Muslims of India being separate nations has been challenged by the majority of the speakers. At the Osmania University (Hyderabad, Deccan), Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India, drew pointed attention to the danger of accentuating this "civil war" mentality, and for a warning asked us to remember the suffering and misery of 18th century India, to look to China where the absence of "a strong and powerful Central Government"

has entailed intense human misery. At the Muslim University (Aligarh) Sir Sultan Ahmed spoke of the unwisdom of making much of the cultural differences between Hindus and Muslims. And he reached the bed-rock of Indian life when he declared :

"There is no gainsaying the fact that racially and politically we are all Indians ; we breathe the same atmosphere and till the same land. We are inheritors of the same old proud civilisation..... our destinies are linked together."

India's sense of unity behind the phenomenal world

Sir Akbar Hydari at the Bombay University reached a higher altitude of thought when he utilized the highest generalisation of moderen science and of ancient knowledge and wisdom to re-emphasise the unity that has been India's, from before historic times :

"The 19th century belief in the permanent diversity of elements has been discarded. Matter and Spirit are no longer held to be different and opposed to each other. The belief in the supreme Unity behind the phenomenal world is a very ancient maxim of Indian thought. From it sprang the principle of respect for all religions as so many different avenues to salvation. Our country has been the meeting place of all the great religions and the great cultures of the world..... Our country, by the assembling in it from immemorial times of all the great religions, is the one place where such an outlook ("enlightened religious outlook") is most likely to be developed."

But in the temper and mood in which the controvertialists were during these months, there was little chance of people being moved by such idealism. The majority of them refused to accept the purpose of Indian history as described by Sir Akbar Hydari. They were after material interests in the pursuit of which they could not afford to have the native hue of their resolution sicklied over with the pale cast of such thoughts. The publication in the Indian Press of the correspondence that had passed between Mr. Jinnah and Lord Linlithgow and his Private Secretary, Mr. Laithwaite, during the period—February 24, 1940 to September 26, 1940—threw a vivid light on the "communal problem" as it was described in the pamphlet entitled *Communal Harmony* written by Percival Spear (Oxford University Press) :

".....The British stands by in anxious helplessness, with no plan of its own beyond beseeching the parties to agree, and promising to implement an agreement which it seems impossible to achieve."

Muslim majority in Central & Provincial Governments

This correspondence may be accepted as representative not only of the Muslim League mind but of the "communal mind" all over the country, irrespective of its many differences. There is no attempt on the part of Mr. Jinnah to minimise the many differences that stood between the Hindu and the Muslim of India in building a free State in this country. He is cynically frank in showing that he is out to be given places of power and patronage by Lord Linlithgow in the Central and Provincial Governments of India. In course of the "rough note" prepared by him of the points discussed between His Excellency and the Muslim League leader on June 27, 1940, and sent to Mr. Laithwaite, Mr. Jinnah made the following demand :

"That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged within the frame-work of the present constitution and existing law, the additional number to be settled by further discussion, but it being understood that the Muslim representatives must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority of additional members as it is obvious that the main burden and the responsibility will be borne by the Muslims in that case."

In the Provinces where Section 93 of the Government of India Act has to operate, Non-official Advisers should be appointed; "the majority of the Non-Official Advisers should be representatives of the Mussalmans." In the proposed War Council consisting of not less than 15 members, the association of the Princes can be secured. In this Council also "the representation of Muslim India must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in; otherwise they should have the majority." Finally the Muslim League should choose the Muslim representatives to the War Council, to the Executive Council of the Governor-General, and the additional Non-Official Advisers of the Provincial Governors.

Lord Linlithgow unable to accept this demand

Lord Linlithgow, however, appears to have been unable to accept these Muslim League overtures with their dangerous implications. In the letter dated 6th July. 1940, he made this clear.

"There is, however,....., no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section. Responsibility will be that of Governor-General-in-Council as a whole,.....such persons cannot be the nominees of any political parties,....."

We think that Mr. Jinnah invited this rebuff. He had forgotten reality, encouraged thereto by his feeling that the Muslim League and the Indo-British Government were as "confident friends". Otherwise he could not have written in his first letter dated February 24, 1940, the following friendly remonstrance :

We are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over-anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire to unjustly harm any community....."

Hindu Mahasabha cannot be ignored

Mr. Jinnah in this correspondence did not care to mention the name of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha which claims to represent the feelings and sentiments, to defend the interests, of the Hindu community of India. In this he has been less than the realist that he claims to be. His assurance that the Muslim League had no desire to unjustly harm any community has been taken with the proverbial grain of salt. At a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, held on September 22, 1940, a few resolutions were passed. One of the resolutions recognised that the present war has offered opportunity "for the general militarisation of the Hindus, and for the organisation of the system of India on sound and up-to-date modern lines, so that India be converted into a self-contained defence unit."

Hindu Mahasabha demand

It also expressed willingness "whole-heartedly to work out the schemes of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the War Advisory Council"—but "on honourable terms of equity and justice". And in the next clause it indicated the lines of this equitable and just policy—that

"in view of the reported understanding between the Viceroy and the Muslim League that the League would be given 2 (two) seats on the proposed extended Executive Council and 5 (five) seats in the proposed War Advisory Council, the Hindu Mahasabha claims representation of 6 (six) seats on the extended Executive Council and 15 (fifteen) seats on the War Advisory Council on the population basis."

Public men in India, leaders of public feeling and opinion in India who were outside the Indian National Congress, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the All-India Muslim League and the National Liberal Federation, have also been applying their minds to the solution of the political deadlock in India. They have differed from these organisations in certain of the principles and policies that guide and seek to give practical shape to India's present and future. But in one thing they and representatives of the organisations named above appear to be agreed that only a united demand can bend the British Government to surrender power, only a united effort can organise the forces and resources of the country for the success of the war into which the British Imperial Government has thrown India. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of Allahabad may be accepted as a representative of this feeling and opinion. In a statement made through the Press in the second week of December, 1940, he recalled the suggestion he had made in May last about the way in which "a minimum amount of agreement" could be reached amongst the various political parties in India contending for their respective share of political power. This could be done by the setting up of a "National Government." Sir Tej Bahadur explained the nature of this "National Government"—it might be a Government responsible to the Legislature or to the Crown. In the then existing circumstances of the country he did not put forward the idea of a "National Government" responsible to the Legislature, particularly "because no responsible government could be formed in the true constitutional sense of the word upon the existing franchise and with important elements kept out of the Legislature." In his December statement Sir Tej revived his May suggestion with the important amendment added that the "National Government" should have a majority of Indian members, and that the Defence portfolio should be in charge of an Indian.

National Government "responsible to the Crown"

He appears to have laid special stress on the Defence problem, and on an Indian member being in charge of Defence. He felt so strongly on the matter that he suggested that the appointment of the Indian member should coincide in time "with the advent of the new Commander-in-chief, or *even before*" (Italics ours). The reasons for this insistence he stated frankly :

Sir Tej's insistence on Indian Defence Member

"the moral effect of that on the imagination of the people will be immense, and in my opinion, the Government by agreeing to it. will be reviving the faith of the country, and removing the sense of frustration which, in the last analysis, is affecting the entire psychology of the country."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was not particular with regard to the name which the proposed "war period" institution should be known by—call it "National Government", "National Executive" or "Executive Council" ; he was concerned "to give it in substance the character of a "National Government". He was not satisfied with Lord Linlithgow's 8th of August proposals, and the spirit and shape of the commentary on these by the Secretary of State for India in his speech made in the House of Commons a week later. He noted particularly that the emphasis laid on "political leaders joining as individuals" entitled one "to conclude that the idea

No "joint responsibility" in August proposals

of collective responsibility was ruled out in the absence of the agreement in principle" between the British Government and the Indian people, between the various classes, groups and parties among Indians.

Congress & National self-respect

This absence of agreement has been laid at the door of the Indian National Congress for refusing to follow Lord Linlithgow and his advisers into their policy of making India a participant in the present war without caring to consult Indian opinion. British publicists and public men have been busy misrepresenting Congress attitude in this matter. The *Round Table*, the London Quarterly, has been least unfair in describing the developments that forced the Congress into this attitude. In its September (1940) number a writer of a survey of "The British Commonwealth at War" made observations that can be accepted as a representation fairly accurate not only of the Congress attitude but of Nationalist India's attittude. He said that the Congress' was the only note that did not accord with the general chorus of approval said to have been raised in India of the stand of the British Government in the defence of what John Priestly has called "that indefinity called democracy." But the *Round Table* writer was constrained to admit that

> ".....even that note might never have been sounded if only means could have been found for obtaining the assent of politically-minded India to the inevitable decision to go to war. As it was, the crisis caught India when she was still standing on the threshold of Dominion Status, so that while all the Dominions were free to choose, India was committed to war by a constitutional procedure which, though legally correct, provided for no consultation of the Indian people. That was bound to affront the self-respect of Indian nationalists, since the essence of nationalism is the claim to a footing of equal freedom in the society of nations."

"Moral" loss to Britain

Judged by the standards set up by the writer in the quotation made above, the British Government and its "subordinate" branch —the Government in India—have failed on every count. We do not refer to the material loss to Britain having to carry on a world-wide war with a disorganised India, with an unreconciled India. The moral loss has been incalculable. The *Round Table* has acknowledged that Britain has lost "the moral influence such (Indian) support would have in the eyes of the world." Perhaps, the Britisher has lost the capacity to appreciate this loss, this moral loss, as Gandhiji suggested. The Britisher is extraordinarily brave in the battle-field ; but he lacks bravery to take risks in the moral domain ; has the latter "any place in British politics ?"—asked Gandhiji.

Responsibility for exciting separatist conceits

During this period the major part of British propaganda to discredit the Congress has been done by Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India. In speeches made in the House of Commons and outside he was at pains to show that the demand made by the Congress for the recognition of India's independence by the British Government is unrepresentative of Indian sentiment. In his 14th August (1940) speech explaining the virtues of Lord Linlithgow's proposals of a week earlier he spoke of the constitutional deadlock in India as "not so much between His Majesty's Government and

a consentient Opposition as between the main elements in India's national life." He spoke of "the great Muslim community ninety millions strong", the difference between whom and their Hindu fellow country-men "goes deep, if not deeper than any similar difference in India....." : he spoke of "the great body of what are known as the Scheduled Castes who feel.....that as a community they stand outside the main body of the Hindu community which is represented by the Congress." This was an old brief from which Mr. Amery spoke, himself giving the newly found "Scheduled Castes" a place in it. About thirty-two years back it was got ready for Lord Morley when "separate electorates" were injected into the Indian constitution. Introducing his India Bill "honest John" had spoken as follows :

"The difference between Mohammadanism and Hinduism is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith or dogma. It is a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief that constitute a community."

The verdict of history in thus exciting out of the unconscious life of India all the separatist conceits and ambitions will not be more complimentary to British politicians than what has been passed on Anglo-Irish relations. The new *Statesman & Nation* (London) anticipated this historical verdict when it wrote that the assurance to the minorities, to the Muslims and the Princes, that they would not be handed over to any Government whose authority they chose to deny gave "a formidable right to veto the will of Indian democracy" to these interests.

"It repeats exactly what was said with fatal results to Ulster. It may well be that coercion would be unnecessary or impossible. But need we have said so with the solemnity of a pledge ?"

In "the charter of intransigence" given to minority interests in India, Mr. Amery did not make much of the protection of British interests stabilized in India under the guise of "India Ltds." In his 20th of November speech in the House of Commons he suggested a lurid picture of an independent India bereft of the "use of British work in the Indian Army, of the British troops now in India and the main body of British Air Force while the Indian Air Force grows, and also of the British Navy". He suggested the reply to the question asked of the House whether it would be prepared to

"...put these forces in India at India's disposal without assuring itself of some guarantees as to the use to be made of these forces both in India's external relations and in her internal administration ?"

Slogan of "India First"

The quotations made above from Mr. Amery's two speeches delivered in the House of Commons describe the insoluble problems that India must slove if she ever hoped to attain Statehood in the modern world. As Mr. Spear said Britain has nothing to contribute towards their solution except an "anxious helplessness", as useless as it is irritating. It is, therefore, that Mr. Amery's speech, made at Foyle's Luncheon on the 21st of December (1940) where he commended the watchword of *India First*, did not carry any message of hope to distracted India—distracted by a European war into which she had been pushed, distracted by communal controversies, distracted by official officiousness that complicated rather than simplied matters. Mr.

Amery's sincerity in commending this watch-word may not be questioned ; his eloquent words may have had the true ring.

"By India I mean India as a whole. India as nature and history have shaped her. India with her infinite variety and underlying unity. India as she is today, and as we wish her to be in the years to come."

& Muslim communal-ists

But these eloquent words carried hardly any weight with those amongst the Muslims of India whom the "patronage" of the British bureaucracy had emboldened to act against nature and history. A section of these assembled in the Working Committee of the United Provinces Muslim League "read with alarm and serious misgivings" Mr. Amery's suggestion of the slogan—*India First*—and its malign influence on "the demand of the Muslims for separate Zones." These men went further ; in their wisdom they declared that

"Islam First' is the only slogan for Muslims, and they can never accept or countenance any political slogan which conflicts with Muslim political and religious sentiments."

Paradox of the Indian situation

The argument between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism is sought to be displayed as really the result of differences between the Indian and the Indian. It has proved to be unending. But all the subtlety employed has failed to black-out "the paradoxical situation by which India, as part of the British Empire, is being forced to fight for democracy, while being informed that she is not yet ready to enjoy its privileges"—(*New York Times*). It is the refusal of the Indian National Congress to be side-tracked into communal bickerings that has saved a certain amount of dignity to this controversy. The Congress that has been blamed for creating the dead-lock in India took the initiative on July 7, 1940, in showing a way out of it. Its Working Committee declared that the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the independence of India was the only solution of the problem ; that "as an immediate step in giving effect to it

"A provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre, which, though formed as a transitory measure, should be such as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature, and secure the closest co-operation of the Responsible Governments in the provinces."

How India could help defence. activities

It was not merely for the satisfaction of political ambitions that this constitutional device was suggested. The Working Committee hoped thereby to play a part in meeting the immediate demands of the international situation. It gave expression to the hope that

"If these measures are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw in its full weight in the efforts for the effective organisation of the defence of the country."

This resolution of the Working Committee was ratified by the All-India Congress Committee at its meetings held at Poona on July 27 and 28, 1940. In confirming the Wardha Statement issued by the Working Committee on June 21, 1940, the All-India Congress Committee decided "to take a path which was different from the innermost yearnings of one who had been the guide, philosopher and friend of the Congress all these twenty years.', It did so by declaring that

"While the Congress must adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in the struggle for independence, it is unable, in the present circumstances, to declare that the principle should be extended to Free India's national defence."

This resolution does not clearly explain all the motives that influenced the highest executive of the Congress to make this "new departure." These are made clear in the speeches and statements of Congress leaders. In initiating the proceedings of the Poona meeting of the All-India Congress Committee the President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, declared that their organisation was "pledged to win the political independence of the country"; it was "not an institution for organising world peace." The pressure of external and internal complications has forced this recognition, and the Maulana Saheb could "honestly" say that the vast majority of Congressmen could not go as far as Gandhiji wanted them to go; he admitted that it was "a weakness on our part" which we shared "with the entire humanity". Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari who was credited with drafting the Congress resolution and carrying the majority of the Working Committee and of the All-India Congress Committee against the opposition of "orthodox" Gandhites as Babu Rajendra Prasad, was more explicit and concrete in explaining the inwardness of the Congress resolution. He expressed himself with a frankness that required more than courage in the existing tension of feeling and estrangement, of suspicion of each others *bona-fides* that characterized Indo-British relations. At the inauguration of the Tambaran Christian College Union (July 19) he said that the Congress would be winding up its aspirations for the people of India, be giving up its claims for assuming the actual functions of government on behalf of the people, if India should declare that "she shall have no use for the use of violence"; that would only be making the Congress, instead of the instrument of Indian Nationalism in attaining political freedom that it is today, the "torch-bearers of a new life or missionaries of a new reform of the whole world;" the demand or expectation that the Congress should extend "non-violence, for the first time and immediately, to the field of national defence, internal peace or against external aggression", could not be fulfilled; it was "not a responsibility which the Working Committee of the Congress felt they were equal to the task of undertaking."

Congress "not an institution for organising world peace"

The most significant of the statements made by him was however the following that occurred in a Press statement dated July 22, 1940:

"The declaration of freedom that we demand does not mean a withdrawal from the British plan of defence."

This was a concession to the needs of British Imperialism that was not easy for an Indian public man to make, by a man who had resigned the dignity and responsibility of leading the Ministry in Madras as a protest against the war policy of the British Government. To agree to align the defence policy of India by the side of Britain's far-flung empire was taking away much from the contents of national independence which in one shape or other the Congress has been demanding from the British Government; this interpretation of the Congress demand recognised that the British Imperial General Staff

Indian freedom—not "a withdrawal from British plan" of defence

would be accepted as the guide of the General Staff of "free India"; it may be said to have conceded the demand of Mr. Amery for "guarantees" about the use or misuse of British troops retained in India after the arrival of "Dominion status", made in his speech of November 20, 1940. This mood of sweet reasonableness was not confined to the Congressmen of the Deccan alone who are believed to be adepts in constructive statesmanship, and are said to be critical and impatient of the destructive idealism of Aryavarta. Sardar Ballavbhai Patel was as anxious to accept responsibility for government. In a speech (July 19, 1940) made to the students of the S. L. D. Arts College of Ahmedabad, he confessed that as representatives of constituencies they could not shirk "the responsibility of meeting external attacks or internal disorder"; that they were prepared to resort to "violence" in meeting half-way, more than half-way, the violence of external enemies and the disturbers of internal peace.

"No opposition from Congress" to Linlithgow cabinet

Even Gandhiji in course of a statement made on October 5, 1940, giving an impression to the public of his interviews with Lord Linlithgow during the previous week, the last week of September, was considerate to the difficulties of Britain. He told His Excellency in the plainest words possible that "the Congress had no desire to mount to power at the expense of a single national interest". Lord Linlithgow

"will, therefore, have no opposition from the Congress if he forms a cabinet composed of representatives of different parties. The Congress would be content to be in the opposition so far as the war effort is concerned and so long as the Government machinery has to subserve imperialist ends."

Muslim League to choose Premier

This was putting the coping-stone on the structure of "compromise with British imperialism". To make things easy for Lord Linlithgow's August offer Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari had during the last week of August, 1940, made a "sporting offer" through a London daily to the British Government and indirectly to the "minorities" of India. He declared that he would persuade the Congress to agree to his new proposal that in forming the "provisional National Government ...at the centre", the suggestion made at the Poona meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the All-India Muslim League would be choosing the Premier who would form his own Ministry. In making this proposal it was hoped that Congress disinterestedness in the competition for power that had ensued in India would be recognised by friends and foes alike, and the British Government would be able to enlist a not inconsiderable proportion of Indian Nationalist opinion on its side. The Press in India grew enthusiastic over this offer. The *Star of India*, the Calcutta Muslim daily, seized upon the core of the offer made in the spirit of Zagloul Pasha in his dealings with the small Coptic minority of Egypt, and opined that

"The offer is interpreted in responsible political and official circles as having placed the entire future of India in the hands of the Minorities thus even cutting the ground from under the feet of the British Government, who declared that the minorities question should be satisfactorily settled. If the Muslim League accepts the offer, then it is considered that the British Government will have no alternative but to accept the settlement and proceed with the establishment of a National Government at the Centre."

Neither did the British Government nor did the Muslim League

take advantage of the Rajagopalachari offer as a means of resolving the political deadlock in India; Gandhiji's more positive assurance to Lord Linlithgow has remained unrecognised and unused. We have not been able to get at any reason that influenced the British Government and the Muslim League to reject out of hand these overtures from the side of the Congress leaders. The Muslim League position was indicated in the quotations made from the Jinnah-Linlithgow correspondence; it wanted a majority representation in the Governor-General's extended Executive Council, in the Adviserships of the Provincial Governors where the Congress Ministries had resigned and in the War Advisory Council. Herein the British bureaucracy could not accommodate and oblige their "confident friends". On the part of the Government in their much-advertised August proposals there was vagueness all along. None of the Indian leaders could definitely say after their interviews with Lord Linlithgow what the total strength of his Executive Council would be; His Excellency appeared to have mentioned the number 11; they could not tell how the portfolios would be distributed and assigned to representatives of the different parties that would agree to take part in the administration. Of course, Mr. Amery spoke grandiloquently of them as coming to the Governor-General's Executive Council, "not as mere advisers, but as ministers responsible for departments of State, and.....in such numbers as to constitute a substantial majority over the European members.....". He did not tell us how this arrangement would differ from the present one. He did not care to elaborate his thesis—to whom would these "ministers" be "responsible"; if they remained as the members of the Executive Council at present are "responsible" to the Governor-General and through him to the Secretary of State for India and through the latter to the British Cabinet, to the Parliament of Great Britain, and ultimately to the British people—the August proposals would be no improvement. He also talked of a principle inspiring the proposals which, once taken, "remains"—the principle that "the Viceroy's Council must consist of a majority of elected members." Mr. Amery was talking on November 20th 1940, on this theme. The questions naturally arise—why could not he, why could not the British Cabinet, act on this principle when a month and a half earlier, on October 5th, Gandhiji had issued the statement that there would be no "opposition from the Congress" if Lord Linlithgow could "form a Cabinet composed of representatives of different parties"? Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's proposal made in May, 1940, and reiterated in December, had put forward the same principle of action, of a "National Government" in India "responsible to the Crown". Why has nothing been done to implement it, to give it constitutional shape and form? Gandhiji's assurance had relieved, or ought to have, the British bureaucracy of any apprehension of pressure from the Congress. Why did they not utilise this relief for organising their war activities in India with a certain appearance of all-India support? What has become of Mr. Amery's proud assertion that if, unfortunately, even the non-Congress parties in India failed to accept the August offer, "Lord Linlithgow will, of course, still go ahead....." ? Where has the going ahead led India to?

The vagueness of Linlithgow proposals

These questions have baffled all speculations for their proper replies. It is difficult to believe that any individual, Indian or British, was responsible for twisting the processes of a reconciliation; that the conceit, ambition or sheer wrong-headedness of any individual could halt a step that meant so much to so many millions of people caught and trapped in one of the major crises of human history. Gandhiji has given us a character-sketch of the present Governor-General on whom has been thrown the duty of straightening out the tangled relation between India and Britain. He is or appears to be "not receptive"; he appears to be "unbending", upheld by a belief "in the correctness of his judgment", and having "as usual.....no faith in that of nationalist India." Gandhiji thinks that in this mood or attitude Lord Linlithgow represented the British bureaucracy whom the exercise of autocratic powers for about two centuries has disabled for any act of high statesmanship that could appeal to the imagination, that could transform foes into friends. Edwin Samuel Montagu had described them as "wooden", as "inelastic"; Gandhiji's criticism, taking Lord Linlithgow's as the type of the mind that is enthroned on the seats of the mighty at Delhi-Simla, was more devastating. Lord Linlithgow has "amazing confidence".

"Boundless self assurance" of Anglo-Indian bureaucracy"

"He does not believe in a gentleman's or any other agreement. I have always felt that after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, British satraps decided that there should be no more pacts. Whatever they wanted to do, they should do independently. It shows either a high sense of justice or boundless self-assurance. I think it is the latter."

If this analysis of the mind of the higher British bureaucracy in India be correct—Edward Thompson's pamphlet—*Enlist India*—supplies clues to the correctness of this judgment—then we are led to the conclusion that the "boundless self-assurance" of the British bureaucracy stands between a India and a Britain, the former unreconciled and the latter with rings of dangers surrounded; that this "boundless self-assurance" does "not" enable it to "give" to any class or group or party in India "any real and substantial share in the authority of the Government at the Centre", to quote words from the resolution passed at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at Bombay on September 29, 1940. Our impression is far otherwise of the see-saw of negotiations between Lord Linlithgow and the various party leaders that has been going on since the first week of September, 1939, when His Excellency called India to "play a part worthy of her place among the great nations and historic civilisations of the world." More than fifteen months have gone by since then, and the only contribution towards the solution of the "Indian problem" that has been made by the British bureaucracy of which Mr. Amery is head in England and Lord Linlithgow in India has been "merely to dwell on danger and feed panic and terror", to quote the ex-Premier of Madras. Nothing has been done to call up the "spirit of joy and pride and a sense of fulfilment of the national struggle and a recklessness of individual existence and comforts"—the spirit that enables "men to strive and sacrifice to their utmost capacity". The policy of the Government

Fear of new mind in the directorates of the Indian Government

has reduced Indians to the role of an audience watching what is being represented as a "crusade" for the defence of right and world democracy. The leaders of Indian opinion and life have almost been prevented from asking their people "to make this war their own cause." It is not "boundless self-assurance" that has inspired this policy of the Government but a fear that the admission of "responsible" Indians into the holy of their holies where policies were made would create such a disturbance there that even the little that they have been doing for the organisation of war activities in India would get disarranged. It is fear of new men and new minds in the directorates of the Government of India that has been responsible for the failure of Lord Linlithgow to induce "representative Indians" to join his Executive Council even after the Congress had assured him of its "benevolent neutrality." This failure has been sought to be covered up by all the subtlety of propaganda learnt in the school of high politics, a subtlety that could trip even President Wilson during 1918 and 1919.

Latest eruption of separatist conceit

For the success of such a propaganda all the separatist conceits and tendencies in India, now and old, have been allowed to assert their claims, to undo the work of political unity on which British administrators have been taking pride for more than a century. In successive volumes of the *Annual Register* we have tried to trace the inspiration and growth of these separatist ambitions. The latest to step into the arena with its demands has popped up from beyond historic times. We find it framed in a resolution passed at the 15th session of the South Indian Liberal Federation held during the last week of August, 1940—the resolution which demanded that for the cultural and economic development of Dravidians the province of Madras, "essentially the home of Dravidians", should be "constituted as a separate administrative unit under the direct supervision of the Secretary of State for India." There is a sort of poetic justice in the "minorities" of India standing as stumbling-blocks to that unity of effort when the fate of the British Empire stood in such danger. It is the result of a policy, temporarily successful but ultimately disastrous. Ireland is a standing monument to the discredit of this policy ; India threatens to be another.

Free speech & war —the individual *versus* the State

Disappointed with the attitude of the British bureaucracy, as explained by Lord Linlithgow, Gandhiji returned from Simla. He had gone there to have certain of his "doubts as to certain acts of the British Government" dissolved through discussion. "The Viceroy would not be drawn into a discussion" of the British argument about the "minorities", because it was a "matter of high policy not admitting of argument." Then was raised the "issue of freedom of speech". As the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India had been broadcasting that the whole of India was "voluntarily helping the war effort", it became necessary to put the claim to the test. The Congress claim was that vast majority of the people of India were "not interested in it." This was also to be put to the test. This could be done by allowing people to "give full expression to their views

in relation to war effort provided only that such expression was fully non-violent." This would be putting "the war party and the non-war party.....on an equal footing." Lord Linlithgow could not accept the validity of this plea ; he was prepared to extend the "special treatment" accorded to the "conscientious objector" by the laws of the United Kingdom to "the Indian objector, either to all war as such, or to the participation of India to the present war." This "special treatment" absolved "the conscientious objector" from the duty of fighting, and even allowed him to profess his faith in public ; but he was "not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of endeavouring to persuade others, whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort." Gandhiji argued that conditions in India were different : here it should be open to all "to deliver addresses and otherwise to call upon people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way which would involve India's participation in bloodshed." Lord Linlithgow rejected this argument, and made it clear to Gandhiji that such action would "certainly amount not only to the inhibition of India's war effort, but to the embarrassment of Great Britain in the prosecution of the war which the Congress state they are anxious to avoid." The Government could not tolerate such interference with war effort. Gandhiji recognised that India was not of "one mind" in this matter ; there was a part of India that was "war-minded and will learn the art of war through helping the British." The Congress had no desire, however, "to surround ammunition factories or barracks and prevent people from doing what they like". But the Congress claimed "the right to tell people that as they hoped to win Swaraj through non-violent means, they may not co-operate militarily with Britain....." The problem thus stated brings it within the region of a universal controversy between individual right and State or Social Power. It is no new controversy ; it involved the right of the individual or minority to behave differently without being out-lawed —the right that was asserted by John Milton three hundred years back :

"Give me liberty to know, to think, to believe, and to utter freely, according to the conscience, over all other liberties."

In India the assertion of this liberty through the method of non-violent "individual civil disobedience" has entailed on leaders of men, on men who had been heads of Ministries, Ministers in seven out of the eleven provinces of India, on their fellow-workers and followers, imprisonment and detention without trial. India thus takes part in a universal drama which has always ended in the extension of the frontiers of freedom.

Poona resolution "a real concession"

It is a weariness of spirit to have to wade through the welter of this controversy. And the absurdity of the whole of the British position stands exposed when we realise that a united front, a unity of effort, could have been built up in India on the common concern for the military defence of India, on which not a little of the defence of British interests in Africa and Asia depends. Even the Congress with its policy of "non-violence" recognised this fact which explained the inspiration of its Poona resolution. It was not an easy resolution

for the Congress Executive to have to recommend, considering the history of the last twenty years. Even members of the Anglo-Indian Press which is more critical of than friendly to the Congress thought that the Poona resolution was "a real concession on its part." The Congress had boycotted for years the whole of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution ; at intervals it has renewed this boycott. Even under the 1935 constitution it refused to accept office for about four months of 1937 which its majority in seven provinces enabled it to do. As protest against the war policy of Britain in making India a belligerent without consulting Indian opinion or respecting Indian sentiments or recognising Indian interests, the Congress has withdrawn from eight of the eleven Indian provinces the Ministries that acknowledged its writ ; it has kept its representatives away from the Central Assembly in obedience to the same policy. With such a history it was not an easy matter for the Congress to offer, as it did at Poona, co-operation as a war measure "provided responsibility was transferred from Westminister to India" ; to agree "to accept the Central Legislature provided under the 1919 constitution, minus the official element, as the Legislature to which the Government shall *in fact if not in law* be responsible." (The italics are ours). The Anglo-Indian paper (*Statesman*) which we have been quoting continued,

"It cannot be said that either this prejudges the future in a sense favourable to the Congress or that it requires or presupposes agreement on the eventual nature of the Legislature or the whole structure of the Constitution. We see nothing rash or dangerous in such a war measure, but on the contrary to reject such a solution would savour of timid and disastrous statesmanship unsuited to the times...."

Offered to help build a Federation

If the Poona resolution had been accepted it would have resulted in the formation of a Coalition Government at the Centre resting on the present Legislature. The 26 official members would have disappeared, as well as the 14 nominated members. Their seats might have been made available to representatives from the Indian States.

"In this way in war-time a miniature of a Federation might be obtained. There are no constitutional difficulties which cannot be quickly overcome if the will is present."

It has not been explained why the British Government has been lacking in this "will". The Congress by its Poona resolution went to the farthest limit of concession ; it risked the loss of the leadership of Gandhiji and of the co-operation of the orthodox among the Congressmen who accepted Gandhiji's philosophy of thought and conduct. It invited ridicule and advice from all and sundry who thought the Poona resolution offered too good an opportunity to pay back old scores.

Non-violence in politics created confusion of thought and action

Candid friends of the Congress have not been behind-hand in rubbing in the inconsistency of their new attitude, in congratulating the Congress on returning to the path of sanity, in getting over a hobby. It has been asserted since the advent of the Non-co-operation Movement that by propagating the principle of "non-violence" and trying to apply it to the solution of concrete problems of administration, the leaders of the Congress have been confounding clear thinking in the country. The "pacifist" position

has been discredited before the world's eye by the outbreak of the World War No. 11 of the 20th century. Dr. Reingold Niebuhr writing to the New York *Nation* (January 20th, 1940) has discussed the implications of the controversy raised in the United States with regard to the duty of individuals and nations confronted by threats held to human dignity and national self-respect by Imperialism, by Nazism and other types of Totalitarianism. He sought to clinch the problem by saying that "when a religious and moral absolute such as 'perfect love' is introduced into politics as an alternative to the conquest of power which is the very nature of politics, it breeds confusion". He did not care to indicate any substitute for violence for settling individual and national disputes. When a war was going on, when every one was feeling harassed in the present and anxious for the future, when the wisest among men and women appeared to be at his or her wits' end in seeking and finding a way out of the disorder and cruelties of war, Gandhiji had called upon India to claim "the privilege of saying that even before she has got freedom she has the courage to declare that she shall have no use for this force of violence." The Poona resolution was a demonstration that India was unequal to or felt herself unequal to this great privilege ; it suggested a way out of what has been represented as confusion of thought and indecisiveness in action characteristic of Indian politics during the last twenty years.

An expose of Anglo-Indian military policy

Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari tried to relate Congress activities to the immediate needs of India's critical situation. He believed that the resolution "will enable the Congress to ask the people of India to put their heart and soul into the military preparations that are going on." Others also welcomed the Poona resolution inspired by this hope. To many of them the removal of the political deadlock was a means to an end—the end being the "militarisation" of India. Among these were the National Liberal Federation, members of which have been pioneers in making a special study of the military and defence problem of the country. The organisation threw in its influence on the side of easing the political deadlock in India as the way, the only way, for making the country militarily organised and capable of throwing its full weight into the present war. In furtherance of this object it submitted to Lord Linlithgow a Memorandum during the last week of June, 1940, calling attention to the inadequate representation of Indians in the officers' cadre of the Indian Army, of the Indian Army composed of 1,60,000 Indians and 50,000 Europeans. The Indian contingent was being expanded from about 1,60,000 to 2,35,000. The officers' cadre had approximately a strength of 3,000 of whom not more than 500 were Indians. The new units of 75,000 men would require the guidance and leadership of about 1,500 more. The task of licking into shape for purposes of modern warfare, mechanized warfare, these 75,000 during the shortest possible time was no easy job. The policy of the British Government has not encouraged military spirit among the classes in India, among the members of the educated classes in India belonging not to any hypothetical "martial race" but to all classes of the vast Indian community. This policy of "racial discrimination" has come home to roost at this hour of

need, of the supremest need in the life of Britain. The Delhi-Simla military bureaucracy could think of no better way of meeting this need than that of enlisting men from the non-official Europeans in India who are enabled by the Government to keep up their military habits and traditions, to keep their military training up-to-date through their Volunteer Corps. The hunt for these men has been extended beyond the frontiers of India ; the call has gone to Ceylon, to Burma, to Malaya. From the Liberal Federation Memorandum an estimate could be worked out of the intrusion of Europeans into the new cadre of the 1,500 officers referred to above. Confining itself to the Bombay Presidency alone, the Memorandum showed that of the 900 Europeans "available for military service", 180 had gone to Belgaum or to the Royal Indian Navy ; 54 were earmarked to go ; and "another 250 to 300 could be made available more or less immediately." Some few of these "will get commissions in the British units" in India ; the majority of them are, therefore, likely to be taken to lead the Indian units. The Memorandum understood that "only 80 specially recruited Indians are receiving training at Dehradun" ; that in addition to these, 40 officers belonging to "the Army in India Reserve of Officers", the majority of them Anglo-Indians, were "being put through a short course of training there." In a statement issued from Simla in August last it was announced that since the outbreak of the present war up to the end of July, 1940, the number of "new Indian officers enrolled for the Indian Army" was 843. In reply to a question put by Pundit Hridayanath Kunzru, the Defence Co-ordination Secretary, Mr. Williams, told the Council of State on November 26 that since September 1, 1940, 239 British Officers "had been imported from England" for appointment "as officers in the Indian Army." The number of cadets at that time under training at the Indian Military Academy (Dehradun) and at Mhow (Central Provinces) was 122 in the former and 246 in the latter ; they were intended for the Indian Army ; for the Indian States 36 were trained in the former and 20 in the latter. The University Training Corps which supplied in other countries officers for the fighting services have been treated in India as a mere show.

India's "preparedness for war"

During the last Great War India supplied 10 lakhs of combatants, all or almost all officered by non-Indians. It was given out that the Government proposed to raise on the present occasion an army of 5 lakhs men. This would require about 10,000 Commissioned officers. At the rate of 1,300 cadets a year to be trained at the different military schools in India—at Dehradun, Mhow, Belgaum, Bangalore, for instance—how many years will it require to train all the Indian officers for the expansion of the Indian Army ? The problem is made complex by the policy of the Government, of delay, of "racial domination", of pathetic reliance on Britain, of utter blindness to the trends and tendencies of modern warfare. "Too late" has been the principle of conduct that has become ingrained in the Anglo-Indian administrators in every sphere of their activities—political, economic, military. Whenever Indian public men pressed for better organisation of India's defence the invariable reply has been that the financial circumstances of the

country stood in the way of any improvement. "Any idea of a large Air Force is in the financial circumstances of this country not at present a practicable proposition"—said the late Commander-in-Chief of India, Sir Robert Cassels. Remove the words "Air Force" and replace them with either "tanks", "battleships" or "cruisers", and the above reply would have been invariably uttered. Before the war the Air Forces in India consisted of one squadron of Indian Air Force and eight squadrons of Royal Air Force. In the Royal Indian Navy the number of officers was 186 in 1939-40 ; of these the number of Indians was a bare 18 ; at the end of 1940 the number is said to be two and half times that or a little more. The strength of the personnel of the I.A.R. in 1939-40 was 16 officers and 156 men ; at the end of the year the former was less than 100, the latter over 600.

Recruitment policy —"Martial races" theory

It may be hoped, however, that the complexities of international situation will force the British military bureaucrats to change their mind and habits, to recognise that Indians could not be safely discriminated against either in India or outside ; that Dominion Status will have to be given concrete shape in Dominion function when the nationals of India cannot be prevented from coming to their own as the defenders of their own country. But when that day arrives—as arrive it will, soon or late—a trail of mischief will have been left by another element of Britain's recruitment policy as applied to the Indian Army. We refer to the theory of "martial races" which are said to be the best recruitment fields for the Indian Army. In the late Lord Robert's *Forty-one Years in India* we get the first attempt made to give a coherent explanation of this theory. The men of the Deccan, of the Aryavarta, trained under European captains, had played a great part in losing and gaining kingdoms during the anarchy that followed the break-up of the Moghul Empire and the rise of the Marhatta and Sikh Powers ; these men had helped the "Company Bahadur" to pick up the crown of Hindustan from the dust of anarchy ; these men had helped the conquest of the Punjab, thus fulfilling Ranjit Singhji's prophecy that the whole of India will be daubed red. The experiences of the "Sepoy Mutiny" taught the British Government to avoid these areas as centres of recruitment. And to justify this change of policy the theory of "martial races" was invented by the military bureaucrats of India. For about seventy-five years almost the whole of the Deccan, the provinces of the United Provinces, Behar, and Bengal, for instance, were placed outside the pale of military training, killing thereby any martial traditions that might have subsisted amongst the people of these areas. As an example may be quoted the most recent report of the recruitment to the Indian Army during the period—September, 1939 to September, 1940. The number of recruits as given in "classes" was the following :

"Pathans, 4,671 ; Punjabi Muslims, 24,148 ; Sikhs, 11,605 ; Dogras, 4,464 ; Gurkhas, 3,290 ; Garhwalis, 2,598 ; Kumaonies, 1,574 ; Rajputs, 3,997 ; Jats, 5,307 ; Ahirs, 1,643 ; Mahrattas, 5,164 ; Christians, 2,401 ; Gujars, 853 ; miscellaneous Hindus, 15,282 ; miscellaneous Muslims, 7,198 and Coorgies, 29."

It cannot be said that all the areas of the country, all the provinces, are represented in the Army of India. The over-representa-

tion of certain areas, the under-representation or non-representation of certain others, have created vested interests that are or will be prepared to fight if these are disturbed ; in the language of the Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, for instance, "if any body attempts to undermine the present supremacy of the Punjab in the Army, we would fight and fight to the last ditch, if need be." More than the *izzat* of the land of the five rivers, material considerations were involved in this threat which may be indicated in the words of the same high authority :

Izzat of the Punjab—its economic interpretation

"It is not perhaps generally realized that about Rs. four and half crores—a sum which is equal to the total amount of land revenue of the province—is received annually by the Punjab soldiers in the form of salaries and pensions and but for this it would be impossible for thousands of families to make both ends meet."

This is the story of India's "preparedness for war" under British auspices. We are now being told that this lack of preparation is due to lack of trained personnel for purposes of mechanized warfare which has to be traced to the absence of "key industries" in this country, such as those concerned with the manufacture of chemicals and machinery. The products of these industries are essential for the working of others. The fall of France, and the consequent deterioration of the situation in the Mediterranean—the life-line of the Empire to the east, to the largest areas of the Empire—have exposed the unwisdom of keeping India dependent on Britain for the essential articles for war or for peace. Hurried attempts are being made to build new war factories, to extend old ones, to train technicians and craftsmen ; "conscription" of these had been suggested ; and in July an ordinance for the purpose was issued to meet the requirements of munition factories ; the assurance has been given that not more than 4,000 men will be affected by this measure. The visit of the Roger Mission —a British Ministry of Supply Mission headed by Sir Alexander Roger—and the Eastern Group Conference—both these improvisations have been undertaken to enable India and the other parts of the British Empire lying in and around the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, not only to meet their own needs for home defence but to equip and supply the Imperial forces in Africa, in Asia, and in Australasia. The British Press appears to have appreciated this requirement of the situation. The London *Times* limited its vision to the immediate present, while the *Manchester Guardian* looked beyond to the future.

"Key industries" & modern warfare

"By freeing Britain from the task of providing for most of the military needs of her own forces and those of her Allies in the east from the Levant to Batavia, India can, in any case, make a very important contribution to the ultimate success of the forces of freedom."—(*Times*).

"The crux of the eastern supply problem is the industrialization of India. There is enough capital, skill and commercial ability in India to build up a strong engineering industry, now that a steady market for its products would be assured, at any rate for the duration of the war. If the stimulus given by the Delhi Conference and sustained by a standing committee to be set up serves to bring about the industrialization of India really on a large scale, we shall have gone some way towards solving both the social problem of India and that of her genuine independence. The price to be paid by this country will be easier to bear if it helps to promote contentment as well as victory.—(*Manchester Guardian*).

Eastern Gpoup Conference—its danger

To the majority of the politically-minded people in India to whom the industrialization of the country in the accepted and modern sense of the term has become a creed of progress, as the only way to the solution of the "social problem" of India—the problem of ignorance, of dirt, of disease and death—to them the Roger Mission and the Eastern Group Conference have appealed with great force. They have come to feel that now that Britain has been forced to take or permit preliminary steps for the industrialization of her Dominions and protectorates and dependencies, we may look forward to the development of New Manchesters and New Brimingham in India. British history does not tell us that Britain has ever encouraged in her Imperial household the rivalry of industry and manufacture. But even when the "Britains beyond the seas", her daughter nations, set up separate households of their own and refused to be led by her any more, Britain managed to retain control over the economic life of her dependencies and protectorates. The exigencies of the present war appear, however, to have called for a new orientation of Imperial policy, for a partnership of Britain with her Dominions for the joint exploitation of the illimitable human and natural resources of the British Empire. This is a possibility—a sinister possibility—inherent in the organisation of the Eastern Group Conference which the majority of our people do not appear to have realised. The Government of India played host to the Conference; it had to seek and secure the permission of the Imperial Government in this behalf; perhaps the latter inspired the move. To this Conference were sent representatives of the Commonwealth of Australia, of New Zealand, of the Union of South Africa, of Southern Rhodesia, of Burma, of Ceylon, of Malaya, of Hongkong, of the East African Governors' Conference (Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, and Kenya), and of the Government of India. It was hoped that as a result of the deliberations of this Conference, a "joint policy for the co-ordination and development of their resources for the purposes of the war" will be built up and "some form of liaison arrangement with that object in view" will be made. This Conference may, for all that we know, be a temporary affair; it may form the nucleus of the more coherent imperialism which has been the dream of outstanding British politicians. The names of two of them may be mentioned in this connection—those of Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Milner. The dreams of dreamers, the conscious thoughts and purposive activities of men and women, the inescapable grip of international developments, appear to be moving towards this shape of imperialism.

Scaffoldings of a new imperialism

In the last volume of the *Annual Register* (Vol I of 1940) we have made an attempt to trace one shape of the British Empire—the evolution of "Anglo-Saxony". British policy has built up certain of the scaffoldings of this completed structure. One of these is the defence policy built up by British strategists that the frontiers of India extended to Egypt in the west and to China in the east. The Conference—the Eastern Group Conference—if it has any meaning and purpose in a historic process, will extend India's frontiers further to the east, west and south. The three Dominions—Australia, New Zealand and South Africa—and the other protectorates and dependen-

cies in Africa and Asia, represented in the Conference, will demand and require a price for their interest in and concern for India's defence, just as India will or should demand and require a price for any interest in their defence. It is on the realisation of this mutual dependence that the "liaison arrangement" referred to above can be built up. The thoughts of the ruling classes of the Empire, of Britain and of her Dominions have been moving towards such an arrangement, towards the setting of such a machinery since the last decade or two of the last century. They became conscious that the days of the primacy of Britain in trade, in commerce, in manufacturing industries, and in politics were drawing to a close. Rudyard Kipling was the poet of this realisation; Joseph Chamberlain the politician who wanted to organise the defence of these valued interests and traditions. The former in his dedicatory poem—*The Heritage*—to the volume entitled "The Empire and the Century" (1905) tried to recall his people to their duty to the heritage left them by their fathers, to cure them of their mood of satiety and despondence.

"Our fathers in a wondrous age,
Ere yet the Earth was small,
Ensured to us an heritage,
And doubted not at all
That, we, the children of their heart,
Which then did beat so high,
In later time should play like part
For our posterity."

* * * *

"Then, fretful, murmur not they gave
So great a charge to keep,
Nor dream that awe-struck Time shall save
Their labour while we sleep.
Dear-bought and clear, a thousand years
Our fathers' title runs.
Make we likewise their sacrifice,
Defrauding not our sons."

Imperial Preference & Imperial Federation

Historians have told us that to a consciousness to danger to the world supremacy enjoyed by Britain for more than a century was to be traced the urge for the wide discussion of topics like Imperial Preference and Imperial Federation made popular by Joseph Chamberlain. Among Indian publicists and public men none among the older generation did more to instruct Indian opinion on these matters than the late Bipin Chandra Pal who in two of his books—*Nationality and Empire* and *The New Economic Menace to India*—discussed these problems as these affected the life and thought of the Indian people and determined their "Home Polity." The political and economic interests of Imperial Britain were inter-linked in the propaganda of Joseph Chamberlain; the consciousness of this intimate relation was vivid in those days, during the opening years of the present century. In Bipin Chandra Pal's books, specially in the latter, the relation was brought out with wealth of historical facts and their interpretation. Joseph Chamberlain was the only front-rank politician who risked his political future in calling for a "new departure" in the economic thought and practice of Britain to be followed by a more compact politico-constitutional organisation of the Empire. He tried to prove

that Free Trade could not relieve "the England of the poor" which he had brought to the political arena ; he contended that tariffs, and tariffs alone, could provide money for Old Age Pensions. His propaganda was feared because it appealed to the "neglected masses" of the country, to that strata beneath the "smooth surface of English life" which was made known as "Darkest England" by the founder of the Salvation Army, General Booth. His propaganda failed. But thereby a link was forged between the masses of England and the Conservative Party which helped the way for their dominance over England for two decades since the end of the last war. After Chamberlain's decline his disciple Lord Milner became the chief protagonist of this imperialism, and found in the London *Times* a sympathetic vehicle for the spread of these ideas. The *Round Table* organisation was another instrument. In Bipin Chandra Pal's book this new party has been called the "*Times-Milner*" school of politics. In the *Empire Day Supplement* of the *Times*, dated May 24, 1909, its ruling idea was indicated on the authority of Lord Milner. The British Empire has a dual character, a double face :

(i) The Self-governing Empire including the United Kingdom,
(ii) The Dependent Empire, including India and all the Crown Colonies and Protectorates.

"Dual character" of the British Empire

This dual character entailed a divergence in ideal and practice which was a source of conflicts within and of weaknesses in relation to the world outside. The majority of the self-governing areas of the Empire lie far away, far apart, from its centre. With the process of time these areas have developed a conceit of nationalism that could with difficulty be reconciled with the ideals and requirements of British Imperialism. It is true that during two world wars the ties of kinship between the Dominions and Britain have stood the strain, and nobly have the former leapt to the help of the latter. The growing complexities of the international situation, the rise of the aspiring imperialism of Germany in Europe, of Japan in eastern Asia, has made it difficult for the "home country" to extend its protecting wings over her children, spread and dispersed over the seven seas ; it can no longer "furnish the military and naval protection" that it had hitherto done. Faced by such a situation, the "Times-Milner" school proposed a way out, indicated a "double task" to British administrators, that

(i) "of strengthening and uniting the governing portion of the Empire" ; and
(ii) "of developing and helping forward the governed."

Profits of British imperialism & Dominion partnership

Hitherto the United Kingdom has profited most from the "integral connection between its industries and the raw materials and consuming power of its tropical dependencies." But the self-governing areas of the Empire have been rapidly passing out of the purely agricultural to the industrial stage ; they must in the near future be looking out for markets for their manufactured goods. The key to the raw materials and consuming power of the "dependent empire" was held by Britain ; she could turn it for the benefit of her Dominions. The "Times-Milner" school thought that this "dependent empire" will be "the biggest asset which the United

Kingdom" will be contributing to the common stock when Britain will no longer be "the sole director but merely a partner in partnership" that will rule the British Empire. The "trustee" that Britain has been of the "dependent empire" must be prepared to surrender the trust to a new partnership—this was the idea at the back of the mind of the "Times-Milner" school of Imperialism. In a series of articles published in the *Times* in 1917, during the height of the last great war, was discussed the problem of "after-war-imperial reconstruction." These were reprinted in book-form with an introduction by Lord Milner then a member of the War Cabinet. This book, entitled *The Elements of Reconstruction*, sought to re-emphasise in "the minds of the ruling race and subject race alike the idea of the trustee." The disorganisation caused by the last war in the moral and mental, in the economic and political spheres of Britain's life, did not allow opportunity for giving shape to these ideas. Now again, Britain has another war to fight, when by the statute of Westminster the Dominions have attained equality with the "mother country" who appears to be leaning more heavily on their young strength. British and non-British dreamers have been dreaming of a "Union Now" of the United States and of the six British democracies. And it may happen that in ways unknown to us, in ways unthought of by us, the Eastern Group Conference will be made to serve the purposes of the idea publicized by the "Times-Milner" school of British imperialists. The "energy and ability of the growing manhood of the Dominions" are now being called in to restore the balance as against the growing impatience of the "dependent empire", to rule it, to profit by commerce with it, as the "mother country" has been doing for more than a century and a half.

Eastern Group Conference & "white men's burden"

This bait is not in human nature to resist. And the ruling classes of the Dominions and protectorates represented in the Eastern Group Conference, all of them of British birth and origin, are nothing loth in sharing this "white men's burden", in sharing in the profits of British Imperialism. Signs and protents are not absent that the Eastern Group Conference will not encourage any positive steps that will help to establish key and heavy industries in India, to strengthen its economic security and preparedness which under conditions of "total war" are indistinguishable from political security. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry have given expression to the suspicions and fears that the war effort under the auspices of the Eastern Group Supply Council, the "liaison arrangement" made at the Eastern Group Conference, has little chance to develop into a lever of industrial uplift in India. The report of the Conference is still unavailable, and in its absence it is not possible to reject off hand the suspicions or confirm them with demonstrated proof. These suspicions and fears are difficult to ignore when, in the words of Sri Chunilal B. Mehta, president of the Indian Merchants' Chamber (Bombay), "the practical result of the policy followed by the Government of India is to keep Indians rigidly out of all the responsible departments..." He gave instances of this policy of exclusion.

"....In the Department of Defence Co-ordination, in the War Supply Board and in the War Transport Board, Indians have been rigidly excluded from all

key posts. In the Department of Supply, the post of Director-General of Supplies, Deputy Director. the Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Director of Administration, Director of Development, Director of Indents and Priority, and even of Technical Offices, are held by non-Indians."

Government policy of discouragement to Indian industry

The invariable reply on behalf of the Government of India to Indian anxiety for participation in war industrial efforts has been that they could not encourage or support any scheme, such as for instance merchant ship-building, manufacture of aircraft and automobiles, which could not be shown that "it would constitute a direct and immediate measure of assistance to India's war effort."—(*Government of India communique, December 16, 1940).* In the Council of State Sir Alan Lloyd had indicated on November 29, the same policy by his declaration that

"Government are not proposing to encourage actively the merchant ship-building industry in India as part of their war effort."

India to remain a supplier of food & raw materials

Responsible leaders of India's industrial life like Seth Walchand Hirachand, Sir M. Visveswaraya, who have been striving to establish these industries as a means of economic and political security have expressed disappointment with the results of the Eastern Group Conference; the latter was responsible for the statement that only "a few minor products have been assigned to Indian factories." These recent experiences and the whole history of Britain's economic and fiscal policy in its application to India strengthen the impression that as in the past so in the present the object of that policy is to confirm India in her role of supplier of food stuffs and of raw materials.

Disillusionment & despair in India

As one surveyed these controversies and the grievances that gave rise to them, as he stood face to face with the continuation of the old policy even in the midst of world-shaking events, one despaired of any improvement in Indo-British relation except through more bitternesses, more tears, more misunderstandings. All the human agencies that could intervene on the side of good will, on behalf of a return of faith and trust, appear to have been rendered mute and helpless. The men and women of Britain caught in a fight for existence cannot put themselves in the position of the men and women of India who with the utmost good will in the world do not find any avenue through which they can pour out their sympathy in concrete form. They hating Nazism and other forms of racial and ideological arrogance have been rendered immobile, and watch the approach of the crisis nearer to their native land from the west or the east or from the north. They appear to be cultivating a certain indifference and callousness, appear to be falling back on the last desperate hope of mankind—reliance on fate, on *karma,* on *kismet.*

Women's "special contribution" to nation-building

Men and women meet in their conferences and congresses, speak of the "new order" that they wish and hope to find established in the world after the fire of war has burnt out all that was ugly, all that was impure, all that was menacing to the self-respect of individuals and nations. Organised violence, unchecked by any consideration, has been throwing the promise of youth and the maturity of age

into a cauldron of destructiveness. Against this evil power the best of human sentiments—the love of women for their children born of travail and pain—has been publicly protesting with equal ineffectiveness. Women count more than men in the total population of the world. But their influence on the life and conduct of human society does not reflect the power of their numerical superiority. This is one of the enigmas of history. The 15th session of the All-India Women's Conference held at Bangalore had for its background this ageless frustration as well as the parody of human civilisation that is being enacted in the battle-fields of Europe, of Asia, and of Africa to which we are all helpless witnesses. In the speeches of the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee, Lady Mirza Ismail, and of the President, Srimati Rameswari Nehru, this world-wide catastrophe was relegated to circumstances created "outside the influence of women." It was not explained why "the weight of their moral force", the weight of the moral force of the majority of the human race, has availed not against the greed and the violence of their brothers, husbands and sons. The Conference once more affirmed its "faith in non-violence" as the only solution of the world's ills, lined itself with Nationalist feeling in India and declared their "unity with the yearnings of awakened India" in the resolution expressing "disappointment at Britain's failure to recognise India's free status" in the comity of nations. For years the men and women of goodwill in the country have been distressed by the outburst of narrowness and communalism "disintegrating the national life." In 1940 the Women's Conference registered the same disappointment and distress with the activities of these evil forces; it called upon the womanhood of India "to make a special contribution to the re-building of society" in India on the new-old foundations of understanding of the soul of unity amidst the diversities of experience. This quality of the Indian mind, this gift of Indian history, gathered during four or five thousand years, have been hailed as "the glory of India" by interpreters of India's social life and thought. We in our ignorance and conceit have come to lose sight of this purpose of Indian history, and in the process threaten to destroy all conditions of decent and civilised life in the country. But that purpose which is that of all human history would not accept denial or rejection; it will assert itself amidst darkness and madness, in spite of the crookedness of State policy and the frenzy of communal ambitions. In this faith the men and women of India must work, must suffer and sacrifice, till from out of the wrecks of their hopes the "India of the strong and free" will have emerged.—*(Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb).*

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Proceedings of

The Council of State,

The Central Legislative Assembly

AND

The Provincial Councils

&

Assemblies

July—December 1940

The Council of State

LIST OF MEMBERS

President :—**The Honourable Dr. Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., L.L.D. Bar-at-law.**

Nominated—**including the President—(26).**

(a) Officials—(11).

THE HON. SIR GIRJA SANKAR BAJPAI, K.B.E., C.I.E.,
„ MR. L. WILSON,
„ „ M. S. A. HYDARI, C.I.E.,
„ SIR A. LLOYD, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
„ MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH, C.I.E.
„ „ S. N. ROY, C.S.I., C.I.E.
„ „ A. DEC. WILLIAMS, C.I.E.,
„ „ C. E. JONES, C.I.E.
„ „ SHAVAX A. LAL, C.I.E.

(b) Non-officials—(15).

„ SIR DAVID DEVADOSS,
„ DIWAN BAHADUR SIR K. RAMUNNI MENON,
„ SIR A. P. PATRO, K.C.I.E.
„ „ RAHIMTOOLA CHINOY,
„ „ JOSNA GHOSAL, C.S.I., C.I.E.
„ RAI BAHADUR SATYENDRA KUMAR DAS,
„ „ SIR SATYA CHARAN MUKERJEE,
„ SIR MOHAMMAD YAKUB,
THE HON. SIRDAR NIHAL SINGH,
„ RAJA CHARANJIT SINGH,
„ NAWABZADA KHURSHID ALI KHAN, M.B.E.
„ KHAN BAHADUR SHAMS-UD-DIN HAIDAR, O.B.E.
„ DR. SIR MANECKJI BYRAMJI DADABHOY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., L.L.D. BAR-AT-LAW (*President*)
„ HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR S. HISSAM-UD-DIN BAHADUR, C.I.E.,
„ SARDAR BAHADUR SOBHA SINGH, O.B.E.

Elected—**Non-officials—(32)**

THE HON. RAO BAHADUR K. GOVINDACHARI
THE HON. MR. M. CT. M. CHIDAMBARAM CHETTIYAR
„ MR. NARAYANDAS GIRDHARDAS,
„ „ V. RAMADAS PANTULU,
„ SAIYAD MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR,
„ MR. GOVINDLAL SHIVLAL MOTILAL,
„ „ SHANTIDAS ASKURAN,
„ „ MANECKJI NADIRSHAW DALAL
„ SIRDAR SAHEB SIR SULEMAN CASSUM HAJI MITHA, C.I.E., J.P.
„ KHAN BAHADUR ALLI BUKSH MOHAMED HUSSAIN, C.B.E.
„ MR. R. H. PARKER,
„ „ KUMARSANKHR RAY CHAUDHURY,
„ KUMAR NRIPENDRA NARAYAN SINHA OF NASHIPUR,
„ MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY,
„ KHAN BAHADUR SYED IHTISHAM HYDER CHAUDHURY,
„ MR. ABDOOL RAZAK HAJEE ABDOOL SUTTAR,
THE HON. MR. J. H. S. RICHARDSON
„ RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH
„ PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU
„ PANDIT PRAKASH NARAIN SAPRU
„ HAJI SYED MOHAMED HUSAIN
„ CHAUDHRI NIAMATULLAH
„ RAI BAHADUR LALA RAMSARAN DAS, C.I.E.
„ SARDAR BUTA SINGH, C.B.E.
„ CHOUDHRI ATAULLAH KHAN TARAF
„ MAHARAJADHIRAJA SIR KAMESHWAR SINGH, K.C.I.E.
„ RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA
„ MR. NIKUNJA KISHORE DAS
„ „ HOSSAIN IMAM
„ „ V. V. KALIKAR
„ „ BRIJLAL NANDLAL BIYANI
„ MAULAVI ALI ASGAR KHAN

The Central Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

President :—**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I.**

Elected—**Non-Officials—(102),**

(1) Madras—16.

S. SATYAMURTI, ESQ., M.L.A.
K. S. GUPTA, ESQ., M.L.A.
PROF. N. G. RANGA, M.L.A.
M. ANANTHASAYANAM AYYANGAR, ESQ., M.L.A.
T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR., M.L.A.
K. SITARAMA REDDIAR, ESQ., M.L.A.
K. SANTHANAM, ESQ., M.L.A.
SHRIMATI K. RADHA BAI SUBBARAYAN, M.L.A.
SRI K. B. JINARAJA HEGDE, M.L.A.
UMAR ALY SHAH, ESQ., M.L.A.
MAULVI SYED MURTUZA SAHIB BAHADUR, M.L.A.
H. A. SATHAR H. ESSAK SAIT, ESQ., M.L.A.
F. E. JAMES, ESQ., O.B.E., M.L.A.
RAJA T. MANAVEDAN, M.L.A.
M. R. RY. SAMI VENCATACHELAM CHETTY GARU, M.L.A.

(2) Bombay—16.

DR. G. V. DESHMUKH, M.L.A.
SIR COWASJEE JEHANGIR, BART., K.C.I.E. O.B.E., M.L.A.
DIWAN LALCHAND NAVALRAI, M.L.A.
BHULABHAI JIVANJI DESAI, ESQ., M.L.A.
HOOSEINBHOY A. LALLJEE, ESQ., M.L.A.
S. K. HOSMANI, ESQ., M.L.A.
MAHOMED ALI JINNAH, M.L A.
NABI BAKSH ILLAHI BAKHSH BHUTTO ESQ , M.L.A.
SETH HAJI SIR ABDOOLA HAROON, M.L.A.
J. D. BOYLE ESQ., M.L.A.
E. L. C. GWILT ESQ., M L.A.
MANU SUBEDAR ESQ. M.L.A.
KHAN BAHADUR MIAN GHULAM KADIR MD. SHAHBAN M.L.A.
SIR H. P. MODY K.B.E., M.L.A.

(3) Bengal—17

N. C. CHUNDER ESQ., M.L.A.
DR. P. N. BANERJEA M.L.A.
BABU AMARENDRA NATH CHATTOPADHYAYA M.L.A.
PANDIT LAKSHMI KANTA MAITRA M.L.A.
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE ESQ., M.L.A.
AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA ESQ., M.L.A.
SIR ABDUR RAHIM K.C.S.I., M.L.A.
HAJEE CHOWDHURY MOHAMMAD ISMAIL KHAN M.L.A.
SIR ABDUL HALIM GHUZNAVI M.L.A.
CHOWDHURY SEKANDER ALI ESQ., M.L.A.
SHAIKH RAFIUDDIN AHMAD SIDDIQUEE M.L.A
DR. HABIBAR RAHMAN M.L.A.
C. C. MILLER ESQ., M.L.A.
C. P. LAWSON ESQ., M.L.A,
T. CHAPMAN MORTIMER ESQ., M.L.A.
SRIJUT DHIRENDRA KANTA LAHIRI CHAUDHURY M.L.A.
BABU BAIJNATH BAJORIA M.L.A.

(4) United Provinces—16

CHANDRA BHAL TORI ESQ., M.L.A.
CHOUDHRI RAGHUBIR NARAIN SINGH M.L.A.
PANDIT SRI KRISHNA DUTTA PALIWAL M.L.A.
BADRI DATT PANDE ESQ., M.L.A.
SRI PRAKASA ESQ., M.L.A.
SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA M.L.A.
SIR SYED RAZA ALI C.B.E., M.L.A.
QAZI MOHAMMAD AHMAD KAZMI M.L.A.
SIR MUHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN C.I.E., M.L.A.
MAULVI ABDUL WAJID M.L.A.
DR. SIR ZIA UDDIN AHMAD C.I.E., M.L.A.
MOHAMED AZHAR ALI ESQ., M.L.A.
J. RAMSAY, SCOTT, ESQ., M.L.A.
RAJA BAHADUR KUSHAL PAL SINGH M.L.A.

(5) Punjab—12

LALA SHAM LAL M.L.A.
RAIZADA HANS RAJ M.L.A.
BHAI PARMA NAND, M.L.A.
SYED GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG, M.L.A.
MAULANA ZAFAR ALI KHAN, M.L.A.
H. M. ABDULLAH, ESQ., M.L.A.
NAWAB SAHIBZADA SAYAD SIR MOHAMMAD MEHR SHAH, M.L.A.
KHAN BAHADUR SHAIKH FAZL-I-HAQ PIRACHA, M.L.A.
" " NAWAB MAKHDUM MURID HOSSAIN QURESHI, M.L.A.
SARDAR MANGAL SINGH, M.L.A.
" SANT SINGH, M.L.A.
M. GHIASUDDIN, ESQ., M.L.A.

(6) Bihar and Orissa—12.

SATYA NARAYAN SINHA, ESQ., M.L.A.
BABU HARI SHARAN PRASAD SRIVASTAVA, M.L.A.

B. DAS, ESQ., M.L.A.
PANDIT NILAKANTHA DAS, M L.A.
RAMAYAN PRASAD, ESQ., M.L.A.
GAURI SHANKAR SINGH, ESQ., M.L.A.
KAILASH BIHARI LALL, ESQ., M.L.A.
BABU RAM NARAYAN SINGH, M.L.A.
MUHAMMAD NAUMAN, ESQ., M.L.A.
„ AHSAN, ESQ., M.L.A.
MAULVI MOHAMMAD ABDUL GHANI, M.L.A.
MAHARAJA BAHADUR RAM RAN VIJAI PRASAD SINGH, M.L.A.

(7) Central Provinces and Berar—6.

GOVIND VINAYEKRAO DESHMUKH, ESQ., M.L.A.
SETH GOVIND DAS, M.L.A.
PANDIT SHAMBHUDAYAL MISRA, M.L.A.
NAWAB SIDDIQUE ALI KHAN, M.L.A.
SETH SHEODASS DAGA, M.L.A.
M. S. ANEY, ESQ., M.L.A.

(8) Assam—4.

KULADHAR CHALIHA, ESQ., M.L.A.
BROJENDRA NARAYAN CHOUDHURY, ESQ., M.L.A.
ABDUR RASHEED CHOUDHURY, ESQ., M.L.A.
P. J. GRIFFITHS, ESQ., M.L.A.

(9) Delhi—1.

M. ASAF ALI, ESQ., M.L.A.

(10) Ajmer-Merwara—1.

RAI BAHADUR SETH BHAGCHAND SONI, O.B.E., M.L.A.

(11) North-West Frontier Province—1.

ABDUL QAIYUM, ESQ., M.L.A.

Nominated—(39).

(A) OFFICIALS—(20).

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD ZAFRULLAH KHAN, K.C.S.I.
THE HON. SIR REGINALD MAXWELL, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
„ SIR ANDREW CLOW, C.S.I., C.I.E.
„ SIR JEREMY RAISMAN, C.S.I., C.I.E.
„ DEWAN BAHADUR SIR ARCOT RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR.
B. M. STAIG, ESQ., C.S.I., M.L.A.
SIR GEORGE SPENCE C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.A.
C. M. G. OGILVIE ESQ., C.S.I., C.B E., M.L.A.
O. K. CAROE ESQ., C.S.I, C.I E., M.L.A.
J. D. TYSON ESQ., C.B.E., M.L.A.
SIR GURUNATH BEWOOR C.I.E., M.L.A.
SIR RAGHAVENDRA RAO M.L.A.
T. S. PILLAY ESQ., O.B.E., M.L.A.
H. J. FRAMPTON ESQ., C.I E., M.L.A.
V. T. DEHEJIA ESQ., M.L.A.
MOHAMMAD IKRAMULLAH ESQ., M.L.A.
S. H. ZAHEER ESQ., M.L.A.
B. K. MUKERJI ESQ., M.L.A.
MAULVI MAZHARAL ISLAM ESQ., M.L.A.
SAHIB SHAIKH ABDUL HAMID M.L.A

(b) **Non-Officials**- (19)

SARDAR BAHADUR SIR JAWAHAR SINGH, C.I.E., M.L.A.
N. M. JOSHI, ESQ,, M.L.A.
DR. R. D. DALAL, C.I.E., M.L.A.
„ FRANCIS XAVIER DESOUZA, M.L.A.
MAJOR NAWAB SIR AHMAD NAWAZ KHAN
KHAN BAHADUR SIR ABDUL HAMID C.I.E., O.B.E. M.L.A.
LIEUT.-COLONEL M. A. RAHMAN, M.L.A.
RAO SAHIB N. SIVA RAJ, M.L A.
"SHAMS-UL-ULAMA" KAMALUDDIN AHMAD, M.L.A.
L. C. BUSS ESQ., M.L.A.
LIEUT-COLONEL SIR HENRY GIDNEY M.L.A.
DR. RAJAH SIR ANNAMALAI CHETTIAR, M.L.A,
MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM SAHIB BAHADUR ESQ., M.L.A.
NAOROJI M. DUMASIA ESQ., M.L.A.
SETH SUNDER LALL DAGA M.L.A.
KUNWER HAJEE ISMAIEL ALIKHAN O.B.E., M.L.A.
HONY. CAPTAIN SARDAR BAHADUR DALPAT SINGH O.B.I., I.O.M., M.L.A.
SAIYID HAIDAR IMAM ESQ., M.L.A.
CAPTAIN THAKUR SINGH M.C., O.B.I., M.L.A.

Deputy President.

AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA ESQ., M.L.A.

Secretary

MIAN MUHAMMAD RAFI, BAR-AT-LAW

Proceedings of the Council of State

Autumn Session—New Delhi—21st. Nov. to 2nd. Dec. 1940

Aircraft Production in India

The Autumn Session of the Council of State commenced at New Delhi on the **21st. November 1940** and after a debate lasting two hours, agreed to *Pandit Kunzru's* resolution recommending "such steps as may lead to the construction of aircraft and automobiles in India at the earliest possible date." *Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar*, the Commerce Member, expressed agreement with the resolution. Pandit Kunzru considered automobile and aircraft production necessary both from the military and the commercial point of view. He said that Canada and Australia had made progress in this matter after the war with the help of the British Government. He saw no reason why India should not manufacture aircraft with the same assistance from His Majesty's Government. Both India and Britain, he stressed, should combine to solve the question. Mr. Kunzru referred to the project of Sir M. Visveswarayya and certain other individuals and saw no reason why the Government of India should not help the establishment of the automobile industry in this country.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* supported the resolution. He pointed out that without the active support of the Government it was not possible to start an automobile industry. He suggested that the army authorities could place orders for the purchase of cars manufactured in this country and thus help the Indian industry.

Mr. *Shantidas Askuran* emphasised that they would not rest satisfied with the statement of the Finance Member that the consideration of proposals for the establishment of an automobile factory in India had not been abandoned. He wanted a positive assurance that Government would do all in their power to expedite plans for setting up a factory as early as possible.

Mr, *P. N. Sapru* observed that the underlying object of the resolution was to enable India to take her proper share in the active prosecution of the war.

Mr. *H. Dow*, Director-General of Supply, assured the House that the Government were fully alive to the need of having automobile and aircraft factories in India. But there were practical difficulties in the way and it was very difficult to bring to India the various essentials required for automobile production. Even America was not now in a position to spare them though she could have done a year ago. He pointed out that Tatas were now producting armoured plates for armoured fighting vehicles which had now passed all tests. The question of bringing to India a fully equipped aircraft factory and setting it up here was receiving the attention of the Government. As regards the question of manufacturing the various parts necessary for aircraft production in this country, he said that it was not possible.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar said that Mr. Dow has already pointed out the difficulties in the way of setting up an aircraft industry in this country at present. On the question of the automobile industry, he said that this matter had been engaging his attention for some months. He refuted the suggestion that British interests were hampering the plans for the establishment of a factory in India. He drew the attention of Pandit Kunzru to the fact that the scheme for establishing an automobile industry in Australia had been scrapped. The Commerce Member emphasised that there was no desire on the part of the Government to impede the progress of plans for the establishment of an automobile industry, but they were anxious to examine this question from all aspects.

The resolution was passed without a division.

Private Volunteer Organisations

The Council rejected by 20 to eight votes Mr. *V. V. Kalikar's* resolution recommending that "the ban imposed on private volunteer organisations by the Government of India be withdrawn immediately" after a debate lasting 90 minutes. Mr. Kalikar drew attention to the fact that the notification issued by the Government of India was wide in its scope and operated harshly even against organisations doing social and cultural work. He maintained that it was Government's duty to ensure that no restrictions were imposed on organisations whose objects were lawful and whose activities were calculated to do public

service. Mr. *P. N. Sapru* thought that the request contained in the resolution was reasonable. *Sir A. P. Patro*, opposing the resolution, declared that it was dangerous to allow the uncontrolled activities of organisations which were a menace to public peace. He justified the Government notification. *Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das* supported the resolution. *Sir Mohamed Yakub* observed that he was unable to endorse the resolution. He pointed out that, under the notification, Provincial Governments had the right of excluding organisations whose activities conformed to the conditions prescribed in the order. Mr. Kalikar had, therefore, no complaint against the notification as such. Proceeding, the speaker said that it was no use concealing the fact that communal feeling was strong. Government would have failed in their duty had they not taken this precautionary step. Mr. *Hossain Imam* urged that the Government should reconsider the question and modify the notification. Mr. *Conran Smith*, Home Secretary, pointed out that the resolution was based on a misconception of the notification. Government, he explained, had not imposed a ban as such on any organisation but laid down conditions under which a private volunteer organisation could be permitted to function. The fact that the Hindustan Scout Association had been permitted to function by various Provincial Governments showed that the notification was being given effect to in a spirit of sympathy and consideration. Explaining the policy of the Government, Mr. Conran Smith quoted Mr. Gandhi's view in a recent issue of the *Harijan* that no Government could allow private military organisations without danger to public peace and said that the Government were in entire agreement with it. He regretted that Government were unable to accept the resolution. The House rejected the resolution and adjourned.

Official Bills

22nd. NOVEMBER :—The Council passed the following official Bills to-day as already passed by the Legislative Assembly :—

The Bill further to amend the Indian Works of Defence Act, 1903 ; the Bill further to amend the Indian Navy (Discipline) Act, 1934 (second amendment) ; the Bill further to amend the Cantonments Act, 1924 ; the Bill to repeal certain enactments and to amend certain other enactments ; the Bill further to amend the Indian Registration Act, 1908 ; two Bills further to amend the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 ; the Bill further to amend the Indian Companies Act, 1913 ; the Bill to enable companies in British India to make donations to public funds formed, and to make investments in Government loans floated for the purpose of assisting the prosecution of the present war ; the Bill further to amend the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, and the Bill further to amend the Motor Spirit (Duties) Act, 1917.

Indian Navy Discipline Act

There was a brief discussion on two Bills, one amending the Indian Navy (Discipline) Act, 1934, and the other amending the Indian Cantonments Act, 1924.

During consideration of the Bill amending the Indian Navy (Discipline) Act, 1934, Mr. *Hossain Imam* enquired why in time of war the Government had brought forward the amendment providing for minor punishments when it was not in the original Act. Mr. *A. DeC Williams*, Defence Co-ordination Secretary, replied that the object of the amendment was to bring the Indian Navy Act in line with the United Kingdom Naval Discipline Act on which it was based. Section 45 of the Indian Act, as it stood to-day, rendered the imposition of such punishments illegal, and hence the necessity for the present amendment.

Indian Cantonments Amend. Act

When the Bill amending the Indian Cantonments Act, 1924, was taken up for consideration, Mr. *P. N. Sapru* sought elucidation of the clause which sought to enable persons who were subjects of States in India to be enrolled as electors provided they were otherwise qualified so that they might become eligible to vote at municipal elections. Mr. *A. De. C. Williams* explained that the object of the Bill was to remove certain difficulties which had been experienced by the authorities concerned with the administration of cantonments in the majority of municipalities. State subjects in India were eligible to vote at municipal elections, and the present amendment sought to enrol them as electors. Mr. *P. N. Sapru* was not satisfied with this explanation, and claimed a division when the motion for second reading of the Bill was moved. The House divided and passed the Bill by 24 to 12 votes.

Debate on Certified Finance Bill

25th. NOVEMBER :—The Council of State began discussion on the certified Finance Bill to-day. Mr. *C. E. Jones*, Finance Secretary, moving consideration, made a statement in justification of the proposals. He pointed out that they had to meet a deficit of Rs. 13 crores, but the war taxation proposals were estimated to yield about Rs. 7 crores till the end of next year. At the end of the current financial year, they expected to receive only two crores. Dealing with the incidence of taxation, Mr. Jones emphasised that it was strictly in proportion to the capacity to pay. The additional war taxation would not meet even half of their war expenditure. The only justification for the taxation proposals was the necessity to raise funds to meet the increasing expenditure in the situation as it was to-day. He had no doubt that all sane elements would welcome the Government's proposals and support the Bill.

Mr. *V. Ramadas Pantulu*, Leader of the Congress Party, who initiated the debate for the Opposition, explained at length the Congress view-point. On the merits of the Bill, he said, he had not much to say. Their opposition to the Bill and the Government's policy in regard to the war was based on political considerations. He thought that the proper course for the Government was to bring forward supplementary demands and not a Finance Bill if they needed funds to meet the expenditure. He pointed out how, since the outbreak of the war, the British Government had made no serious attempt to meet the Congress demand for a declaration of war aims in relation to India. Mr. Pantulu reiterated that in the various statements that Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee had issued during the last fourteen months, there was nothing to embarrass the British Government in the prosecution of the war. If Britain was fighting for the restoration of democrary in the countries in Europe that had lost their freedom, how could she refuse to apply the same principle to India ? If Britain's war aim was to keep India under political and economic subjection, then the present war was certainly not being fought for the restoration of democratic ideals. Mr. Amery, in his latest speech in the House of Commons, had said that the internal situation in India and the external circumstances stood in the way of India attaining freedom. Mr. Pantulu did not know what those external circumstances were. But as regards the internal situation, he could say that both the Congress and the Muslim League were united in the demand for independence. He drew only one inference from Mr. Amery's speech in the Commons, and this was that the British Government did not want any communal settlement in this country and was not prepared to recognise India's right to determine her future. Mr. Ramdas criticised the Government's policy in creating new posts with excessive salaries and said that he was not convinced that the Government had done their best to keep down expenditure. He was also opposed to the policy of indirect taxation involved in the increase of postage rates. He concluded by appealing to nominated non-official members to assert their right of free vote and cast their votes against the Bill.

Mr. *Shantidas Askuran* referred to the defence schemes announced by the Government of India and said that the British Government had at last realised that if adequate opportunities had been given to the youth of the country to take their proper place in the armed forces of the country, millions would have been ready at the outbreak of war to assist them. He, however, regretted that the Finance Member had not accepted the suggestion for the appointment of a Committee of the Legislature to control defence expenditure. After alluding to the "deterioration" in the political situation, Mr. Shantidas Askuran urged that a fresh effort should be made to evolve a settlement acceptable to all parties. As for the Finance Bill, he claimed that the incidence of taxation was growing rapidly and suggested to the Finance Member to resort to loans rather than levy additional taxation to finance the war expenditure. He also suggested a revision in the scales of pay of Government employees. Lastly, he felt that the Government should assure the public that the large additional expenditure was subject to proper and strict control, and that the benefits to industrial progress now being achieved on account of the war would definitely be for the Indian people.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* dwelt on the need of a political settlement in India. The discontent now prevailing in the country, he declared, was not calculated to help the war effort. It was with regret that he confessed that the Government had so far failed to democratise the war effort here. He was one of those who sincerely wished Britain success in the war and wanted the war effort in India to be intensified, but he believed that unless the constitutional issue was solved, Britain

could not have India's united support in the war. Even though efforts at communal and political settlement had hitherto failed, could they not abandon the attempt to resolve the present policy of drift, asked Mr. Sapru. Turning to the communal problem, the speaker asked the Muslims to drop the scheme for the partition of India. If the Muslims still persisted in this plan to divide India, all sections in the country which realised the value of unity would resist it. Mr. Sapru suggested that a goodwill mission from England should visit India to create an atmosphere in this country that would prepare the ground for a final settlement of the political issue to enable India to take her rightful share in helping Britain to victory in the war. Mr. Sapru wanted to make it clear that his vote on the Bill would be indicative of his feeling of dissatisfaction at the failure of the Government to enlist popular support in the war effort and to accept the moderate demands put forward from time to time in the House.

Mr. *R. H. Parker* remarked that to vote against the Bill was certainly not the way to intensify the war effort of this country. Referring to the suggestion that the war effort, to be vigorous, should have the support of the people, Mr. Parker asked whether Mr. Jinnah or Mr. Gandhi had approached the authorities and asked how they could help the authorities in this matter. He repudiated the suggestion that British politicians had frustrated the efforts made in India to arrive at a communal settlement. He was of the view that an understanding between the various parties in India on the communal question must precede a political settlement.

Rao Bahadur K. Govindachari said that India, as a compotent part of the British Empire, should bear her share of the military and financial burden. In the present Bill, what was the additional taxation ? There was the surcharge on income-tax, a tax which the poor did not pay. Further, there was an increase in the charges for certain postal and telegraphic services, but care had been taken to see that the poor man's means of communication were not affected. At a time when there was a feeling that India's war effort was inadequate, no reasonable person should be unwilling to shoulder the additional burden which, in his opinion, did not involve too great a sacrifice if they valued the security of this country. He, therefore, supported the Bill.

Mr. *M. N. Dalal* opposed the Bill. He said that it was a well-known principle of Britain's own constitution that no taxation should be permitted without effective representation of the people. "If Britain really desires that India should, like other equal and independent members of the Commonwealth, put forth her maximum war effort, she should satisfy India's just demand for national autonomy. Even if this be no time for drafting a new constitution, a substantial earnest of the intention should be conceded by accepting the principle of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature at the Centre". Mr. Dalal referred to the expenditure on India's "outer bastions" and said that the arrangement made was wholly onesided and should be reconsidered. He also urged that war expenditure should be financed by borrowing and not by fresh taxation.

Mr. *Richardson* dealt with two aspects of the Finance Member's proposals. "First of all, there can be no denying that the imposition of a surcharge on income-tax in the manner now decided on is not sound finance and can be justified only on grounds of expediency. I realise, however, that since war expenditure must be met, there is no solid basis for opposition on the grounds I have indicated. At the same time, it is evident that that expenditure must continue to increase and in the course of time, perhaps very soon, the country will be faced with the necessity of finding ways and means of meeting it. Since this is so, India's taxable resources will need to be adequately surveyed and plans formulated now to recoup growing expenditure in a way calculated to impose the least disability on trade and commerce combined, with the greatest possible yield. The need for such a survey and plan, has, I am sure, not been overlooked by the Government and the commercial community hope that it will receive full and careful consideration and will include a survey of the limits of indirect taxation and taxation on luxury items, which in present war circumstances should bear their full share. On the other side of the picture, the need for a careful check being kept on all classes of expenditure is a matter which those who have to shoulder increased taxation and heavier burdens will constantly stress. The Government's agreement to appoint a Standing Committee to be attached to the Department of Supply is timely and commendable. I am not sure, however, that public opinion will be satisfied if the Standing Finance Committee is merely to operate over the questions of pay and appointments of officers and I

hope the Government will not seek to confine the Committee's work to these matters."

Rai Bahadur S. N. Mahtha opposed the Bill. In doing so he was glad to notice that Mr. Pantulu, unlike the Congress party in the Assembly, did realise the danger to India. Proceeding, he said that the vote of the Assembly on the Finance Bill might not be of any value to the Government. It, however, indicated that there was discontent with the Government's defence policy and programme of constitutional advance. He emphasised that unless Indians had a full share in shaping the defence policy of India and unless that Department was placed under an Indian responsible minister, there could be no enthusiastic response to war effort. Mr. Mahtha then referred to the British Government's assurances to the minorities and the demand for Pakistan. The demand for Pakistan, he said, was based on the two-nation hypothesis. It meant that the Mussalmans in the provinces where they were in a majority would have a sovereign State. Firstly, the provinces in British India were a creation of the British Government and their boundaries could be altered to-morrow turning a majority into minority. Then again, there had been no indication in regard to repatriation of minorities from Pakistan or Hindu homelands. The question, therefore, was what would be the position of minorities in Pakistan. Will the Hindus be treated as hostages or will they be given the same rights as the Mussalmans demanded for themselves in the Hindu homelands ? Then again, what would be the relation of Pakistan with the Indian States ? Mr. Mahtha referring to the recent speech of Mr. Amery said that the Secretary of State had tried to sow seeds of further dissension amongst Indians. He was strongly opposed to placating any political party to suit the political ends of Britain and urged for an early establishment of a National Government at the Centre in India. Mr. Mahtha also suggested a goodwill mission from Great Britain to India to settle the Indian question, The Council at this stage adjourned.

Supply Dept. Reorganisation

26th. NOVEMBER :—The Council of State today passed *Pandit Kunzru's* resolution recommending that early steps be taken to secure that the Supply Department is so organised as to safeguard and promote Indian industry by (a) the employment to important posts of an adequate number of Indians drawn from the services and from business organisations ; (B) proper administrative control of the different sections of the department ; and (C) enforcing the policy clearly laid down in regard to the development of Indian industries when the Indian Stores Department was constituted. Mr. *H. Dow*, on behalf of the Government, agreed to the resolution in the above form.

Pandit Kunzru, speaking on the resolution, said that the Department of Supply was of importance to the present and future development of Indian industries. He referred to the appointments made in the Department since March last to the superior posts, and asked why Indians had been excluded form these posts. Pandit Kunzru said that the Controllers of Supplies at Bombay, Calcutta and Cawnpore were all Europeans, and inquired whether qualified Indians were not available to fill these posts. He wanted to know the types of cases dealt with by the Directors-General of Supply and Munitions Production and whether there was any basis for the belief held in business circles that their powers were likely to be increased in the near future. The Pandit maintained that the Indian Stores Department was working efficiently and economically and complained that the central Departments of Government were not making full use of this Department in helping Indian industries. There was a feeling among Indian business men, he said, that in the matter of receiving orders from Government they were being discriminated against. In Madras, for instance, a large number of orders had been placed with European firms.

Mr. *P. N. Sapru* supported the resolution. Whatever their political differences, he said, they must win the war, and this depended on the efficient working of the Supply Department. He compared the salaries drawn by officers before and after their appointment to the Supply Department and pleaded in all earnestness that they ought to make sacrifices and agree to accept lower pay. The resolution was not intended to be a censure on the Department but aimed at its reorganisation on sound lines.

Sir Mohammed Yakub could not see his way to accept the resolution in its present form. He failed to understand why Pandit Kunzru was so harsh on the Department of Supply when Mr. Dow had already admitted the previous day that there were certain valid grievances against the Department. Turning to the question of appointment of Indians to superior posts in the Department, the speaker remark-

ed that he would welcome such a step but would like Government to ensure that these appointments were not the monopoly of one particular community.

Mr. *Richardson*, speaking mainly on behalf of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, declared his sympathy for the demand for Indianisation. "If responsible Indians of ability can be found to fill some of the positions, we are not against it, but it must be people of ability. It must be people who will by their work do nothing to impede what we consider is the primary consideration, namely, war effort." Mr. Richardson went on to refer to the inquiry started by the Bengal Chamber regarding complaints against the Supply Department and the Indian Stores Department, and explained that it was a misunderstanding on the part of another Chamber to suggest that the abolition of the Indian Stores Department had been asked for. He made it clear that that was certainly not the intention. As regards the Supply Department, Europeans and Indian business men had brought to the notice of Government that drastic alterations were required in order that India's industrial effort might be used to the utmost. He knew of no European firms which tried to get orders at the expense of Indian firms.

Mr. *Dow*, replying, remarked that the attention recently devoted to the Supply Department carried with it a complete refutation of the pretention that India was not interested in the war effort. He pointed out that the present organisation was entirely different from the one with which Government started, and if the war was a long one, the final organisation would be something very different still. He had already laid stress on two points. First, the Department did get to work at once. In the first two months of its running, it had dealt with purchases of no less than Rs. 14,00,00 000 compared with those of the Indian Stores Department and the Contracts Directorate over the preceding seven years of Rs. 7,00,00,000. Secondly, Government could claim that changes in the organisation had been made smoothly without holding up essential work. They could also claim that in the changes made serious account had been taken of public criticisms, particularly on three points, mentioned by speakers, namely, Indianisation, proper administrative control and encouragement of Indian industries. As regards Indianisation, first Mr. Dow referred to the fact that of 21 appointments made in the Contractors Directorate since it was taken over by the Supply Department, 11 were Europeans and ten Indians who were commissioned officers in the Army. The House would agree that this was a satisfactory degree of Indianisation. The Commander-in-Chief, when it was put to him, readily agreed that this was an opportunity for creating additional commissioned posts for Indians in the Army. The Indian Stores Department had 13 European officers and 47 Indian officers when it was taken over; now there were 11 European officers and 84 Indian officers. As regards salaries, he was quite aware of the large body of opinion that the salaries of superior officers were generally too high; but he thought it unreasonable to expect him on behalf of one Department to tackle that general proposition. He was only concerned to prove that the general level of the salaries in the Supply Department was not higher than in other departments. Referring to financial control, he said a separate Finance Officer was working in the Directorate-General of Munitions Production, one in the Contracts Directorate and one in the Indian Stores Department. The degree of de-centralisation which had been carried out so far, particularly with reference to the Directorate of Munitions Production, was to the good, as it enabled work to be done much more speedily. He also referred as instances of association of public opinion with administrative control to the advisory committees working with the Director-General of Munitions Production and the Director-General of Supplies and to the Standing Committee for the Supply Department which was shortly to be set up.

Dealing with the development of industries, Mr. Dow referred to the rules by which first reference was given to articles produced in India. He emphasised that it would in these times be traitorous to the Empire for a department to be deliberately trying to import from abroad, and using up valuable shipping space for goods which could be produced in this country. The strictest impartiality was maintained and no firm was at a disadvantage in securing orders by reason of its management being of any particular nationality. But he reminded the House that many firms were owned partly by Indians and partly by non-Indians, and in their case since the shares were in the market the proportion of capital owned by Indians and non-Indians also varied from day to day. Recently the question had been debated whether a certain shipping company was or was not an Indian concern. These, he suggested, were contentious questions which the Department could not set out to decide before placing its orders. The suggestion had been made during

the debate that there was a sinister blot going on to discredit the Indian Stores Department. "The Indian Stores Department" declared Mr. Dow, "is the sword arm of the Supply Department, and it would be most absurd for the Supply Department to try and weaken that sword arm just when it needs it most."

Pandit Kunzru, replying to the debate, said that his complaint was that Indians had been practically excluded from superior posts in the Supply Department. He pointed out that the argument that suitable Indians were not available was not convincing and would not satisfy them. He also invited attention to the grievance of the Indian business community that contracts had not been placed with Indian concerns in volume to which they were entitled by virtue of their position in the business life of the country. He accepted Mr. Richardson's assurance that the European community was not opposed to Indianisation and that they had taken no step which could be interpreted as indicating a desire to do away with the Indian Stores Department.

Mr. Dow maintained that the Indian Stores Department was an integral part of the Supply Department and that the pace of Indianisation in the Department as a whole was quite satisfactory. He pointed out that efforts had been made to secure the services of experienced Indian officers from the Commerce and Communications Departments but these officers were not available. He said that the Department had in the past profited from criticism, and it would be ungenerous to suggest that it would pay no heed to what had been said in the House to-day. Mr. Dow then suggested an amendment in the original resolution to which Pandit Kunzru agreed and the House accepted it.

Free Rifles to Military Schools

Mr. V. V. Kalikar moved a resolution urging that service rifles and ammunition be given free of cost to all military schools in India. He asked Government not to observe racial discrimination in this matter. He mentioned the Bhonsla Military School at Nasik and the Shivaji Military School at Poona and said that these two institutions could be used as feeder schools for the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun and the Indian Territorial Force. Government, should encourage Indian boys to enter the army in India instead of importing Europeans from outside.*Mr. A. DeC. Williams* denied that racial discrimination was observed in the matter. Government, he explained, insisted on fulfilment of certain conditions —for instance, efficient officers and instructions and proximity of the school to a munitions depot, etc,—before granting such concessions. He made it clear that there was absolutely no bar to the issue of arms if any Indian school satisfied Government's conditions. This statement was, of course, subject to the consideration of the war circumstances which affected the supply of rifles available for use in these schools. He added that Government would give favourable consideration to any applications from schools which conformed to the prescribed conditions.

Mr. Kalikar withdrew his resolution. The Council then adjourned.

Debate on Certified Finance Bill (contd.)

27th. NOVEMBER:—The Council of State resumed discussion on the Finance Bill to-day. *Sir A. P. Patro* claimed that India wanted self-defence to be placed on a permanent basis, for which purpose money should be earmarked and defence expenditure should be thrown open to public scrutiny. Sir A. P. Patro referred to the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, which charged the Viceroy so to develop defence policy as to make India an equal partner in the Empire. It was the fact that the representatives of the people had not been taken into confidence that had led the country to the present state of affairs. "We are prepared to make sacrifices to defeat Nazism," declared the speaker, "but we must know how the money we contribute is going to be spent."

Mr. *Hossain Imam* referred to the agreement with the British Government last year in regard to the distribution of defence expenditure and inquired what was the share that the British Government had agreed to bear. Despite repeated requests by members no information was forthcoming so far.

Pandit H. N. Kunzru declared that war had clearly brought out the need of de-centralising the defence organisation in this country. This was what the smaller countries in Europe had actually done, but in India different political arrangements were necessary to achieve it. He said that the British Government should agree to appoint an Indian Defence Member and to Indianise the Army as expeditiously as possible in order to catch the imagination of the people of this country and accept the sincerity of their intentions. Such a step on the

part of the British Government would convince them that Indians were trusted in positions of responsibility. Pandit Kunzru's complaint was that no serious effort was being made to give Indians responsible positions in the Army. Similar was the case with the Air Force. Referring to the argument that communal differences stood in the way of a solution of the constitutional problem, he said that the India Act of 1935 was not accepted by any organised political party in this country. And yet the Viceroy for three years made efforts to set it in operation in the provinces. How could it, then, be said that communal divisions came in the way of transfer of political power in Indian hands? His vote against the Bill would indicate his dissatisfaction at the present policy of Government, especially on the question of Indianisation.

Sir Mohammed Yakub declared that they ought to support the Finance Bill in the present abnormal conditions created by the war.

Mr. *G. S. Motilal*, opposing the Bill, referred to the dictum that Indian defence frontiers extended far beyond her geographical frontiers, and asked. "Are Indian frontiers like India-rubber to be stretched as far as you like, even to far off Canada, if you want? Are similar conceptions applied to other dominions also?" The term "defence of India" had become as much a misnomer as the term "Goverament of India," he declared. Referring to recruitment of Indian officers to the Indian Army, he asserted that even now the country had not been told that all the new officers to be raised would be Indians.

28th. NOVEMBER :—Mr. *V. V. Kalikar* reiterated the complaint that the Government had left the country unprepared to defend itself. Incidentally he criticised Congressmen who used the word "mercenary" in describing the young men who joined the army. He declared it was a slur and an insult to apply that term to those who desired to give their utmost in the successful prosecution of the war. He went on to refer to the Viceroy's offer of expansion of the Executive Council and said that the very declaration in which the offer was made was such as to give so much encouragement to the minorities not to take part or co-operate in the formation of the Government at the Centre that Britain should not blame those who had not accepted the offer. One reason given for suspending the expansion proposal was the rejection of the offer by the Muslim League. The Government had thereby accepted the Muslim League's claim to be the only representative body of Muslims whereas there were many other representative Muslim bodies which were prepared to co-operate in the expansion. Mr. Kalikar said that he had a conversation last night on the telephone with Mr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha who had authorised him to contradict the statement that Mr. Savarkar had declared that if Hindus had power, they would treat Muslims as Jews had been treated in Europe.

Mr. *A. de C. Williams*, Defence Co-ordination Secretary, replying to criticisms of defence policy repudiated the suggestion that most of the money was being spent on salaries of officers and pointed out that on the contrary most of the money was being spent on equipment, training, etc. He drew attention to the fact that the capital cost of one battleship was nearly one quarter of the whole of India's defence budget and emphasised it was lucky therefore that India could depend for her defence on the British Navy. Referring to the Air Force, Mr. Williams said the question had been asked if it was not possible to recruit more freely to the Indian Air Force, why Indians were not being taken in the R. A. F. in England. That experiment, he replied, was now being tried and it would appear from the statement made in the Commons that it had been a very great success, and if His Majesty's Government asked us to do so, we should be only too willing to send further instalments of young Indians consistently with the defence requirements of this country. He urged the House not to take this too lightly. It had also been asked whether Dominion troops had been ordered overseas like Indian troops. It was not for him to say what kind of orders passed between His Majesty's Government and the Dominions on a matter such as this, but it was common property that Dominion forces had gone overseas and had gone far afield. Australian forces, for instance, were in Egypt. The need for an appreciation of the seriousness of the present situation, said Mr. Williams, had been pressed on the House by a member in the weightiest and most convincing terms. The action of any member who voted against the Bill could, therefore, be compared only to the action of a householder whose house was on fire and who would not allow the fire brigade to turn on the hose but would raise a discussion of the question whether the fire should be extinguished by metred or unmetred water-supply.

Sir *G. S. Bajpai*, Leader of the House, said he would deal briefly with one or two political points raised during the debate. Speaking as a plain man of honest and honourable convictions, his main arguments would be directed to answering two questions, first, why we were at war, and secondly, if we were rightly at war, was it the part of good sense or true patriotism to withhold support to those engaged in waging this war ? Three considerations, said Sir Girja Shankar, entered into the answer to the first question. We were at war because of our constitutional position. We were at war because Great Britain was at war. We were at war also because we shared the ideals of those Dominions who had considered it their noble part to rally to the forces fighting for freedom and fighting against totalitarianism. Was it contended, he asked, that we should refrain from war effort in order that totalitarianism might triumph ? We were at war for reasons also of self-interest, he declared. It had been said that if India were free she would have remained neutral. China, he said, had been in pursuit of peaceful construction at home. What had it availed her against the aggressor? Surely Belgium, Denmark or the other countries did not wish to come into conflict with Germany. All these independent countries, although seeking to preserve their independence, were not permitted to do so. How then could we assume that if we had remained neutral and not helped Great Britain we should be allowed to ascend leisurely the steps leading to the temple of freedom ? Self-interest also, therefore, demanded that we should help in the war effort. Coming to the second question, Sir *G. S. Bajpai* said it had been urged that India should withhold assistance because of the constitutional and political issue, because India had not been properly prepared for her defence or for helping others and because also Great Britain did not trust us. The political issue had been discussed both by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State recently but he would like to make one or two points. There was a tradition of tolerance inherited by Hindus, it had been said. It would not be disputed that chivalry was also an attribute of Hindu civilisation. Was it any part of chivalry to start bargaining with one with whom we had been in association for long and who was in peril ? Further, according to an Opposition speaker in the House, the demand was for an absolute majority in the Central Executive Council for political-minded Indians. Was it the contention that if the Viceroy's offer had been accepted, there would not have been that majority including in it the two existing Indian members, the Law Member and the Commerce Member ? The Congress had been criticised for withdrawing at a critical juncture from the Ministries because it had meant withdrawal of the pressure which, as representatives of the people, they would have brought to bear on the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. If we had an Executive Council at the Centre with a majority of politically-minded Indians would they not have exerted that political pressure on His Majesty's Government which members opposite desired ? It had been said that the distinction which had been drawn between status and functions in relation to Dominion Status really derogated from the offer of Dominion Status to India. Historically speaking, said Sir *Girjasankar*, the report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 formed the base and foundation of the Statute of Westminster and that report definitely recognised that distinction. The report stated that distinction was inherent in the very inequality of power and resources found in the Empire. Concluding, Sir Girja Shankar referred to the complaint that Britain did not trust us. When the enemy was knocking at our doors, let us not dispute about trust and distrust, he urged. He appealed to the members to preserve their sense of historical and political perspective and to be true to India and to the heritage of ideals which had come down to them. The issue to-day was not as between what had been called the Victorian imperialism of Great Britain and the imperialism of Hitler and Mussolini. The issue was, in the words of an English writer, between despair and hope.

Mr. *Mohammed Hussain* felt sure that so far as the Finance Bill was concerned no party would dispute its necessity. Adverting to the defence expenditure, he said, that the position as it was to-day fell far short of the results they expected. He passed on to refer to the communal problem and observed that a settlement would have to be arrived at here in India between the two communities, and it was no use making an approach to the British Government to solve it. He pleaded for a conciliatory attitude on the part of the majority community and pointed out that Muslims would never accept a form of Government under which the majority community would be in a position to dominate over minorities and Muslims. He refuted the charge

that Muslims were obstructing the path of Indian freedom. A solution of the communal differences would not be difficult if the majority community resolved to be really generous towards the minorities. While they were as eager for freedom as the Hindus, declared Mr. Hussain, they the Muslims were at the same time determined to see that the Hindu Sabha ideal of a "Hindu Raj" was not realised in this country.

Mr. *Padshah* said that he was not satisfied with the reply of Mr. A. De C Williams on the question of salaries of officers in the Defence Department. He recognised that they should not effect economy at the expense of safety but thought that there was scope for reduction. He felt despondent when he found that little progress had been made in regard to admission of Indian youths to the Air Force. Mr. Padshah also criticised the Government for what he called unpreparedness of the Indian people to defend their country. Finally, he referred to the imperative necessity of a communal settlement and appealed to the majority community to be tolerant and generous towards minorities, for only then could their differences be resolved.

Mr. *C. E. Jones*. Finance Secretary, winding up the three-day debate, answered various criticisms levelled against the Bill. He referred to Mr. Hossain Imam's criticisms against the Railway Budget and said that the error of twenty-two lakhs pointed out was detected soon after the Railway Budget had been passed and had subsequently been corrected. As for the demand why detailed estimates had not been presented to the Council. Mr. Jones said that it would be too early to frame revised estimates. Then again, the Government did not know what would be the yield from the Excess Profits Tax. Government, however, were certain of a deficit of Rs. 13 crores and at a time when the expenditure was mounting up and the existing sources of revenue were not likely to give an improved yield, it was best to resort to fresh sources of revenue.

There had been criticisms, Mr. Jones went on, that additional income-tax was likely to drive industry from British India to Indian States. He reminded the Council that the British Indian law had a provision under which income from Indian States was taxable in British India, and there was no great danger of Indian industries being driven out to Indian States. The other criticism was in regard to the effect of additional taxation on trade and industry and on the general tax-payer. Mr. Jones referred in this connection to the speech of Mr. Dow, who had told the Council that the Supply Department had been able to purchase goods worth fifty-six and a half crores during the last thirteen months. Mr. Jones said that both the industries of the country and industrial workers had greatly benefited by the trade expansion. As for the agricultural worker with the exception of groundnuts, hides and skins and jute prices had considerably gone up above pre-war level. The Government were satisfied that the burden of taxation in this country was not excessive. Referring to the demand for supervision and control of expenditure, Mr. Jones said that he was one with the sentiments expressed in the Council. He agreed that there should be no extravagance in expenditure either on defence or civil side. But he wanted the Council to remember that there was still the Finance Department with its effective control. Mr. Jones then explained at length how and where the Finance Department had tightened its supervision and control. He referred to the Finance Member's two announcements in the Central Assembly that he would place all the salaries of the Supply Department before the Standing Finance Committee and the Government would set up a Standing Advisory Committee for the Supply Department. Against the background of the strict control by the Finance Department and the new proposals announced by the Finance Member, the Council should be satisfied that utmost vigilance was being exercised over all expenditure. Mr. Jones said that it was impracticable to have a special committee to examine the day to day working of the Government. As to the financial arrangement with His Majesty's Government, Mr. Jones referred to the budget speech of the Finance Member last February and said that arrangement was still in operation. He felt that it was not graceful to ask whether British India should alone bear the defence burden, when in fact the States had spontaneously and voluntarily come forward and had generously contributed for the defence of India and the Empire. There was, however, the legal and constitutional aspect of the question. The position was that, although there were two Indias geographically, British India and Indian India were one for the purpose of the defence of India and against external aggression. Indian States had no relations with any foreign power and the change of name to the Crown Representative had not changed the Crown's obligations towards the States. It was incorrect to suggest that the Indian States did not make any contribution towards India's defence. The

States had made direct and indirect contributions, such as annual contributions, excise, salt tax and postal charges and other levies. Then again, there were Indian States Forces which were placed at the disposal of the Crown whenever they were required. The difficulty was how to equalise the burden both between British India and the Indian States and between States and States. Concluding, Mr. Jones acknowledged that the criticisms of the Bill on financial grounds had been extremely moderate; in fact, the financial provisions had obtained more support than criticism. Coming to the crucial question of voting, he said, some members had claimed that a vote against the Bill did not mean a vote in favour of Hitlerism. But, he asked, could they vote with an explanatory condition attached to the vote? In fact, the member who voted against this Bill was voting against the Government's war efforts and therefore necessarily was doing all that lay in his power as a Member of the House and in the House in support of Hitlerism. Actions spoke louder than words and they travelled farther. (Applause)

The House passed the motion for consideration and adopted the clauses, but, on the third reading, a division was called and the Bill was passed by 27 votes to 11. The Council then adjourned.

Stimulating War effort

29th. NOVEMBER:—The Council of State to-day disposed of two non-official resolutions and agreed to the circulation of one non-official Bill.

Mr. Hossain Imam, by his resolution, suggested five methods for stimulating the war effort and getting the maximum results from the slender resources of India. These methods were nationalization of all the essential and key industries, at least during the war; imposition of a cent per cent excess profits tax; suspension for the duration of the war of consolidated payment to the provinces on account of railway receipts and income-tax; revaluation of gold in the Reserve Bank of India at 140 shillings per ounce and making eligible Indian sterling loans for the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank, and increasing the proportion of Government Paper from 25 per cent to 33 per cent. Rai Bahadur *Lala Ramsaram Das*, on behalf of his party, announced that they were opposed to the resolution. The Finance Secretary, Mr. *C. E. Jones*, welcomed the idea underlying the resolution, namely, increased assistance to the war effort. Analysing the resolution, he said that it would be very unwise to change the percentage of Excess Profits Tax when even assessments under the Excess Profits Tax Act had not been made. Furthermore, under the Act, the Central Legislature had been given the right to scrutinize and fix the percentages. The resolution sought to take away that right from the Legislature. The proposals for enhancing the value of gold and for increasing the proportion of Government paper would lead to inflation, which the Government did not favour at all. Circumstances might, however, compel the Government to alter the proportion, but for the present there was no necessity to do so. The resolution was withdrawn.

Trade Missions

The Council accepted Mr. *P. N. Sapru's* resolution in an amended form recommending that in future, as far as practicable, representatives or delegates sent on trade missions to foreign countries for negotiating trade pacts or improving India's trade relations, were as far as posible Indians. The Council then adjourned till Monday the 2nd. December.

Official Bills Passed

2nd. DECEMBER:—The Council of State passed to-day without amendment three official Bills. The Bills were the Income-Tax Amendment Bill, the Excess Profits Tax Act Amendment Bill and the Indian Sale of Goods Act Amendment Bill, all passed by the Assembly.

Mr. *J. F. Sheehy*, Member of the Central Board of Revenue, explained the main provisions of the first two Bills and said that there were no traps for the tax-payers in any of their provisions. On the other hand, they were intended to give further concessions and relief to the tax-payers.

Speaking on the Income-Tax Amendment Bill, Mr. *Richardson* welcomed the relief that the Government had given to tax-payers and hoped further concessions would be forthcoming in the near future. Mr. *Hossain Imam* made a reference to Bihar from where, he had said in his budget speech, the largest number of income-tax appeals came. He urged that Bihari tax-payers should not for this reason be unduly penalised. Mr. *Sheehy*, replying, explained that the Government were keeping a close watch on appeals generally. The Council then adjourned *sine die*.

The Central Legislative Assembly

Autumn Session—New Delhi—5th. to 27th. November 1940

Motor Spirits Act Amend. Bill

The autumn session of the Central Legislative Assembly commenced at New Delhi on the 5th. November 1940. *Sir Abdur Rahim*, President, was in the chair. Congress members were absent, while Muslim League members numbered about a dozen. Other sections of the House were fully occupied. Fourteen official Bills were introduced.

The *Finance Member's* Bill further to amend the Motor Spirit (Duties) Act sought to bring power alcohol within the definition of motor spirit. It was explained that the production in British India of power alcohol was being developed for the purpose of mixing with petrol to provide motor spirit ; and by provincial legislation such admixture could be made compulsory. Power alcohol in its unmixed form, not being a hydro-carbon, does not fall within the definition of motor spirit contained in the original Act but when mixed with petrol the mixture falls within that definition and the whole then becomes dutiable as a motor spirit. By the Motor Spirit (Power Alcohol Mixture) (Duties) Order, 1940, the excise duty on the power alcohol content of such mixtures is accordingly leviable only at the mixing plant. It is considered that the levy of excise duty on power alcohol could more conveniently take place at the source of production, that is, at the distillery. To enable this to be done the Bill proposes to make power alcohol dutiable independently of petrol by bringing it in its unmixed form within the definition of "motor spirit."

Reserve Bank Act. Amend. Bill

The Bill further to amend the Reserve Bank of India Act is explained as follows : Under Section 42 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, a scheduled bank is required to maintain daily with the Reserve Bank a minimum balance equal to 5 per cent of its demand liabilities and 2 per cent of its time liabilities, and in case of default, the Reserve Bank is entitled to charge interest at penal rates on the amount of default. There is no provision, however, in the Act to prevent the bank from withdrawing its deposit, even upto the full amount, provided it is prepared to accept the liability to pay this penal interest on the resulting deficiency. Cases of such withdrawal have been brought to notice by the Central Board of the Reserve Bank, who have recommended, in the interest of depositors and of sound banking in general legislation to penalise directors and other officers of such banks who are knowingly and wilfully parties to such default. The Bill prescribes penalties and gives powers to the Reserve Bank to prohibit defaulting banks from accepting fresh deposits during the continuation of the default. Every director and any managing agent, manager or secretary of the scheduled bank who is knowingly and wilfully a party to the default, shall be punishable with fine which may extend to Rs. 500 and with a further fine which may extend to Rs. 500 for each subsequent day on which the default continues.

Companies Act Amend. Bill

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar's Bill is to enable companies in British India to make donations to public funds formed, and to make investments in Government loans floated, for the purpose of assisting the prosecution of the present war. Cases have come to light, it is explained, in which certain clubs registered under the Indian Companies Act have felt themselves legally debarred from making donations to war funds because their memoranda of association do not authorise such donations and those memoranda cannot be altered under the existing provisions of the Act so as to make such contributions permissible. It is therefore proposed to enact legislation enabling a company registered under the Act, whether a club or not, to make any contributions it wishes to war funds notwithstanding any legal impediments of the character mentioned above. The Bill is designed to achieve this object and to give retrospective validation to any action of this kind already taken by a company since the outbreak of war.

Income-tax Amend. Bill

Sir Jeremy Raisman's Bill to amend the Income-tax Act is intended to remedy certain hardships caused by existing provisions and cure certain defects in

them. A number of clauses of the Bill relate to machinery provisions while others are mainly designed to give relief to the tax-payer. Of the latter one provides for relief in the case of non-residents with small incomes to whom hardship is caused by deduction of tax at the maximum rate. The amendment also provides that deduction of tax at the source shall not apply to transactions such as hedges and straddles carried on between a resident-broker and a non-resident broker. Another amendment remedies a defect in the schedule which lays down the rules for the computation of the profits of insurance business. Rule 9 as it stands applies the schedule to the assessment of profits of an insurance business carried on by a mutual insurance company. As mutual insurance business is carried on by persons other than companies, this change is stated to be necessary. Without this change, the mutual insurance business of persons other than companies would have to be assessed on their investment income without any allowance for expenditure on management.

DACCA MAIL DISASTER—ADJ. MOTION

The Assembly next rejected by 43 to 20 votes Dr. *P. N. Banerjee's* adjournment motion relating to the Dacca Mail disaster on August 5. Dr. Banerjee urged the holding of an independent judicial inquiry into the causes of the accident. He was supported by Dr. *Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmed Maulana Zafar Ali*, Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Pandit *L. K. Maitra* and Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai*, while Sir *Abdul Halim Ghuznavi* opposed the motion. Sir *Andrew Clow*, Communications Member, said that the debate on the adjournment motion had proceeded almost entirely on the basis of speculation and not on facts. From the previous station to the scene of the accident, a distance of four and a quarter miles, the train had taken eight minutes, and the Senior Government Inspector whose report on the accident had just been received by him, found that the speed could not have been more than in the neighbourhood of from 40 to 42 miles against the permissible maximum of 60 miles. Referring to the comments made on the suggestion of sabotage, Sir Andrew Clow stated that railways were not accustomed to make the suggestion where it did not exist. In the Bihta case, the suggestion was made but after further experiments it was withdrawn before the case went to the judicial inquiry committee. He knew no other case in which the suggestion had been made by the administration.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY FINANCE BILL

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, thereafter introduced a supplementary Finance Bill imposing a twenty-five per cent surcharge for central purposes on all taxes on income, including Supertax and Corporation tax.

The twenty-five per cent surcharge is estimated to yield Rs. 5 crores in a full year and will work out as an increase of 8¼ per cent for this year as it will be collected only during the last four months of the year.

The assessments already made for 1940-41 will be increased by one-twelfth, while deductions at the source from salaries and dividends will be increased by twenty-five per cent.

The initial rate for inland letters is to be raised to one anna three pies, for letters to Burma to two annas and those to Empire countries to three annas six pies, while that for book packets is to be raised to nine pies for the first five tolas. All other postal rates remain unchanged.

The remaining items are: A surcharge of one anna on each ordinary and two annas on each express inland telegram and a ten per cent surcharge on trunk telephone bills, to yield altogether rupees one crore.

Sir Jeremy Raisman said that the total initial outlay on defence expenditure was estimated at Rs. 33 crores and the extra recurring expenditure at Rs. 16 crores annually. Of this, it is expected that Rs. 14½ crores will fall in the current year. Revenue was down by three crores and civil expenditure had increased by two and a half crores. Against this increase of Rs. 17 crores in expenditure and the drop of Rs. 3 crores in revenue was set off last year's surplus of seven crores carried forward in the Revenue Reserve Fund, thus leaving a prospective deficit of Rs. 13 crores. The fresh taxation would bring in Rs. 6 crores in a full year, leaving comprehensive measures to be worked out at the time of the next budget.

Giving an account of the expansion, present and prospective, of India's defence forces, and the cost of such expansion, Sir Jeremy Raisman said:

"It is in the field of defence expenditure that our budget has been most seriously disturbed. The increase in such expenditure over the pre-war level was

estimated at Rs. 834 lakhs. The opinion has, I know, been held in many quarters that this represented a remarkably modest addition to India's defence expenditure; and if it had been intended as the measure of India's war effort for the current year, it would clearly have been grossly inadequate. But, as I explained at the time, it represented only so much of the cost of the commitments already undertaken as were chargeable to Indian revenues under the financial settlement with His Majesty's Government. Moreover, India's war effort was at the time very severely restricted by supply difficulties. The position in this respect has since improved enormously and it will perhaps not be out of place here to give the House a conspectus of the present situation and some indication of our future plans.

"Owing to a variety of factors, into which I need not enter, the provision of certain forms of equipment for which India is dependent upon overseas sources has been unavoidably delayed. The position is, however, now steadily improving and regular consignments of some of these supplies are now beginning to reach India. There are still difficulties in the way of India procuring certain types of machinery, aircraft, and some of the more specialised forms of equipment. Every possibility has been explored in our efforts to make good these deficiencies and there is no doubt that, as soon as the overriding requirements of the U. K. and other active war fronts have been met, our wants can and will be supplied. As soon as this happens, and I do not think that we shall have to wait long much heavier charges than hitherto will have to be undertaken.

"Meanwhile the financial settlement with His Majesty's Government has enabled the mobilisation and development of India's resources for war to be expanded with the utmost rapidity at a cost to the Indian tax-payer which represents no more than a fair charge to India for her own requirements. Indeed, it is not too much to say that, apart from having made invaluable contributions to the conduct of the war on many fronts, India has reached the stage when virtual self-sufficiency in matters pertaining to her local defence is no longer a distant dream. When the war began, India's main assets were an enormous supply of manpower and an abundance of raw materials. She has now become, in addition, a producer of a great range of manufactured stores. Starting as she did with small, though highly organised, ordnance factories, she has been enabled, owing to careful pre-war planning, not only vastly to increase the output of those articles which she was already producing, but to develop new lines with success and rapidity. This progress could not possibly have been achieved had it not been for the completeness of this pre-war planning."

Describing India's war effort to date, the Finance Member said: "We are now engaged in providing, as a first step and in a comparatively short time, an Army which will amount in all to close upon half a million men of all arms, trained, equipped and mechanised according to modern weapons. Mechanical transport has been vastly increased, recruitment for all arms has gone on at a rapidly increasing rate as the facilities for training and equipping the men have multiplied. Up to date over 60,000 troops have gone overseas to assist in defending India's outer bastions and over a hundred thousand men of all arms, a large proportion of whom are already fully trained, have joined the colours. Mechanical transport has increased enormously and 85 new M. T. sections are being formed. Motor vehicles—those basically imporiant items in a modern army—have been increased from 5,000 to 30,000 and by next year will have been doubled. The initial difficulties of producing armoured vehicle in India have been successfully surmounted and now that hundreds of tons of armour plate will shortly be manufactured monthly, 3,000 armoured vehicles are expected to be produced next year.

"India is now able to produce far more than she at present requires of many classes of munition aud war materials, thanks in part to the orders of His Majesty's Government, which have not only enabled Indian ordnance factories to be maintained at full blast but also to be expanded. Over 100,000,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, 400,000 rounds of gun ammunition, large quantities of explosive, including hundred tons of cordite and 250,000 detonators, and millions of items of military clothing have been sent overseas.

"The Royal Indian Navy has developed even more strikingly. Not only are sloops of the Royal Indian Navy assisting the Royal Navy in Indian waters, but Indian ports and harbours are watched over by a large and growing fleet of mine-sweepers and anti-sub-marine patrol boats, while more new sloops of the latest pattern, being completed in the United Kingdom, will be ready for delivery in a

few months. Powerful and well-armed mine-sweeping craft and patrol boats are being constructed in Indian yards. Every ship in India capable of accommodating the hulls of these crafts, some of which are of considerable size, is occupied. At the same time there has been a notable increase in the number of ratings of all classes, officers and warrant officers.

"The expansion of the Indian Air Force is well under way. Coast defence fights of the I. A. F. Volunteer Reserve are now actually operating. The scheme for the training of three hundred pilots and two thousand mechanics a year for the Air Force Reserve is being actively carried out and the school for officers recently opened will provide initial flying and ground training for fifty officers at a time. One of the Air Force technical training schools has been expanded to train 350 Indian airmen at a time. The enlargement of aerodromes for the most modern types of aircraft is proceeding rapidly and buildings to accommodate squadrons equipped with such aeroplanes have been constructed. A large number of service aircraft for training purposes are being supplied by the United Kingdom, and it is intended to proceed with the scheme for establishing aeroplane factories in India as soon as the necessary plant and material become available. Steps to increase the aviation spirit reserve and to manufacture aircraft lubricating oil have also been taken.

"Last year's financial settlement with His Majesty's Government has enabled the mobilisation of India's resources to be expanded with the utmost rapidity at a cost to the Indian taxpayer which represents no more than a fair charge to India for her own requirements. The general expansion of the Army, Air Force and Navy to meet the increased threats which changed circumstances have brought to her frontiers has involved very considerable expenditure, the cost of which under the settlement with his Majesty's Government is chargeable to Indian revenues. The total initial outlay is estimated at Rs. 33 crores and the extra recurring expenditure at Rs. 16 crores annually. Of this, it is expected that Rs. 14½ crores will fall in the current year.

"Owing to the decline in the receipts from customs, excise and salt and the increased amount of income-tax to be paid as their share to the provinces, revenue is down by three crores. At the same time, civil expenditure has increased by Rs. 2½ crores mainly on account of war schemes ; thus, Rs. 30 lakhs are being spent on Air Force Reserve training and Rs. 10 lakhs on the training of technicians for munitions factories. The whole expenditure on air raid precautions, the amount of Rs. 25 lakhs this year, is being met by the Centre through grants to the provinces.

"Against this increase of seventeen crores in expenditure and the drop of Rs. 3 crores in revenue is to be set off last year's surplus of seven crores, carried forward in the Revenue Reserve Fund, thus leaving a prospective deficit of Rs. 13 crores. While this is not to be met entirely from taxation, as defence expenditure is now running at the rate of over Rs. 20 lakhs a day, it is essential to begin at once to raise extra revenue to cover at least a portion of the additional expenditure, the remainder being met from the proceeds of the defence loans. Fresh taxation to bring in six crores in a full year is, therefore, to be levied now, leaving comprehensive measures to be worked out at the time of the next budget. The 25 per cent surcharge on all taxes on income, including Super-Tax and Corporation Tax, which is estimated to yield Rs. 5 crores in a full year, will work out as an increase of 8⅓ per cent on account of the last four months of the current year. The assessments already made for 1940-41 will be increased by 1/12, while deductions at source from salaries and dividends will be increased by 25 per cent. The initial rate for inland letter is to be raised to one anna three pies, for letters to Burma to two annas and to Empire countries to three annas six pies, while that for book packets is to be raised to nine pies for the first five tolas. All other postal rates remain unchanged. The remaining items are a surcharge of one anna on each ordinary and two annas on each express inland telegram and a ten percent surcharge on trunk telephone bills, to yield altogether Rs. 1 crore."

Following the statement the Finance Member introduced the Finance Bill embodying the new taxation proposals.

Modifications of Fiscal Policy

6th. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly discussing non-official resolutions to-day, rejected without a division the one moved last session by *Sir Raza Ali* recommending the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to examine the Government of India's present fiscal policy and recommend suitable modifications.

MOSLEM PILGRIM OFFICER

The House next took up Mr. *H. M. Abdullah's* resolution recommending the appointment of a suitable Moslem as permanent Pilgrim Officer in the Secretariat of the Government of India to be incharge of the work connected with pilgrimmage to the holy places in the Hedjaz, Iraq, and Iran and all matters connected with pilgrims. Discussion on the resolution had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned.

INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING AMEND. BILL

7th. NOVEMBER :—The Assembly referred to a select committee to-day Khan Bahadur *Fazlihaq Piracha's* Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act. The Khan Bahadur in asking the House to refer his Bill to a select committee explained that his Bill sought to increase the deck space allotted to each Haj pilgrim from 16 to 18 square feet and also sought to provide for the space for each individual to be clearly marked. The Bill had been circulated to elicit opinion, 90 per cent of which was in its favour. The remaining opinions were from "vested interests." Five of the provincial Governments had lent their support to the Education Secretary, Mr. *J. D. Tyson* who announced that the Government would remain neutral on the select committee motion. Explaining the Government's attitude, Mr. Tyson said that although five provincial Governments had backed the principles of the Bill, the House must remember that the two proposals underlying the Bill had the risk of increasing fares and thereby hitting the poorer classes of pilgrims. He said that the proposal to increase the individual allotment of space would lead to a 11·2 per cent reduction in the carrying capacity of a ship ; while the second proposal relating to the marking of space would further reduce the carrying capacity by 13·6 per cent. The increase of allotted space alone was likely to result in a loss of Rs. 31,000 to a shipping company. The Government were not convinced that the improvements sought might not counter balance the disadvantages to the pilgrims. Hence they would not support the Bill. If members, however, were prepared to have the improvements in spite of the cost that might be involved, they could do so. The Government, he announced, would move an amendment in the select committee to postpone the operation of the Bill till after the war.

DEFENCE DEPARTMENT BILLS

8th. NOVEMBER :—Five official Bills were passed after a brief debate this morning, Four of the Bills related to the Defence Department and were amendments to the Indian Works of Defence Act, the Indian Navy Discipline Act (two amendments) and the Indian Cantonment Act. The fifth, moved by Sir *M. Zafrulla Khan*, was to repeal certain enactments, and amend certain enactments. In moving consideration of the Bill, Sir Zafrulla informed the House that the Bill was designed to "weed out dead matter from the Statute Book." Sir *Yamin Khan* wanted to know why so many Acts (35 in number) were being repealed and why the repeal was not done earlier. The House passed the Bill.

A Bill making more stringent provisions than at present to deal with ticketless travellings was introduced to-day by Sir Andrew Clow, Communications Member.

The mosque near the Council House to which Muslim employees of the Government of India Secretariat repair every Friday for midday prayers will benefit by a Bill introduced by Mr. *J. D. Tyson*. Education Secretary.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, moving consideration of the Bill to amend the Reserve Bank Act, explained that it was being promoted in pursuance of the recommendation of the Central Board of the Reserve Bank which had come to the conclusion that in the interest of sound banking immediate steps should be taken to tighten up the effectiveness of Section 42 of the Act requiring scheduled banks to maintain a certain daily balance with the Reserve Bank. Wilful default was being made punishable by a maximum fine of Rs. 500 with a further fine of the same amount for each subsequent day of default. This penalty provision which was taken from the Indian Companies Act, had all along been applicable to non-scheduled banks. The Bill also gave power to the Reserve Bank to prohibit a defaulting scheduled bank from receiving further deposits. These provisions were admittedly severe, said Sir Jeremy, but in the Government's opinion if a scheduled bank was unable to maintain the balance required, that bank was already in such a serious condition that to allow it to continue to receive further deposits would be dangerous. It would be far better to force it to come into the open instead of hiding its affairs and thereby constituting a danger to depositors. The House agreed to the motion and passed the Bill.

COMPANIES & WAR FUND DONATIONS BILL

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, moving consideration of the Bill regarding donations and investments for war purposes, said that it arose out of a definite request from certain companies which were handicapped by their memoranda of association in making such donations or investments as the vast majority of share-holders would like to do. This Bill laid down that such donations or investments could only be made by a special resolution of the share-holders authorising them. *Sir Cowasji Jehangir* agreed with the principle of the Bill but asked firstly whether the Bill would override articles in memoranda which already allowed the Board of Directors to give such donations or subscribe to such loans. Secondly, when companies gave such powers to donate or subscribe it was generally given to the Board of Directors. Otherwise, every time a donation had to be made, the approval of share-holders would have to be obtained. The cost of calling a share-holders' meeting might in the case of big companies be easily more than the amount of the donation or the investment. *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar*, replying, said that according to legal advice, the Bill would not militate against the position of a company whose articles of association authorised the directors to make such donations for investments. As regards the second point, it was a matter of policy which ought to be left to the share-holders to authorise Directors to give donations and make investments of this character. It would not be fair to share-holders that donation which they might not like should be made by Directors themselves. The Bill was passed.

DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL

11th. NOVEMBER :—The Congress came back to the Assembly to-day and the old atmosphere of pre-war sessions was quickly restored. The galleries were packed. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* took his usual place as leader of the Congress Party and Mr. Jinnah also appeared for the debate on the Finance Bill.

Sir Jeremy Raisman, moving that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration, made a brief speech in which he said that the proposed increase in postal and telegraph charges was in effect a proposal to use that department as a vehicle for an indirect tax. Action of that kind was defensible in certain circumstances. The present emergency justified the levy of an indirect tax of this character. Referring to the proposed increase in income-tax, Sir Jeremy corrected a statement made in his speech on the opening day of the session in which he said, "In the case of incomes other than salaries there will be a supplementary assessment increasing the tax already assessed for 1940-41 by one-twelfth and in the case of incomes from which tax is deducted at source, that is, salaries, interest on securities and dividends, the previous deductions will be treated as short by one-twelfth. That was not strictly correct. It was only in the case of salaries that the previous deductions would be treated as short by one-twelfth so that for the remaining four months of the year, deduction would be increased by 25 per cent."

Mr. *Satyamurti* opened the debate on behalf of the Opposition. He dwelt upon the reasons why the Congress Party could not and the others should not support the Bill. He wanted the House to realise that the Bill was designed to broadcast to the whole world, and particularly to the neutral countries, that India was wholeheartedly supporting Great Britain in this war. He said that India was made a party to the war without her consent and he doubted if even the Government of India was consulted by the Viceroy on that subject. In this connection, he referred to South Africa, Ireland and Egypt, and said that the first was being kept in the fray by all the ingenuity of General Smuts, while the other two were still neutrals. Referring to the Finance Member's speech in which the community was asked to make sacrifices, Mr. Satyamurti enquired what sacrifices had been made by non-Indian members of the Government Services. They were getting larger salaries than before. It was stated that additional funds were needed for the defence of India. But nothing was being done for the defence of India and in the name of India every effort was made for the defence of Britain whose chief spokesman has recently declared that they were fighting for their survival. In this country the age-old theory of martial and non-martial classes was being kept up and the condition of the people had been reduced to a state that people were nervous even when the twelve o'clock gun was fired. Proceeding, Mr. Satyamurti said that Britain did not want India's co-operation. If she did, she would have made India free. Britain only wanted India's men and money but did nothing to make this country self-supporting. Referring to the Legislature, he said that when Canada and Australia could have elections during the war, why not India ? But the fact

of the matter was that the Government were afraid of electorates who they knew were not with them. Mr, Satyamurti declared that whatever might have been the talk about war aims and peace aims they in this country were convinced that Britain did not intend to make India free after the war. He quoted Mr. Jinnah who had recently observed that the Government did not intend to part with power. Mr. Satyamurti said that if the Congress wanted to embarrass the Government, they could do a lot, but they had decided against it. The Government on the other hand had used Mahatma Gandhi when they had some use for him. Now they did not like him. The speaker said that the British Government refused to meet the Congress demand because they said that there were differences amongst Indians. He was sure that even if all the differences were settled even with British vested interests, Britain would find fresh excuses and create differences where none existed. He declared that they might be divided but not on the issue of freedom for the country. Continuing, Mr. Satyamurti asked why there should be a supplementary Finance Bill. The whole thing could have come at the end of the year and he questioned the propriety of bringing in such a measure without resorting to supplementary demands. In conclusion, he said that England should do the right thing by India, establish a National Government, trust the people and offer India the same citizenship which Mr. Churchill offered to France after the collapse of that country. England should not exploit the slave condition of India.

Mr. *L. C. Buss*, Leader of the European Group, said that with the exception of the ten per cent surcharge on trunk calls, regarding which he asked for further consideration, he was prepared to accept on behalf of the European Group all the proposals which the Finance Member had placed before this House. But in doing so, he would be failing in his duty if he did not make one important stipulation. 'It is inherent in all that I have said to-day that the expenditure for which we are asked to make this special provision is in furtherance of our war commitments and preparations Were we not assured of that, our views about this Finance Bill would be very different. We could not, at this crisis in our affairs, view with equanimity any abnormal expenditure on civil services not connected with the furtherance of our defensive and offensive measures. But I do not think that the Finance Member can be criticised on this score, since practically all the additional expenditure to which he has referred in his statement is essentially connected with war conditions. Even in the sphere of our war activities, we should not be prepared to acquiesce in excessive expenditure which could be avoided, and I refer particularly to the expansion of establishments and the creation of highly-paid posts to which criticism has frequently been directed. I commend this to the most careful attention of the Finance Member in the hope that, while affording every possible facility to those departments which are concerned with India's prosecution of the war, he will be ruthless in pruning expenditure which is non-essential and can be dispensed with." Concluding, Mr. Buss said: "This war in which the British Commonwealth of Nations is engaged is our war here in India, just as much as it is the war of our brothers overseas in Europe and the Middle East, who are already in the fighting line; let us make no mistake about that, and let us be prepared to bear our share manfully of the financial burden imposed on us, in thankfulness that we have so far been spared the added trial of blood and tears."

Mr. *Sri Prakasa*, in a speech lasting for an hour and a half, said that he would like to present to the officials a picture of things very different from the one they were wont to see every day. He claimed that his picture represented the real state of affairs in the country. At the outset, he would like to send a message of deep sympathy to the women and children who were victims of of aggression. Referring to India, he strongly criticised "the indiscriminate manner in which respected people are arrested and sent to jail for indefinite periods under the Defence of India Act." In this connection he mentioned the recent convictions of Pandit Nehru, Pandit Paliwal and Professor Ranga and said that these convictions were interpreted as sacrifices in the cause of India's freedom. It was said that the war was being fought for liberty, but to him liberty meant that no foreigner should rule over others. It was, therefore, futile to ask for support for the Finance Bill unless they were told what steps were being proposed to make India free. *Maulana Zafar Ali* asked how the country was to know that the money was being spent really for the defence of India. Indians were not trusted and it was against human nature to pay for something in which one was not interested. He asserted that there was a golden opportunity for Great

Britain to come to a settlement with India. That was when the Congress Working Committee passed its Delhi resolution. "If," he asked, "Pandit Nehru could be arrested, why not General Hertzog and Mr. De Valera? When Ireland and South Africa are allowed freedom to adopt what attitude they liked to the war, why deny that freedom to India? I am not sure that after the war freedom will fall like a ripe apple in India's lap. But if after the war the liberal and profuse promises which are being made to India in the name of the British Government now are in fact not fulfilled, then the first to raise the standard of revolt will be myself." (Cheers).

Mr. *Abdul Quayum* said that none in India wanted substitution of British rule by any other rule. They did not want a mere change of masters. They, however, wanted to know whether the present war was being fought for the defence of India or for the preservation of British vested interests. For, he said, the War Aims of Great Britain had been modified from fight for democracy to fight for the survival of Great Britain. He protested against the recent ban on the visit of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai to the tribal territory. Respectable persons, he said, had been detained in his Province for indefinite periods without trial. Mr. Quayum had not concluded when the House rose for the day.

12th. NOVEMBER :—Mr. *Abdul Qayum*, resuming his overnight speech, referred to the bombing of civilians and said that till recently Great Britain alone had opposed its total abolition because she was in favour of bombing for police purposes, particularly in the tribal territory. The Defence Secretary had stated in the Assembly that bombing resorted to on the Frontier was in the interests of the people themselves and was a humane practice. Mr. Qayum went on to refer to the Viceroy's negotiations with the leaders of political parties and said that the negotiations had amply proved that British policy in this country was designed solely to keep Hindus and Muslims at each other's throats. He characterised as propaganda the recent cry that Islamic countries were in danger of losing their independence. He declared that a Government who had put Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in jail deserved condemnation and said that Mr. Nehru was held in great esteem by the Pathans.

Mr. *P. J. Griffiths* made a strong attack on the Congress Party and declared that throughout the speeches made on behalf of that Party he was conscious of the fact that at a time when many thousands of his countrymen and many thousands of Indians too were facing the stern realities of death and destruction, that Party was living in the land of make-believe. In those speeches was a combination of complete lack of sense of reality, a cold-blooded spirit of bargaining and a determination to drive the hardest possible bargain. (Cries of "No, no" and other interruption) The Party, however, had never lacked master tacticians and its practice when it intended to embark on a particularly selfish policy was to cover it with a cloak of idealism. At the most critical period, the Party absented itself from the House ; but what change had now brought them running to the House ? It was the fear of taxation. They had said they were not prepared to pay for this war, because they declared it was not their war but, he asked, did the Party sincerely believe that the issue of the present war was a matter of indifference to them ? Did Mr. Abdul Qayum believe that the victory of Britain or Germany made no difference to India's future ? Mr. Griffiths concluded by a warning against the tyranny of speech under which the Congress Party and Indians with their ease of expression were suffering. There was the shibboleth of imperialism, for instance. "I am proud to be an imperialist," declared Mr. Griffiths,. "a humble member in an imperialism which has given the most practical approach to the League of Nations that the world has yet seen." (Cheers). It had been said that there was inequality in the Empire. The inequality now was that in his country people were living lives of fear, there was no safety and there was no peace, but in this country there was peace. Mr, Griffiths affirmed that the peace in this country was ensured by the British Navy which was the mistress of the seas. Britain was paying fourteen crores a day. Was it unreasonable for India to pay six crores a year ? "At a time like this, when civilisation is falling around us, the Congress Party should not be niggardly ; they should show a gladness, and a readiness to take their part in bearing the burden of civilisation." (Cheers).

Sir Mohammed Yamin Khan declared that the Muslim League Party had no intention of embarrassing the Government although they had a large number of grievances. The party would be guided by the resolution of the All-India Muslim League, which had laid down the policy and programme for the Mussalmans of

India. He said that the Congress Party had returned to the Assembly with the avowed object of opposing the Finance Bill. The members of the Party had brought forward a number of grievances, including the working of the Defence of India Act. He asserted that the absence of the Congress Party from the Assembly had helped the Government in many ways and particularly in enacting the Defence of India Act in its present form. He charged both the Government and the Congress with lack of vision. If there were men of foresight in the Congress to-day there would have been a settlement of the communal question. Instead of tackling the question in the right manner, an offer of Premiership of India was made to a correspondent of a foreign newspaper without any effort to implement its provisions within this country. Proceeding, Sir Yamin Khan said that it was the duty of the Government to convince the House that they had not squandered money and that there is real need for fresh taxation. He claimed that if proper and effective control over expenditure and particularly over the fixation of salaries of the new departments had been maintained, no fresh taxation would have been needed. He also complained that the Government refused to take non-officials into their confidence. They, for instance, refused to bring non-votable expenditure before the Standing Finance Committee, the present composition of which was such that it would have probably voted any expenditure. Proceeding, Sir Yamin Khan said that in the present war only a selected few such as contractors had made money and it was only right that they should be called upon to contribute to financing the war.

13th. NOVEMBER :—*Sir Ziauddin Ahmed* asked for greater encouragement to cottage industries during the war, particularly as in their case no question arose of importing machinery or tools from abroad. The purchase of articles of food and clothing for the Defence Department, he urged, should be entrusted to civilians. He explained how economies were possible in purchases. He demanded the appointment of a committee of the House to be associated with the Supply Department and more stringent financial control over that Department. Referring to the new taxation proposals, Sir Ziauddin asked why no surcharge had been proposed on excess profits. He suggested nationalisation of important key industries and more extensive use of the excise duty as the form of taxation to raise additional revenues. Referring to the constitutional deadlock, the speaker declared that the people would be free when they were fit to govern themselves : no verbal assurances from any party was of any help in reaching the goal.

Sir Homi Mody referred to the speech of Mr. Satyamurti and agreed with him that the policy of appeasement was responsible for the present war and disturbed world order. He, however, did not agree with him that England was fighting this war for her survival. The real issue before the country was not pulling Britain out of her present difficulties but the danger to India from international gangster. "We are not very far from the war and we have to see that it does not walk into our doors. The Congress says that Britain has dragged India into the war, that India was not likely to get her freedom and therefore it was no concern of hers to assist in the war. I assert that it does matter to us if liberty and freedom were submerged. There has been talk of imperialism, but I say, that imperialism is as dead as Queen Anne". Proceeding, Sir Homi said that Indians had been urging the Government to make India strong but none could make bricks without straw. Hence the Finance Bill. In this conection Sir Homi criticised the creation of new posts and new departments and urged economy in expenditure.

Mr. *M. N. Joshi*, claming to speak for the working classes, said that the working classes, like others, were divided on the issue but the majority were as much opposed to Nazism and Fascism as they were opposed to imperialism. Both imperialism and Fascism were based on the exploitation of the weaker people and weaker nations by stronger people or nations. Both the systems did not believe in equality of man The difference between the two forms of exploitation was only one of degree. The capitalist form of democracy did give a certain amount of liberty but only to a selected few. The working classes, therefore, had not much to choose between imperialism ane Nazism. They were prepared to fight Nazism but not with a view to making imperialism strong. They wanted both of them to go. Referring to India Mr. Joshi said that the present administration of the country gave no indication that there would be freedom for India even after the war. If Indians were convinced that Britain was sincere and would concede freedom to India after the war they would whole-heartedly support all war effort. If Britain could not concede freedom now, she could at least give

some indication of her intentions of doing so after the war. "The argument 'What will happen to India if Britain lost?' is not good enough. There is another alternative, namely, to give an assurance if not grant freedom at once. But if British imperialism and German Nazism fight, can we not have the choice to wait and see whether they destroy each other? I will certainly take a chance".

Mr. *Asaf Ali* referred to the appeal made by a member of the European Group yesterday for sympathy with the British people in the fiery ordeal they were going through. "There was no need to appeal to us" said Mr. Asaf Ali. "We are human enough to feel sympathy ; we are fully alive to the sufferings of the British people and the sufferings of many other people who are undergoing a terrible experience. We also recognise with admiration their fight for freedom. But when we want to fight for our freedom they ought to sympathise with us." He went on to describe "the dismal and bleak failure" of British rule in India and referred to the "patent hypocrisy" of claiming to fight for the freedom of the smaller nations of Europe and at the same time denying freedom for a subcontinent within the Empire The question had been asked if speeches such as had been made in the House by Congress would be permitted in countries under German rule. He replied : "Yes, if we are prepared to brave the Gestapo." Was there not a Gestapo in India? The footsteps of Congress leaders were being dogged, their letters opened ; and not a man had spoken out his mind in the country but had been put in jail. Mr Griffiths had spoken against refusal to help the police to fight thieves. It was not a question of the police asking for his help. It was a question of an aggressor asking for help against a bigger aggressor. His reply would be "give me the key of the House." Mr. Asaf Ali went on to dwell upon the warnings he had given years ago to the Government about building up an adequate defence force for India and on how Government had neglected those warnings. He spoke of the huge debts "saddled" on India and complained that while throughout the world a scaling down of debts had taken place and repudiation in some cases, India had been left without any attempt at relief.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, speaking amid many interruptions, made a strong attack on the Congress Party and repudiated the declarations that the people of India were not behind the war effort. He said he had listened times without number to the kind of speeches made by the Congress Party members and he was not surprised to hear then again. Sir Ramaswami refuted the suggestion that the contributions made to the war funds were not voluntary. (Voices : Hold an enquiry). A Madras newspaper, he said, opened a fund and within three weeks collected three lakhs. The Madras Corporation, he continued, turned down by a majority of two, thanks to the Congress Party, a proposal to vote Rs. 10,000 to the Lord Mayor's Fund. Immediately afterwards, the same newspaper opened a fund and within a week collected Rs. 15,000. The people of India, he reiterated, were behind this war effort (cheers and counter cheers). The trouble was that Congress Party members did not know their own minds. How could they when their minds were made up for them by others ? While they were speaking the same language, the purport of their speeches was different and each person had his own idea. For instance, on the question of non-violence, one spoke of it as the ultimate thing that would save mankind. Ahimsa, declared the speaker, did not mean non-violence. (Cries of oh, oh). There was a danger that if this creed of non-violence as it was explained prevailed and was accepted by wider and wider circles in India, it would be a tragedy to his country. How could any Hindu who read the Bhagavat Gita suggest that non-violence was the creed of Hindus ? Sir Ramaswami proceeded to refer to the speeches made by Congress Ministers immediately after the declaration of the war and contrast those speeches with the speeches now made. Hitlerism was then condemned as the perfection of violence, an affront to the sanctity of moral law ; and Britain with all her faults was then declared to be a decent nation. Why were quite different declarations being made now ? What was the reason for the change ? At that time, said Sir Ramaswami, the Party hoped that their suggestions would be accepted. So they were from what he knew of the history of the talks that were then held. But the trouble was that when a suggestion was about to be accepted, a more extreme suggestion was made and it was not accepted. Having gone out of office for no tangible reason, they wanted to indulge in the language in which they indulged. They knew that in this war effort were men who wanted to put an end to the present system, men who had distinguished themselves as martyrs in the political cause long before some of the present Congress Party

members were born, including the great soul who lived in Pondicherry and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, an ex-Congress President. Let us realise, he urged, that Indians felt for their country whether they were on Government benches or elsewhere. "I am certain that at this time everybody who does not stand by the war effort is a traitor to the country" (cries of "Oh, oh"). He commended the spirit of the thousands of young men who, day after day, flocked to join the Air Force, the Navy snd the Army and warmly refuted the suggestion that they were mercenaries. There could be no grosser calumny than to apply that term (cheers). These young men were coming forward to be trained so that in the years to come they would be able to do full services to the country (renewed cheers).

MUSLIM PILGRIM OFFICER (CONTD.)

15th NOVEMBER :—Non-official resolutions were discussed to-day. The House was thin, the bulk of the Muslim League and Congress Nationalist members and all but two or three of the Congress Party being absent. Discussion was resumed on Mr. *H. M. Abdullah's* resolution recommending the appointment of a suitable Muslim as permanent pilgrim officer. *Maulvi Abdul Ghani*, who opened the discussion to-day, explained that each pilgrim had to pay Rs. 66-6 in Jeddah, and many a time he was charged that sum over and over again. That was one important aspect of the problem which required careful consideration. *Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai* explained that the work fell into two categories, namely, in season and off season. The off season work consisted in receiving reports from Haj committees and other bodies and could easily be handled by the department. He assured the House that the Government had an open mind. They had this year appointed a special officer who had been directed to report matters connected with Haj traffic. He would also report whether a permanent whole-time officer was needed or the work required only a seasonal officer. The resolution was withdrawn.

TREATMENT OF DETENUS

Mr. *N. M. Joshi* moved a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to examine and report without delay on the complaints made by detenus, externees and internees under the Defence of India Act regarding the conditions under which they lived and the conditions of their families. Mr. Joshi estimated the number of people placed under differents forms of restraint under the Defence of India Act at 3,000, if not more. The first complaint, he said, was that the Government did not take up the responsibility of maintaining the families of persons whom they had removed or on whom they had placed other restrictions under the Act. In many cases the person so dealt with was the bread-winner of the family and when they removed him it was the duty of the Government to maintain the family as well as the person himself. As regards the treatment of the detenus, externees or internees themselves, he had heard complaints that some places of detention did not provide reasonable comforts such as soap, shaving tackle and smokes. Some jails permitted the detenus to purchase these at their own cost and the speaker himself had sent money to some detenus to help them to get these. Newspapers and books presented another difficulty. Only newspapers conducted by European publishers were allowed. Letters intended for the detenus had first to be sent to the C.I.D., who, if they were satisfied, sent them on to the Superintendent of the jail to be handed to the person concerned. Detenus in jail were not allowed to communicate with each other or to live together. He knew of one detenu four of whose teeth were aching and who wanted to have them extracted. He was asked to pay for it. The point stressed in many of the letters received by the speaker was that the Government were looking after Italian and German detenus far more considerately and were giving them greater facilities than were given to Indians. Italians and Germans, they argued, were fighting the British with far more deadly weapons than the speeches which the Indian detenus had, at the worst, made. Mr. Joshi wanted a committee of only three, one of whom could be an official, the other being two non-officials who had some sympathy with the people they were to deal with.

Dr. *Bannerjea*, speaking in support of the resolution, referred to the fact that detention with or without trial had been in vogue in Bengal during the last thirty years and the treatment of the detenus had never been wholly satisfactory. In recent times it had been harsh and unjust. For instance, monthly allowances were not regularly paid ; complaints of discomfort were not attended to : medical aid was not adequate, with the result that in the case of Satyaranjan Bakshi, who had now been released, it was not known whether he would survive. Dr. Bannerjea

dealt in particular with externees and internees and the difficulties experienced by them when persons belonging to one province were externed in another province.

Maulana Zafar Ali, speaking as one who had undergone imprisonment some years ago, declared that his experience was that ordinary offenders were treated better than political offenders. He referred to the instance of one Abdus Sattar Khairi of Aligarh who, he said, had gone to Germany, spoke the German language as well as any German and had married a German wife. He was removed to Jhansi under the Defence of India Act, but his wife was better provided for in Dehra Dun than he himself. He supported Mr. Joshi's demand for an enquiry.

Mr. *M. S. Aney* drew the attention of the Government to the fact that the old Regulations of 1818 laid an obligation on the Government of India to provide for those persons who were detained under them and for their families. Were the Government making progress in this matter or were they retreating ? If the Government, in their own interest, removed a person from his family, then they must at the same time assume the responsibility for seeing that his family was not inconvenienced by that arbitrary removal. From his own personal experience and from the experience of others, it was well known that the disabilities about which Mr. Joshi complained did exist. He, therefore, did not know why Mr. Joshi wanted a committee to enquire into them. All that needed doing was to ask that the disabilities be removed. But Mr. Joshi's intention was that if the Government had any doubt here was the chance of setting that doubt at rest.

India's War Bill

An announcement intended to meet criticisms against the Supply Department of the Government of India was made by *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, in replying to the debate on Mr. *Nauman's* resolution, urging the appointment of a Committee of the Legislature to advise the Government so as to secure reasonable economy in expenditure connected with the war. Sir Jeremy said, with reference to the repeated allegations of abnormally high salaries in the Supply Department, he was prepared to place the whole list of the personnel of the Department before the Standing Finance Committee a meeting of which he proposed to call at as early an opportunity as possible, and sit with the Committee in order to satisfy them why those salaries were being paid. He would welcome that Committee's recommendations for his future guidance. The resolution was withdrawn.

Abolition of Coffee Campaign

Doctor DeSouza moved that the Indian Coffee Cess Committee be instructed to scrap the London Coffee Market Expansion Board, at any rate while the war lasted and divert the funds so released to further develop the Indian market. After a debate lasting two hours, the resolution was withdrawn. Doctor DeSouza pointed out that the Indian coffee industry was passing through a most acute crisis due to the closing of traditional export markets on the continent of Europe. "Unless an outlet is found for the surplus crop in the immediate future, there will necessarily be collapse of prices in the internal market and the industry will be irretrievably ruined. Any disaster to the industry will have far-reaching effects. The capital sunk is over ten crores of rupees. The area under cultivation exceeds 2,00,000 acres giving employment to nearly 2,00,000 labourers. The industry provides more than a crore of rupees to the balance of trade in favour of India."

Debate on the Finance Bill (contd.)

16th. NOVEMBER :—The general debate on the Finance Bill was resumed to-day. *Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi* declared that the Congress had become a menace to peace and orderly Government. The Congress wanted freedom from Great Britain, but if Great Britain were to go under, he asked, who would give that freedom. He severely criticised the Supply Department, declaring that the secrecy in which it was shrouded was because "it had too many men and too little work." He asked why it was that the directorate of munitions production had bodily shifted to Calcutta. Was it because the Director-General of that section did not like whatever check the Government of India were exercising over it ? He concluded by giving his support to the Finance Bill.

Mr. *Akhil Chandra Datta*, opposing the motion for consideration, declared it was neither India's duty nor interest to finance the war. He asked whether it was necessary for England to fight Germany in order to give freedom to India, or for India to fight Germany to get her freedom. Did Germany stand in the

way of India's freedom ? In his view it was for India to fight Downing Street, the Government of India and British capital in order to get her freedom.

Mr. *F. E. James* declared that even in the occupied countries there were free people co-operating in the war against the totalitarian Powers. No man in India was coerced into co-operation. He was invited to co-operate. He might stand aside so long as he did not make a definite endeavour to impede the war effort. As it was, there was no lack of men, money or munitions. The war was daily extending. Further extensions of it would be in India's direction. He was not saying this in order to terrorise the people, though the Congrees Party had made it clear that even the threat of Hitler and Mussolini combined meant nothing to them. He gave a word of encouragement and a word of warning to the Government. His community's full and enthusiastic support was there for the effective prosecution of the war. That was his word of encouragement. His word of warning was that that support would not be coming spontaneously unless the Government were prepared to take the country into its confidence much more than they had done in the past. He rebutted the suggestion that coercion had been used in the collection of war funds. Every step had been taken in Madras again and again both by the Governor and his Advisers to prevent coercion. On the other hand, there had been complaints of coercion exercised by the Congress Party. He himself had received subscriptions from some Congress members under srrict secrecy and could claim that there had been coercion by the leaders of the Congress.

Sardar Sant Singh declared that there were no two opinions that the war must be won. That was the Sikhs' attitude towards the war. The Sikhs believed in non-violence as a policy and not as a creed, but while they yielded to none in their desire to win the war, they were equally determined to know what was to be India's future. The last war was declared to be fought for the principle of self-determination, and yet that principle had never been made applicable to India. "How do we know that England means business as far as we are concerned in this war when she did not mean business after the last war ? There are no indications to the contrary so far. The Government in this country is out of date, and must be scrapped, and the sooner it is done the better for all concerned."

Mr. *N. V. Gadgil* said that so long as democratic institutions existed in India and so long as the Assembly was regarded representative of the Indian people, the Congress Party would also be regarded as representative of the majority of Indians.

18th. NOVEMBER :—Sir *Mahomed Zafrullah Khan*, Law Member, gave a detailed reply to Opposition arguments. Dealing first with the Supply Department, he alluded to the Finance Member's announcement on Friday last that the whole list of the personnel of the Department with their present and previous salaries would be placed before the Standing Finance Committee shortly and the Committee's advice sought for formulating a policy in that matter. Sir Zafrullah also referred to his own announcement that the Government had decided to set up a Standing Committee for the Supply Department during the current session of the Legislature. Refuting the charge that the Department was packed with Europeans, Sir Zafrullah said that it was an emergency department and a number of technical men had to be got together quickly. Now that the Department was in running order and there was time to look round, he could assure the House that every effort would be made on a more extensive scale to obtain Indian personnel and the position would be watched sympathetically. He pointed out that the Supply Department took over departments and sections in which there had been very little Indian recruitment, such as the Contracts Directorate. In this Directorate eight commissions had since been granted to Indians. The Indian Stores Department was now wholly Indian and for the first time an Indian Chief Controller was appointed last April and when he took up another department, another Indian was appointed. The main issue of the debate on the motion, the Law Member observed, was one of co-operating or not co-operating in the war effort. Sketching the background of the question, he enumerated certain points of agreement between both sides of the House, namely, that Hitler was responsible for the war and that the dictators were fighting for something which meant the destruction of every thing which would make life a rich and glorious inheritance : that Britain was the main bulwark against such destruction, that the defeat of Britain would mean the ruin and destruction of the whole world including India : and that not only our sympathies but also our prayers were with Britain. Sir Zafrullah quoted a series of extracts from declarations made by

Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Mr. Munshi and others which, he claimed, gave full expression to these points. One of them had described the war as a war against non-violence itself. "We have also been assured that if India is granted freedom, those who at present differ from us in this matter would be prepared to make the fullest contribution towards the war effort. Surely then it is not the doctrine of non-violence that stands in the way of their making such a contribution." Referring to the catalogue of Britain's "past misdeeds", Sir Zafrullah said, "We know the nature of the danger that threatens not only India but the whole world. We also know that as far as human endeavour is concerned, Britain and her Allies alone stand between that danger and the complete destruction of all liberty and freedom and peace. Shall we refuse to help and strengthen Britain, as far as it may in us lie, because Clive committed forgery, because Warren Hastings despoiled the Raja of Benares and the Begums of Oudh ? Or, because there has been exploitation of India and discrimination against Indians ? And suppose as the result of refusing our help, Britain were to lose. Would that help to wipe out Clive's forgery and Warren Hastings' high-handedness, past exploitations and discriminations ? It may be argued that it will at least teach Britain a lesson. But of what avail the lesson, if no Britain is left to take it to heart and no India is left to reap the benefit from the changed attitude of Britain ? And, indeed, the attitude is already changed. Apart from the condemnation to which Clive and Warren Hastings were subjected by their own people in their own time, there is nobody to-day who would attempt to justify that which has always lacked justification. Many things have happened in the history of India during the last two centuries which nobody will to-day attempt to find justification for. But it would be well to remember that such things were not the monopoly of either one side or the other. Facing the common enemy let us not rake up the past : that indeed will not help us to overcome the immediate danger."

Where did India's real security lie, asked the Law Member. For better or for worse India's destiny to-day was linked with that of Britain and what was still more important in the eyes of the enemy, they were inseparable. India's security of Britain in the security of Turkey, Egypt, Iraq, Afghanistan and the Dutch East Indies and the human forces which were the bulwark of that security were the British Navy, the Royal Air Force, the British Army and the fighting forces of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of the countries he had enumerated (Mr. *Sri Prakasa* : And the defence of India Act). (laughter.) And if we were to preserve our security we must do our utmost to strengthen these forces. Proceeding, the Law Member averred that the heart of the youth of India had been stirred and the youth of India were responding nobly to the call of duty and of humanity. "India is helping with men, money, munitions and materials, and as I have said, will go on helping on an increasing scale. (Cheers.) Are those who are responding so gallantly to the call Congressmen or are they not Congressmen ? If the answer is yes, then the Congress itself is helping. If the answer is no, the extent of India's co-operation is the measure of the holowness of the Congress' claim to represent the whole of India. (Renewed cheers.) "Let me convey to the hon. members my own personal conviction that those are in error who proclaim that Britain has not yet reconciled itself to a transfer of real power to India. I too held that view till last autumn, but I have since been convinced that there is a real change of heart among those in Britain in whose hands rest the reins of power. I place complete trust in the declaration recently made by the British Prime Minister Mr. Churchill : 'Long live also the forward march of the common people in all lands towards their just and true inheritance. On to better times'. It has been said by Mr. Gandhi that he wanted Great Britain to be greater still to granting the Congress freedom to persuade India not to co-operate in the war effort so that the world might acclaim Britain's generosity. May I be permitted to say that I am far more anxious that this great country of ours should prove itself to be greater still and that in spite of Britain's past misdeeds, in spite of the exploitation and the discrimination, in spite of its faults and shortcomings, in spite of its failure to grant India its freedom, India should, with a united voice, proclaim that against this dread danger to humanity, it shall draw a veil over the past and give freely and fully and to the utmost all the help and the co-operation that it is capable of. The robes of freedom have been fashioned and are ready for India to wear. Let us hope that India will at this supreme moment in the destiny of mankind rise to a stature which will enable it fitly and worthily to wear those robes." (Cheers.) The Law Member concluded with an earnest appeal for an effort to extricate mankind from this maelstrom of violence and destruction and to turn to paths of

peace and brotherhood. There was only one way of doing this and that was by cleansing our hearts of all evil thoughts casting out false gods and restoring our hearts to such purity that they should be fitted to become the thrones of the true God. (Prolonged cheers.)

Sir Raza Ali said that the present measure was necessary because the ordinary revenues of the country had been affected by the war. He expressed dissatisfaction with the Government's measures in connection with recruitment and said that in every sovereign country in the commonwealth, financial considerations were not allowed to interfere with the war effort. It was in India alone that political considerations interfered with financial policy. The attitude of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, he said, was quite different with regard to the war from that of the Congress Parliamentary Party. They had never non-co-operated at any stage with the Government in the prosecution of the war. He regretted that neither the Government nor the Congress had treated the Muslim League Party fairly and, therefore, they were not going to walk into the parlour of either. So far as voting was concerned, their attitude would be what would serve their interests best.

Sir Henry Gidney regretted that most of the speeches had no reference to the Finance Bill. The Congress Party, he said, had come back to the Assembly with one object, namely, to oppose the Finance Bill. If they succeeded in doing so, they would drive the Governor-General to certify the Bill and then proclaim to the world that they were forced to pay for the war. Referring to the Congress' demands Sir Henry Gidney said, "If England were prepared to give India its independence at once, it would not last a day and even if England were prepared to give Dominion Status this is not the time to demand it. As for freedom of speech, I wonder if the Congress were in the place of Great Britain, they would allow it." He reminded the House that it was only those who showed the spirit of service and sacrifice to-day who would be entitled to share the benefits of to-morrow when peace came. Therefore he appealed to all loyal citizens to bury their differences and unconditionally give their best to help in the defences of their common motherland.

19th. NOVEMBER :—"We stand by the statement made by the Working Committee of the Congress immediately after the declaration of war," declared Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Opposition. "That statement declared that if the war was to defend the "status quo," vested interests and privileges India could have nothing to do with it. If the issue was democracy and world order based on democracy, then India was intensely interested in it. If Great Britain fought for that issue, let her end Imperialism in her own Dominions and let the Indian people be given the right of self-determination." They stood by that declaration, reiterated Mr. Desai ; and that declaration was made although they felt that the war was one imposed on India. No amount of argument could alter the fact that it was an imposed war so far as India was concerned ; for, in fact and in practice, every unit of what was called the British Commonwealth of Nations, eliminating England herself, had elected by its own free will to join or not to join according to the dictates of its own policy. Mr. Desai referred to Mr. Amery's statement that a national government like the one in England should be in being in India. All that the Congress wanted was that national government at the Centre and they had suggested a simple, flexible arrangement to bring that about. The result of the Congress offer was known. "Every single individual representing public opinion has realised," Mr. Desai continued, "that what Britain wants is that we should lend our name and our moral support and place all our material resources at their disposal and we should be their instrument in carrying on this war. That demand will not be met and cannot be met. It has been claimed that India is in the war and she is giving men and money freely. If India is with you, then why say anything else?" As against that claim, Mr. Desai quoted a British newspaper which said that all discussion of India was now overshadowed by the breakdown of the negotiations between the Viceroy and the Congress, and asked that an attempt should be made to build a bridge across 'the gulf that, to the delight of our enemies, lay darkly between us.' "The Leader of the House had made a well-documented and well-docketed speech prepared with his usual industry and skill. That speech amounted to this : "I agree with you in everything you say : but having agreed with you so far, I say you must agree not to ask for what you want." (Laughter.)

Proceeding, Mr. Desai referred to the quotations given from speeches and statements made by Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Munshi and others. It was true that

those declarations expressed sympathy with Britain. Nobody had gone back on that sympathy. But was it intended that sympathy could be evoked by the other side doing nothing ? There was no inconsistency, when your modest demand was not being given, in saying you could no longer feel the same sympathy. Even now, Mr. Desai continued, Mr. Gandhi did not wish to embarrass Britain, but, as he had made clear, that desire not to embarrass must not end in self-extinction. "You cannot use the other man's goodness as a cloak for your hypocrisy." The question had been asked: What will happen if we are defeated ? The question, said Mr. Desai, answered itself. If you are defeated, well ! you are defeated. (Laughter.) I remain defeated all the time, and God will look after both of us." (Renewed laughter.) I was wrong to appeal to the fear complex. Britain went to Munich when it suited her. She fought when it suited ; she might make peace when it suited her. It was wrong, M. Desai declared, to make it appear that India gave willing support. It was wrong to tell the world that the Islamic countries were giving support. The whole Mussalman world was neutral. He concluded by reiterating : "We shall not be able to support this measure." (Cheers.)

Mr. M. S. Aney rose to place the point of view of the man in the street before the House. He said that he and his party from the very beginning had voted against all money Bills, primarily on the ground that the executive was not responsible to the Legislature in this country "and so long as this state of affairs continued, my own attitude towards the money Bills will remain unaltered." Mr. Aney next referred to the convention under which the Assembly was to be consulted before Indian troops could be sent outside India. Under that convention they should have consulted the Assembly whenever any troops were despatched outside the country, unless such despatch of troops was for the defence of India. What did Government do to overcome this difficulty ? They extended the frontiers of India to Egypt and Singapore without consulting anyone in this country. Referring to the Chatfield Report, Mr. Aney said that if the Report was written to-day, its framers would have extended the frontier of India to Gibraltar on the one side and the shores of Japan on the other.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah reiterated the Muslim League's determination not to embarrass Government, and asked the Congress Party ; "Why not you and I put our heads together and present a common united demand to Mr. Amery or the British Parliament or the British nation ?" (Hear ! hear !) Mr. Jinnah referred first to the statement that the House could not be consulted because without the Congress Party it would not be a representative one. Did that mean that the rest of the House did not count ? Mr. Griffiths : "The part cannot represent the whole." Mr. Jinnah said that that was not the real reason. The reason was that the Government of India had no power here. It was a constitutional, legal and physical fact that India was a possession of England. It was therefore no use trying to put fear into the people or saying that Muslim countries were in danger. "So far as the Muslim League is concerned, from the very beginning we have not put any difficulty in the way of Government ; we have not embarrassed Government in any way. From September 4 last year, right up to September 29 this year in the course of negotiations, we have put no difficulties of any kind whatsoever." Mr. *Jinnah* sketched the history of the offers made by the Viceroy and the attitude adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League, and referred to the statement made in the House that the Muslim League moved close to accepting in principle the offer of October, 1939. The question had been asked, observed Mr. Jinnah, if that was final and if the League would give up the principle because of difficulties over details. His answer was : "If I am willing to share your peril and danger, what about my having a voice in the assets which I am bringing to this pool ? Must I not have some say in how this is going to be used ? What, I ask, will be my share ? I am only told : 'You will have two jobs.' But nothing is said about what will be the total number of the controlling authority, who else is coming and what will be the portfolios. I am simply told : 'I will have you as a partner ; what more do you want ?' The question how the principle I came near to accepting is going to be implemented should therefore be put to Government and not to me." His speech on the Id day had been quoted. In that speech he had said we should support and co-operate in order to protect our own homes and hearths and prevent the war from coming to the Indian shores, but he had also demanded real authority. This was the difficulty in the way of Muslim India giving wholehearted support in the war. Government were not going to meet us fully because they were afraid or did not trust us or, it might be because England

was now in a strong position and we could not prevent or help very much in the war effort. "I tell you, even at this critical moment if you are really in earnest and are serious, if you want our hand of co-operation and friendship, take it on an honourable basis." "I am asked: "If you allow this Bill to be defeated what will be the impression abroad." In the first Instance, if the Congress succeeds in defeating you, it is not my fault.—it is the fault of the constitution, and you have enacted this constitution, you have been carrying on this wooden, antediluvian Government, for decades now; and you cannot have it both ways. It is your constitution; it is of your making. When you say the impression abroad will be bad, where and what are you referring to? "Those who want to create that impression have worked it out mathematically. Even if you win by a few votes, even if the Muslim League was to go into your lobby, they have already informed those abroad that a majority of the elected members are against it, and which fool is there in America or in Germany who does not know your constitution, does not know the nature and character of this assembly? Who is the man who will be upset think you will lose the war because this Finance Bill was rejected? "Let me for the sake of argument assume it will be an embarrassment.—I don't think so; I think you are exaggerating and you are attaching too much importance to it—but even if it was to embarrass you, how can you expect me to support you? Mind, you, I don't say I am satisfied with the acceptance of the principle; but it is not a question of my being satisfied. Nobody is going to get 16 annas and, believe me, especially when you are in the grip of danger, it is not wise for one party or the other to put up extraordinary demands because that is not business. "That is, therefore, the very reason why we have never said a word that you should agree to give me Pakistan before I support you. And, believe me, whatever my friends of the Congress Party may say, we have finally determined that that is our only goal, and we shall fight for it and die for it. (Cheers). Make no mistake about it. Democracy is dead—democracy of Mr. Desai's kind. (Renewed cheers).

"We may be less in numbers and we are; but we could give you. I venture to say—and I am not saying this by way of threat but by way of information to you—that we can give you hundred times more trouble than the Congress can give, if we so determine. But we do not want it. You will realise that. We do not want to do it even now." Mr. Jinnah went on to say that Congress leaders had always had at the back of their minds the idea that the Congress alone represented the country. That was the reason why there had been no settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Congress had the idea that all that minorities could press for were safeguards as minorities. Mussalmans always had at the back of their mind during the last 25 years that they were a separate entity. Passing on to deal with Mr. *Rajagopalachari's* "sporting offer", Mr. Jinnah asked: "Why doesn't he invite the prospective Prime Minister to have a talk with him instead of wiring of to a London newspaper and saying 'I shall persuade my colleagues?'" (Cheers). Mr. Rajagopalachari had to-day justified his action by saying that it would have been improper to make the offer to Mr. Jinnah in the first instance, for Mr. Jinnah would then have had legitimate ground for considering it an insult and retorting that he was not after jobs. "If Mr. Amery had accepted that offer and when that offer is then made to me, would it not be open to me to make the same retort and say that Mr. Amery and Mr. Rajagopalachari have combined to insult me; I am not here for jobs. Do give other peoples credit for commonsense. The British Government have said in an authoritative pronouncement that if we can put our heads together and bring some agreement, they are willing to consider it. Then what is the use of making this offer to Mr. Amery over the head of the Muslim League?" A national Government had been asked for by the Congress. That, said Mr. Jinnah, meant far-reaching and fundamental changes in the constitution; and whatever the Government, Mr. Desai could command a two-thirds majority. "I will pity any member of that Cabinet who does not obey the Congress mandate."

The Finance Member, *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, winding up the debate, said: "I could not help feeling that there was a great deal in the speeches which could not but rejoice the hearts of the enemies of India as well as of Britain—many passages of which the speakers will, I believe, feel ashamed at a time not very far distant. If there is one lesson more than another which this war has taught us, it is that the enemy with whom we have to deal proceeds by sapping the morale of the countries he purposes to attack. If I thought that the honourable members

opposite believed everything that they said, I should feel that it was indeed a sinister omen for the future of India. But, sir, I do not believe it. They have come here to make a gesture and demonstration and we must not weight too precisely all the words which they have uttered." The Finance Member said that they had been told that no adequate steps had been taken for the defence of India. "This is curious criticism from the lips of those who, year in and year out, have objected to the expenditure on defence and who have come here now to reject the proposals for raising part of the finance for immediate defence measures. It is true that here, as in other parts of the world, adequate steps were not taken at an earlier stage to meet the menace which threatens from the self-confessed apostles of the doctrine of force and aggression. But one of the main reasons for the failure to prepare was precisely the state of mind which still characterises many members of the Opposition. "It is impossible to undo in a day the damage that has been done during years of unpreparedness, but, now that we realise the dangers, we can at least press on with all the measures that are open to us to take. We have made and are making, every possible effort in this direction. It has been argued that factories for the production of aeroplanes and munitions should have been transferred wholesale from their exposed position in Great Britain to India. "There is much force in this argument, but the critics should not forget that at a moment when every day's production was vital for the outcome of the battle of Britain the removal of an installation to India would have meant a gain in time of anything from 6 to 18 months or more. It would have meant a good deal of shipping space and the transfer of considerable numbers of skilled personnel until trained workers should be available in India. Finally it is rare for a unit of production to be entirely self-contained. Its existence depends on subsidiary and ancillary forms of industrial production which may not easily be available in India. These are all serious obstacles to the course which has been advocated. It is unnecessary to attribute to the British Government sinister and sordid motives for failing to welcome them." The Finance Member next dealt with the suggestion that a supplementary Finance Bill was unnecessary. Mr. Desai, he said, had alleged that the real purpose of the Bill was to tell the outside world that India was with Britain in this war. He repudiated the suggestion. Immediately after the outbreak of war he had brought in an Excess Profits Tax Bill, primarily to meet the war expenditure. The House then felt that the Bill was a premature measure and discussed all aspects of war and war expenditure. Similarly, in his budget estimates last March he had set aside eight crores of rupees for defence expenditure attributable to war. The Congress Party kept away from the House and it was extraordinary for them now to ascribe ulterior motives to Government when they themselves had come to make a demonstration.

The Finance Member said that the point at issue was whether they could have retained a deficit created by large defence expenditure when they knew that existing sources of revenue were not likely to yield more than the budgeted returns. Referring to the economy drive, he said that his predecessor had had an economy drive for two or three years and had saved as much as Rs. 120 lakhs in one year. They, however, found that many of the measures taken had the effect which made the continuation of the economy drive impossible. Furthermore, with the preoccupation of war, they could not start a retrenchment inquiry. Government, however, had not accepted any expenditure which was not absolutely essential. The Finance Member, alluding to the criticisms against the Supply Department, said that it was wrong to say that only one officer had declined to accept a higher salary than he was getting before he joined the Department. Of 101 officers 60 were getting no more than in their former posts. Of the remainder, 17 were drawing standard rates of pay admissible for similar appointments in other Departments. "While I agree that extravagance where it exists should be weeded out, I claim that the stories about the Supply Department are grossly exaggerated. I am in charge of a Department which sees that the scandals of the kind attributed to the Supply Department do not occur."

Dealing with the suggestion about a cut in salary, the Finance Member said that the suggestion had crossed his mind during the last two months. They, however, must remember that many of the low-paid employees of Government were agitating for a dearness allowance and there could be no question of any cut in their salary. "There is another layer of employees just above the low-paid ones, in whose case also a cut in salary does not arise. This leaves Government with those who pay income-tax and in their case the best device was to levy a surcharge on income-tax and super-tax and thereby treat them like others outside

Government employment. As for the increase in the sterling reserves of the Reserve Bank of India, the Finance Member said that no one should worry as long as sterling assets did not exceed sterling liabilities.

The House then divided and the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill was rejected by 55 votes to 53. The result of the division was received with shouts of "resign" from the Congress benches. The Muslim League Party refrained from voting. The Congress Nationalist Party voted with the Congress against the motion. *Sardar Sant Singh* (Congress Nationalist), who appeared to have decided to remain neutral, became the object of intensive canvassing and persuasion in which *Mr. Aney*, the Leader of the Party and *Sardar Jogindra Singh*, the Whip of the Congress Party, joined. He finally agreed to vote with the Congress and walked into the "Noes" lobby amid loud cheers. Members of the Congress Nationalist Party who were absent to-day were *Bhai Paramanand* and Babu *Baijnath Bajoria*. Among unattached members who voted with the Congress were *Mr. Joshi*, *Maulvi Abdur Rashid Chaudhury* and the *Raja of Nilambur*.

The Viceroy's Speech

20th. NOVEMBER :—Addressing both the Houses of the Central Legislature to-day, *H. E. the Viceroy* said that, in the matter of expansion of his Executive Council, he had not secured the response that was hoped from political leaders in India. The address was frequently cheered by the House, which was full, although among the absentees were members of the Congress Party and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Leader of the Muslim League Party. The following is the full text of His Excellency the Viceroy's address :—

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to meet you all again to-day. The fourteen months that have elapsed since I last addressed you has been a period of great events, events of profound significance, both in their immediate effects and in their ultimate reaction on the fortunes of civilisation and the history of the world. I warned you in September, 1939, that we should be ill-advised if we thought that victory was easily achieved or that the course of the conflict would be free from reverses to our arms. I expressed at the same time complete and entire confidence in the outcome of the war. I emphasised how vitally important it was to India, the Empire, and to the world's civilisation that that outcome should be satisfactory, and I added that I felt certain beyond any question that the response which India would make in a conflict for ideals so dear to her would be one of the utmost value and importance, and one worthy of her traditions and her ancient name.

When I spoke to you we could none of us have foreseen that fourteen months later the Empire would be bearing single-handed a burden so heavy as it bears to-day : that of its Allies at the beginning of the war, Poland and France would have been overrun and conquered ; that unprovoked Nazi aggression would have added to its victims Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium ; and that Italy would have made an equally unprovoked attack on the gallant people of Greece whose superb resistance commands our admiration to-day. But we should have been well content fourteen months ago had we, with any foreknowledge of the events which have happened, of the vastly increased burden placed upon the Empire, of the intensification of the most ruthless and unprincipled forms of attack on human life and human property by air and sea, of the singular disregard with which our enemies have continued to treat international obligations and treaties so long as they could derive a temporary advantage in doing so, had we, I say, been enabled to foresee, too, the valour and the success of the resistance offered. The work of the armed forces of the Crown by sea, by land, in the air, in every theatre of war, whether they are drawn from India, from the Dominions and colonies, or from the home country, is such as to fill us with pride, with thankfulness, and with confidence for the future.

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

While the war lasts, its implications, its consequences are such that it can never for a moment be out of our minds, that, in everything that we do, it must always be present to us. But, I do not propose to-day, nor would this be the place, to enlarge in this speech on the details of India's war effort, on the splendid work which Indian troops have done and are doing in the fighting line, or on the magnificent achievements of India, whether British India or the Indian States, in the provision of men, of money, of materials. No praise could be too warm for that achievement. It is one that has struck the imagination of the world, one for which the whole Empire is, I know, deeply grateful. And, substantial as that

achievement already is, no pains are being spared to enable us to give still further effect, in all the ways I have mentioned, and with as little delay as may be, to the universal desire in this country to help the Allies and to see the triumph of the ideals for which they are fighting. The confident hope that I expressed a year ago that India would live up to her highest traditions have been fulfilled in the highest degree. You may be confident, gentlemen, that in this vital matter, I and my Government are fully alive to the importance not only of responding to India's desire to help, but of making her in the matter of defence as self-sufficient as possible; and to the necessity of bringing her defensive equipment to the highest practicable pitch of adequacy and efficiency.

I said, gentlemen, that the war must be continually in our thoughts and must be related to everything we do. Of the matters on which I shall touch in the remainder of my speech, the great bulk arise out of, or have some connection with, war activities or the war situation. There are one or two which I shall also mention, which are not so directly connected. But in their case the interest taken in them by the general public is sufficiently great to justify me in making a reference which I should not otherwise have made.

It was with much regret that I learned of the refusal of the Legislative Assembly to take into consideration the Finance Bill designed to facilitate the financing of India's war effort. It will, I think, be very generally appreciated that it would be impossible for me to acquiesce in the decision of the Assembly, and I have made a recommendation, which will be placed before the Assembly this afternoon.

Work of Supply Department

The work of the Department of Supply, which, as you will remember, was established shortly before the outbreak of the war, has been of great value in connection with India's war effort; and I should like to pay a tribute to the importance of this work and to the work of the ordnance factories (which were not until recently brought under the Department). I would like to associate with that a tribute to the business community in this country, whether Indian or British. At a time of considerable strain, the Department has had the most valuable assistance from business firms, and I am glad to think that that friendly collaboration and patriotic assistance, so readily given, has led to some remarkable results. In the field of munitions, the ordnance factories since the beginning of the war have been able to export to His Majesty's Government about one hundred million rounds of small arms and ammunition and nearly four hundred thousand rounds of gun ammunition. On the stores side, Indian industry has made contributions on the largest scale to the war effort in the shape of engineering stores, jute goods, and many other manufactured products. I and my Government have been at pains to endeavour to secure that such changes should be made in the organisation of the Department as practical working showed likely to produce still better results. You may be confident that the lessons of experience will not be lost upon us, and that such further modification of the Supply organisation as experience may dictate will be made without hesitation or delay. As I speak to-day, indeed, further changes in the Supply Department are in view, designed further to speed up work and to ensure that the organisation as a whole is as compact and as economically run as is consistent with the magnitude and the character of the operations which fall to be performed.

Eastern Group Conference

It was with the greatest satisfaction that I recently welcomed to India the members of the Eastern Group Conference, and the Mission from the Ministry of Supply, headed by *Alexander Roger*. Much as may have been done, much still remains to be done if India is to make her full contribution to the war effort; and the importance, whether to India or to the Empire as a whole, of the labours of the bodies to which I have just referred cannot be over-estimated. I should like to take the opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the Non-official Advisers from India who have, with such public spirit, placed their services at the disposal of these bodies.

Trade Problems

The need for harnessing India's economic resources to the task of making her a great centre for supplying the requirements of the military forces engaged in the war must take first place in our attention. But the Government of India are in no way blind to the pressing problems that war conditions have

brought to Indian trade and industry. The dislocation of our export trade by the cutting off of nearly all European markets has been receiving the closest attention, not only of my Government but of the Export Advisory Council, in the hope of dealing with the problem of surplus production and of reducing the size of any surplus by finding new outlets for our products and manufactures. This last attempt is being pursued in various ways, of which mention may be made, in particular, of the exploratory mission of Dr. Gregory and Sir David Meek to America, and of the decision to increase the number of our Trade Commissioners in continents other than Europe, beginning with Australia On the other side of the picture, the cutting of many supplies which normally came from abroad has created many gaps, not only in India itself, but also in neighbouring countries, which Indian industry can hope to fill. I am glad to note that business and industrial interests in the country have not been slow to undertake enterprises designed to fill these gaps, while my Government have done their best to mobilise technical skill for their assistance by setting up the Board of Industrial and Scientific Research, which through its numerous sub-committees and in collaboration with the Director of Research, has already produced valuable results.

CIVIC GUARD AND A. R. P.

The war has thrown a considerably increased burden upon the provincial police forces, for, apart from their normal responsibility for law and order, they now are under obligation to undertake the safeguarding of places of vital importance to the internal defence of the country, such as power plants, major installations, and a number of protected places, in addition to affording an enhanced degree of protection to railways, and to watch and ward against sabotage. That burden has been materially eased by the establishment in all provinces of the Civic Guard, and by the assistance given by that body in maintaining internal security. The response to the call for volunteers has been most encouraging. The Civic Guard has on many occasions already given practical proof of its usefulness and efficiency, and I am confident that it will, as its training progresses, play a most valuable and important part in India's war effort.

Though immediate danger to India from enemy air raids may not be apparent at the moment, he would be a wise man who could accurately foretell the development of the war and we must be prepared for all eventualities. For this reason air-raid precautions in India have been initiated in a manner designed to form a solid basis on which further expansion can take place. Close liaison exists on this most important matter between the Central Government and the Provinces ; and its expert advice, and substantial grants-in-aid, have been placed at their disposal. Good progress has been achieved in the past year, a progress made possible by the willing co-operation and voluntary effort of the people of India. There is, however, still much to be done, and I need not remind you, gentlemen, of the value of the help which you can individually give to stimulate interest and co-operation on the part of the public and of local bodies in the areas from which you come.

Since the last meeting of the Legislature compulsory national service has been introduced in India for European British subjects. For the smooth working of the machinery for enrolment, I gratefully acknowledge the work of the National Service Advisory Committees—all of it voluntary ; and the spirit of willing service has been evident on every hand. The European community in India have yielded to none in the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which they have shown in the common cause.

ENEMY ALIENS

In the treatment of enemy aliens, the policy of my Government has been guided by the desire not to disorganise the good work of missionary institutions, and to avoid imposing unnecessary hardship on innocent and harmless people. Although, as a result of events in Europe last summer, reinternment or restriction of parole centres was necessary for most of those who had earlier been released on the recommendation of a special committee the case of some priests and missionaries, and of other enemy aliens, who can show that they have consistently and publicly opposed the Nazi or Fascist regime, is receiving special consideration.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN BRITAIN

The outbreak of war found many Indian students in the United Kingdom. Arrangements were promptly made through the High Commissioner in London to repatriate those desiring to return to India, and to maintain a register of those who preferred to continue their studies overseas. To both categories the High

Commissioner was authorised to make financial advances where necessary. In the case of students returning to India the universities have all, I am glad to say, agreed that the period already spent at a British university should be recognised for the purpose of enabling them to complete their degree courses in India. Special arrangements have also been made, under the general control of the Chief Justice of India, for holding Bar Examinations in this country.

Facilities for Haj

Realising as I do the importance attached by the Muslim community to the performance of the sacred duty of pilgrimage to Mecca, I am happy that, in spite of wartime difficulties, it has been possible to arrange shipping facilities,—at Calcutta, this year, as well as at Bombay and Karachi,—and with the collaboration of His Majesty's Government, to prevent fares for the sea passage soaring beyond the reach of the classes from whom the pilgrims are mainly drawn. Indeed, I understand that, thanks to a substantial reduction in charges announced by the Saudi Arabian Government, and to our being prepared, even in wartime, to permit the taking of gold sovereigns out of India by the pilgrims to enable them to overcome exchange difficulties in the Hedjaz, the minimum cost to the pilgrim will be substantially lower than it would otherwise have been. In fact it will be lower this year than last.

War Expenditure and Economy

The greatly increased burden which has fallen on the Government of India in connection with war preparation and war work has inevitably necessitated some expansion of staff and some additional expenditure. It would clearly be a short-sighted policy to reject expenditure which, on a broad view, would assist in the mobilization of the economic resources of the country and further the successful prosecution of the war. But I would take this opportunity to say that I am fully alive to the vital importance of economy in the civil administration, and of eliminating all forms of avoidable expenditure at a time when we have no choice but to spend large sums of money on defence and to augment the revenues of the Government by additional taxation.

Indians Overseas

In spite of their immediate pre-occupation with questions arising out of the war, my Government continue to keep a vigilant watch on the interests of Indians overseas. In the Union of South Africa, the Broome Commission, which was appointed in May last to enquire into alleged penetration of Indians into predominantly European areas in Natal and Transvaal, commenced its labours last month. The ban on the assisted emigration of unskilled labour to Malaya continues, while questions of the wages of Indian labourers and of the status of the Indian community are still under discussion with the Malayan Government. In regard to Burma, my Government are awaiting the results of Mr. Baxter's enquiry into the facts concerning Indian immigration into that country, and they are also watching with close attention the course of certain recent legislation which may directly affect the Indian community. An experienced officer was sent to Mauritius to ascertain recent developments in that colony so far as they affect Indians. I regret that the recent conversations between my Government and the representatives of the Government of Ceylon should not have had more satisfactory results.

Nepal, Tibet and Thailand

In the field of foreign affairs, my Government's relations with Nepal continue to be most cordial. The friendly attitude of His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal and of his Government is evident from His Highness' offer of two brigades of Nepalese troops for the defence of India and from the generous donations of money made by His Highness and the members of his family. This attitude of ready and friendly co-operation is greatly appreciated by the Government of India.

His Holiness the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, and his incarnation was discovered towards the end of 1939. The installation ceremony of His Holiness the new Dalai Lama took place in February last. A mission headed by Mr. B. J. Gould, who is responsible for the Government of India's relations with our friendly neighbour, Tibet, was deputed to Lhasa to attend the ceremony on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India.

In October, I and my Government had the pleasure of welcoming to India a mission of Goodwill from Thailand. The Mission were the guests of the Government of India. During their visit, they were able to make wide contacts

and cover much ground. On their return to Thailand, they took with them precious Buddhist relies from Taxila presented to the Thai Government by the Government of India, who also arranged, at the request of the Mission, for earth from certain sacred Buddhist places in India to be placed on the aeroplane on which they returned to Bangkok. I am confident that the visit of this Mission will help to cement still further the bonds which already exist between India and Thailand.

From China we are glad to welcome Dr. *Tai Chi Tao*, an eminent Buddhist scholar, and Chairman of the China Public Service Commission.

His Excellency the Governor of the French Establishments in India issued an announcement in September last identifying French India with the cause of Free France (cheers).

PEACE IN THE FRONTIER

It gives me great satisfaction to be able to inform the House that the relations between India and Afghanistan continue to rest on a firm and friendly basis, and that there are signs that the bonds between our two countries are being drawn even closer. In the cultural and commercial fields, I am glad, too, to say that in spite of the disturbance of men's minds by a period of war and intensive rumour the frontier tribes have on the whole remained remarkably steady. The whole tribal belt from Chitral to the sea has been entirely quiet save in Waziristan, and there are many signs that the tribesmen are in sympathy with the democratic front. And in Waziristan, largely as the result of measures undertaken to control portions of tribal territory which had served as harbourage for the collection of gangs, a better spirit prevails, and the peace of the districts of the North-West Frontier has recently been less disturbed than at any time during the last few years.

LABOUR

Since I last addressed you, Labour in India has not been without its problems: but I am happy to say that owing to the good sense of all concerned, there has been no major dislocation of work since the war began, and I believe that Indian Labour will continue its substantial contribution to the war effort. When disputes have arisen, the influence of my Government has always been thrown in favour of adjustment and conciliation rather than dictation. Complaints of inadequate wages, in the circumstances of the war situation, have always received careful and anxious consideration; an examination has already been made of the cost of living in the coalfields and an enquiry has also been instituted into the claim of railway labour for a dearness allowance.

My Government has taken steps to obtain skilled labour for those industries which are engaged on war production, ensuring at the same time that the interests of the artisan are safeguarded. Under the technical training scheme, in the operation of which I have to acknowledge the willing assistance of Provincial Governments, we have planned not only to meet the immediate needs of the war effort, but by providing well-equipped and completely staffed institutions for training thousands of our young men to be skilled technicians, we have kept in view the needs, when peace is at last restored, of India's expanding industries.

EFFORTS TO SOLVE POLITICAL DEADLOCK

Let me turn now to the constitutional field. I will not detain you with any detailed recapitulation of the discussions with political parties that have taken place since the outbreak of war. As you know, I have had discussions at various times with all the leading political figures in this country, and with representatives of all major parties and communities: and I can, I think, claim to have spared no effort to bring the parties together, and to reach an accommodation in the constitutional field which would be generally acceptable. (Cheers) It is a matter of profound disappointment to me that those endeavours should not have been more successful than they have been, and that the differences which have stood in the way of that constitutional advance which His Majesty's Government have been so anxious to see, should still persist. The latest and the most important of the endeavours made by His Majesty's Government is represented by the statement which I was authorised to issue three months ago.

BRITISH DECLARATION OF AUGUST 8

On August 8, I published a statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That statement reaffirmed the attainment by India of free and equal partner-

ship in the British Commonwealth as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament. In order to remove all doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, it declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-government should—subject to due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her—be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. At the same time, it emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in the framing of that scheme, and it made it clear that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government, whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. The method by which these two indispensably linked objects were to be secured was the setting up, on the basis of friendly agreement, of a body representative of all the principal elements in India's national life to devise the framework of the new constitution. This body was to be set up immediately after the war, but His Majesty's Government expressed their desire to welcome and promote, in the meantime, every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves that could prepare the way for agreement upon its form and procedure, as well as upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. Meanwhile in order to associate Indian public opinion more closely with the Government of India at the Centre, and in the hope of promoting the unity of India by the creation of new bonds of understanding through practical and responsible co-operation in the task of governing India and directing the Indian war effort, I was authorised to invite Indian political leaders to join my Executive Council, as well as to establish a War Advisory Council containing representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

Outside India these proposals, both in their immediate and in their larger ultimate aspects, have been welcomed as liberal in conception, and as representing the best practical solution of existing differences. In India itself, too, they have met with the support of a large body of opinion : in their more immediate aspect, however namely, the expansion of my Executive Council, I have not secured the response that was hoped from political leaders in India. The reasons for which they have been unable to accept the proposals of His Majesty's Government are conflicting, and, indeed, in some ways mutually destructive. However that may be, the effect is that the major political parties concerned are not in present circumstances prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them.

Offer to Remain Open

His Majesty's Government note this conclusion with sincere regret. The proposals in question would place real power and real responsibility in Indian hands. Their acceptance would afford the most hopeful contribution which Indian political leaders could make at this critical time towards the preservation of Indian unity, and towards an agreed constitutional settlement for the future. His Majesty's Government do not propose to withdraw them, and are still prepared to give effect to them as soon as they are convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support is forthcoming. But as that degree of support has evidently not yet manifested itself, His Majesty's Government have decided that I should not be justified in proceeding with the expansion of my Executive Council, or the establishment of the War Advisory Council, at the present moment.

Deep Disappointment

Gentlemen, I do not wish to conceal from you the deep disappointment which I feel at this failure to secure, within the framework of the Constitution, due expression of that ultimate and essential unity in which the hopes and the labours of so many of us have been founded, and upon which must depend the future position and influence of India in times to come. Nevertheless, I would counsel you not to be cast down by the immediate difficulties that beset the path of political advance in this great country. For, indeed, stress of war may well in the end come to strengthen and extend that very process of unification, and to hasten the achievement of those constitutional changes implicit in self-government with unity, which at this moment it appears to obstruct. Meanwhile, in the

circumstances of the world to-day, the duty of my Government is clear. It is to press forward with all speed and in every field of activity those preparations upon which rests the capacity of this country to wage war with ever-growing strength and successfully to overcome the hazards that confront her. (Applause). Many things may happen before I address you again : but whatever the trials and anxieties that lie before us, however sharp the tests to which we may be subjected, we may have faith in the capacity of India to continue to play a glorious part in this righteous war against the forces of darkness and oppression. (Cheers). With all faith and confidence in your resolution and affection, I invite you and all men and women of goodwill throughout this land to support in this critical hour, with strength of body and spirit, the cause of India and the Empire. (prolonged applause).

The Recommended Finance Bill

After the Viceroy's speech, opposing the introduction of the recommended Finance Bill Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Opposition, said : "This procedure on the part of Government is not without precedent, I am fully aware ; yet I had hoped that after the nature of the debate to which we have listened during the last six days, a different spirit might possibly prevail in regard to the working of what is called the gift of the Government of India Act. The opinion of the House was reflected in the manner in which the vote was given, apart from those nominated non-officials and my friends, the protectors of Britain in India, and those friends who still think they can cling to what my friend Mr. Rajagopalachari called the leaky boat. But it is entirely their own choice. I daresay they will continue to do so until the fate which is bound to overtake them will overtake them in due course of time. To them I have nothing to say except this—that, in the race of opinion in India, they might have acted differently ; but, after all, it is for them to consult their own opinions, their own ideas and their own policy." Dealing with the political issue to which Mr. Jinnah had alluded yesterday, Mr. Desai said : "So far as I am concerned, it was, I repeat, a genuine desire to have the co-operation of all sections of the people in the country, should it commend itself to the British Government to allow us an opportunity so to do. In fact, the question is dead not because we could not find means or avenues of co-operation but because the Britisher would not accept it. None-the-less, and notwithstanding the temporary barriers which sometimes arise by reason of circumstances in the country, my Hon. friend Mr. Jinnah and myself have been associated in a profession for a period of over a quarter of a centry and otherwise in public life since the days of the Home Rule movement. If any co-operation is needed and such an opportunity materialises, we have not the smallest doubt that we shall find it forthcoming." Referring to "what was called voluntary effort" in support of the war, Mr. Desai read out an official letter which, he said, had been sent to the wife or Dr. Katju, ex-Minister of the United Provinces, who wanted the lease of a house in Khas Mahal transferred to her. This required Government sanction and, in reply to an application for it, she was informed in the letter that "before the necessary permission is granted the Collector has to be satisfied that the transferee is a suitable person to own a homestead holding in this Khas Mahal. With a view to proving your loyalty, I am directed by the Collector to request that you will kindly contribute generously to the Orissa War Fund started in this district at the instance of His Excellency the Governor of Orissa. Your contribution may kindly be sent as early as possible."

The House divided on the motion and threw it out by 55 votes to 33.

Women's Rights to Property Bill

22nd. NOVEMBER :—The Assembly rejected without a division to-day Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta's* motion to refer the Bill further to amend the Women's Rights to Property Act to a select committee. The motion was supported by Dr. Bannerji, Mr. M. S. Aney and Syed Ghulam Bhik Narang.

Mr. Dutta and the supporters of the Bill explained that the object of the Bill was not to confer any new right on the Hindu daughter, but to restore to her rights which were taken away by the 1938 amendment of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act. The Bill would restore the Hindu daughters to the position they enjoyed before the amending Act of 1938. The Bill had been circulated and, it was claimed, the majority of opinions received were in favour of the principle of the Bill.

The Home Member, *Sir Reginald Maxwell*, explained Government's attitude to social legislation. He said that such legislation must have the support of

a predominantly large section of the community it affected. Secondly, it should not be such as would result in large unnecessary litigation. Further-more, piecemeal legislation was not desirable, unless it was undertaken at the behest of a competent committee. The Home Member claimed that the mass of opinions received on the Bill were opposed to the principle of the Bill. Government, therefore, would be justified in opposing the Bill. He referred to a deputation of certain members of the Assambly, which had waited on him, and said that as a result of their representations, he had the Bill re examined in the light of the view expressed that the amendment of 1938 had placed Hindu daughters in a position of disadvantage. Government recognised that the object in view was a laudable one and agreed that the difficulties urged should not be allowed to continue indefinitely. At the same time, they were definitely of opinion that the Bill under discussion was defective, and required entire recasting and in some respects even enlargement. Government, therefore, had a trial Bill drafted, which ran to six additional clauses and a good many sub-clauses. Sir Reginald Maxwell said that it would be thus clear that the Bill could not be referred to a select committee, which was never intended to redraft a Bill or do research. On the other hand, Government were entirely in agreement with the object of the Bill and intended to set up a committee of eminent Hindu lawyers to inquire and report on the whole question which was the subject matter of the Bill.

The select committee motion was rejected.

Hindu Women's Divorce Bill

Dr. *G. V. Deshmukh*, who was the solitary occupant of Congress benches, introduced his Bill to give Hindu married women a right to separate residence and maintenance under certain circumstances and to provide for judicial separation and divorce amongst the Hindus.

Sale of Goods Amend. Bill

25th. NOVEMBER :—The Assembly to-day passed the Commerce Member's Bill to amend the India Sale of Goods Act.

Control of Accounts

The House briefly discussed the Public Accounts Committees' report for 1938-39. Not more than 30 members were present during the discussion.

Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai* raised the question of control of railway accounts and said that if control was vested both in the hands of the Controller of Accounts and the General Manager of the railway there would be dyarchy. Mr. *B. M. Staig*, Financial Commissioner for Railways, explained that the practice adopted was the same as that adopted by business concerns. *Maulvi Abdul Ghani* urged the scrapping of saloons and asked that the system of free passes should be abolished, declaring it was a wastage of public money and open to misuses. *Sir Andrew Clow*, replying to Maulvi Abdul Ghani, pointed out that the Public Accounts Committee which had considered the question of saloons was, on the whole, satisfied that this question was receiving the attention it deserved. The more important question related to passes. The Government had made an appreciable reduction a few years ago, and one of the consequences was a series of protests in this House. "If we are to abolish passes altogether, I should spend the rest of my life answering questions in this House." In view of opinions expressed in the House, the Department had relaxed the cuts in passes to some extent, but he did not think it would be reasonable to abolish passes or embark upon an appreciable reduction at present. The House then agreed to demands for excess grants amounting to about Rs. 92 lakhs, and then adjourned till the 27th.

Excess Profits Tax Amend. Bill

27th. NOVEMBER :—The Assembly to-day held a brief sitting lasting an hour, during which it passed the Excess Profits Tax Amendment Bill, with two amendments. In the course of discussion of the clauses of the Bill, the two amendments were moved on behalf of the European Group. One of these amendments extended from one month to 45 days the time limit given under the proviso to Section 8 of the Act to the assessee to appeal to the Board of Referees from the Excess Profits Tax Officer. The House rejected without a division *Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmed's* amendment to the effect that any expenditure which assessees might go in for in order to show lower profits should not be excluded in the calculation of excess profits tax. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly

Monsoon Sesssion—Calcutta—15th. July to 19th. September 1940

Mr. Subhas Bose's Arbest

The Monsoon Session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly commenced in Calcutta on the **15th. July 1940** with Khan Bahadur *M. Azizul Huq*, Speaker, in the chair.

After the disposal of some formal items such as the announcement of the panel of chairmen and the taking of oaths, Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu*, Deputy Leader of the Congress party, moved the adjournment of the House to consider "the arrest and detention without any charge or trial of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose." Mr. Basu said that when Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested on July 2 no reason was disclosed, neither any warrant of arrest shown to him. It was only a few days later that the people learnt from a statement made by the Secretary of State in Parliament that Mr. Bose's arrest was in connexion with the movement for the removal of the Holwell Monument. At the moment Mr. Bose was engaged in a mission of peace, to bring about a *rapprochement* between the two major communities of India. He failed to understand how a movement for the removal of a monument, in which members of different communities had taken an intimate and keen interest, could be described as prejudicial to public safety. He maintained that the monument was a standing reproach to the people of this country and the Government should not delay its removal.

A number of other speakers from the Congress benches, including Mr. *Surendra Nath Biswas*, *Rai H. N. Chowdhury*, Mr. *M. A. Zaman* and Mr. *Niharendu Dutt Majumdar*, described the Black Hole tragedy as a myth. Mr. *Dutt Majumdar* described Mr. Subhas Bose's activities for a Hindu-Moslem *rapprochement* and in this connexion referred to his work in the Calcutta Corporation in combination with the members of the Moslem League.

The Premier, the Hon. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, agreed that there was a feeling in the country that so far as the Holwell Monument was concerned it should be immediately removed. But the only thing, that stood in the way of its removal was the *satyagraha* movement. Let the movement cease and then they would sit together and decide what to do with regard to the monument. But he had made it abundantly clear that so long as *satyagraha* was persisted in the Government could not consent to take any action whatsoever. He wanted the House to realize that it was not possible for the Government to tolerate a movement like this at a time when perfect peace and tranquillity should prevail in order to enable the Government to carry on its administration and push on with measures for the defence of the country and for the successful prosecution of the war. Concluding, Mr. Huq appealed to all leaders to exercise their influence with young men to give up *Satyagraha* and not incite them to continue this movement as if the whole future of the country depended upon the removal of the Holwell Monument. "Let *Satyagraha* cease," he added, and "then within a reasonable time the Government will be in a position to come to a decision, which, I hope, will be satisfactory to all concerned.

Towards the close of the debate Mr. *A. R. Siddiqui* appealed to Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, to use his influence to have the Satyagraha movement called off in view of the statement of the Chief Minister. Mr. *C. W. Miles*, on behalf of the European group, said that they had no objection to the removal of the monument but Mr. Miles was sure that there would be whole-hearted antagonism to its demolition. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, in reply to Mr. Siddiqui's appeal, wanted to have a clear and unequivocal clarification of what the Chief Minister meant. But the *Chief Minister* did not reply to Mr. Bose. The motion was put to vote and was defeated by 78 to 119 votes whereafter the House adjourned.

Motor Vehicles Rules

16th. JULY :—New Motor Vehicles Rules were approved by the House to-day, the whole day being occupied with the consideration of the rules. It may be noted that draft of new rules in supersession of the Calcutta and Howrah Motor Vehicles Rules, 1930, and the Bengal Motor Vehicles Rules, 1935, was considered

at a joint conference of the representatives of both the House. The rules as amended by that joint conference were placed before the House and they underwent some further modification to-day and the new rules as amended were approved by the Assembly. The new rules introduce some changes of far-reaching character. The province was divided into 25 regions, generally following the district administrative units, for the purpose of control of Transport vehicles. A provincial transport authority had been set up with the secretary to the Provincial Government in the Department of Communications and Work as Secretary for controlling the transport. Of the large number of amendments which were moved to-day most of them came from Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal*. Dr. Sanyal in moving his amendments prefaced his remarks by saying that the whole object of the proposed rules appeared to him to put certain restrictions on road motor service both for goods and passenger. The railways were faring badly in their competition with motor transport. The Government of India framed certain model rules with a view to give relief to the railways. The Central Government expected that the provinces would help them by framing rules in accordance with their suggestions. Dr. Sanyal said that it would not be in the interest of the province to carry out the suggestions of the Government of India. The Bengal Government should do nothing which would interfere with the free flow of the traffic. Dr. Sanyal criticised the formation of regions according to district administrative units. He said that this should have been done according to geographical boundaries which would not have necessitated splitting up of areas into such small units. In the opinion of Dr. Sanyal by the formation of regional unit with each district the Government had created undue barrier in the traffic movement. Secondly, Dr. Sanyal proposed that every bus conductor and driver should pass a test of the working knowledge of the language of the province. Dr. Sanyal said that the motor transport business by fair means or foul had passed into the hands of people coming from outside. The Government by introducing such a provision should do something to put a check to it.

Sir *Nazimuddin*, replying, said that apart from the administrative convenience of having each district as a unit, he felt that the question of the development of roads and communications could be better tackled with. The Home Minister assured the House that the Government had taken into consideration the question of development of inter-district roads and the Government had made provisions to meet that point. Sir Nazimuddin could assure the House that the present rules would be worked out entirely on experimental basis and if it was felt later that they were causing inconvenience to the free flow of the vehicular traffic the Government would not hesitate to modity the rules. Referring to Dr. Sanyal's suggestion that every bus driver and conductor should pass a test of the language of the province, Sir Nazimuddin pointed out that the percentage of literacy was very low. If the suggestion was given effect to, that would be a source of danger to the industry. Dr. *Sanyal's* suggestion were negatived by the Honse. The House then adjourned.

Co-operative Societies Bill

17th. JULY :—The Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill, 1938, which had been introducedced by Mr. *Mukund Behari Mullick*, Minister for Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness, came up for consideration to-day. The day's proceedings were devoted to the consideration of a Congress amendment for the recommittal of the Bill to a Select Committee. The amendment was defeated by 93 to 48 votes. The Bill sought to amend the existing law relating to co-operative societies in Bengal with a view to fostering the formation and working of co-operative societies and the promotion of thrift, self-help and mutual aid and among persons of moderate means. It aimed at providing better conditions of living and better methods of production.

Ban on Holwell News

18th. JULY :—The recent order passed by the Government of Bengal, prohibiting the publication of any news in connexion with the Holwell Monument agitation, formed the subject of an adjournment motion to-day. The Home Minister, Khwaja Sir *Nazimuddin*, justifying the issue of the order, remarked that it had been promulgated in the interest of the people of Bengal in order that the agitation, the genuineness of which he challenged, might not spread to the mofussil. In Bengal, he said, one had to be particularly careful when an unlawful movement started and it was the Government's experience that in this province terrorism always followed in the wake of the civil disobedience movement. The adjournment motion was defeated by 115 votes to 74.

Mr. *Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy* (Proja) who sponsored the motion, condemned the order as curtailing the elementary right of freedom of expression and association. He said that the Government were mistaken if by this order they thought they would stop the agitation. Mr. *Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal* (Congress) felt that the question of the Holwell Monument was not a political question from the Congress point of view. It was a matter which had been agitating the minds of Moslems, while public opinion was unanimous that it should be removed. Mr. *Shamsuddin Ahmed*, Leader of the Proja Party, remarked that they had expected that the "popular Ministers" would at least understand the feelings of the people of the province on this matter and respond to public opinion. Maulana *Mahammad Maniruzzaman* Islamabadi (Proja) also condemned the order which instead of suppressing the agitation, would strengthen the movement. Mr. *Nausher Ali* (Proja), doubted if the application of the Defence of India Rules in a case like this was appropriate. The removal of the Monument, he said, was long overdue. No question of prestige arose. It was the privilege of a popular Government to respond to public opinion. Mr. *Atul Krishna Ghose* (Congress) observed that this notification under the Defence of India Act has been issued not so much for the security of India as for the security of the Ministers themselves. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* said that the issue the debate raised was one of fundamental importance, not only to members of this House but also to the wider public in Bengal. He suggested that the order had been promulgated because the agitation for the removal of the Monument had aroused great public interest and because of the recent participation of members of the Moslem community in the movement. He reminded the House that during the last civil disobedience movement no attempt was made by the Government to suppress news as had been done by the order under discussion. The result of this order would be that newsmongers would go about the city and province spreading garbled stories. By the present order the Government were stumbling from one political absurdity into another and deeper one.

PLEA FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

19th. JULY :—A resolution urging that the future constitution of India should be framed by a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise, evoked heated discussion this evening. Mr. *Maqbul Hossain* (Krishak Proja Party in Opposition) moved the following resolution :

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government should convey to the Government of India and through them to the British Government, that the future constitution of India should be framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise with safeguards for the protection of the rights and interests of Muslims to be determined solely by the Muslim members of such an Assembly, the representatives of other communities or any Foreign Power having no right to interfere with decision."

Mr. *Jalaluddin Hashemy*, another member of the Party, moved by way of amendment that in the meantime National Governments be formed in the Centre as well as in the provinces, consisting of the representatives of different important political groups in India.

Dr. *H. C. Mookherjee* (Indian Christian) opposed the resolution and pointed out that the resolution only provided for the protection of the rights and interests of the Muslims, leaving out of consideration the rights and interests of Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Scheduled Castes.

Dr. *Syama Prasad Mookerjee*, referring to the previous speaker's complaint that the Muslims of India had so long suffered at the hands of an "unsympathetic majority," observed that as belonging to the minority community in this province he could say the same thing with regard to the majority in this province. Dr. Mookerjee pointed out that if the Muslims of India were sincere in their demand, the majority in India must not be allowed to dictate the future constitution of this country so far as the interests of the minorities were concerned. He would likewise declare that the Hindus of Bengal would not accept any constitution which was left to the mercy of the Muslims of Bengal. He demanded that the Communal Award, at least that portion of it which affected the Hindus of Bengal, must be taken out of the statute book. Dr. Mookerjee declared that when the time came for taking up the question of framing the future constitution of India if the Muslims come forward to look upon the problem as Indians well and good, but if they took up the position that they wanted to divide India into Hindu and Muslim India, then it would be open to the Hindus of India to strive for framing a

constitution which would be in the best interests of India, their motherland, because Hindus had no other place to go ; they had to live and die in India.

Mr. *Samshuddin Ahmed*, Leader of the Krishak Proja Party, said that the main point of the resolution was that Indians must be given the liberty of framing their own constitution independent of a third Party. A Constituent Assembly alone could do it. There was difference of opinion on the question of the method of election to the Constituent Assembly and on that point the Azad Conference at Delhi had urged that Muslims of such an assembly should be elected on the basis of separate electorates. The mover of the resolution had not, however, mentioned that in the last portion of his resolution. The resolution, however, had been put forward by the mover on his own initiative and as a different interpretation had been put on the resolution, he would advice the mover (a member of his party) to withdraw the resolution.

The mover thereupon asked for leave to withdraw the resolution. But the Coalition Ministerialist Party objected to leave being granted, and the House declined, by a majority of votes, to grant leave. The Congress Party next moved for closure of the debate. The motion was rejected by 87 votes to 56. the Coalition Ministerialist Party opposing and the debate was adjourned.

Co-operative Societies Bill (Contd.)

22nd. JULY :—Discussion on the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill was resumed when only four clauses of the Bill were disposed of. Moving an amendment to clause 9 of the bill which dealt with the appointment of Registrar and of persons to assist him, Mr. *Satyapriya Bannerjee* suggested that an Advisory Committee consisting of 13 members should be appointed for the purpose of advising the Registrar and the Provincial Government on all matters of policy affecting the Co-operative movement in the Province. Mr. Bannerjee pointed out that committee of such description had been appointed by various Provincial Governments for the development of the co-operative movement and had been found useful. Further, this would help in deofficialization of the co-operative movement. The Hon. Mr. *M. B. Mullick* opposed the amendment. He said that the Government were too anxious to see the co-operative movement run on proper line. The appointment of the Advisory Committee would mean undue interference with the working of the department concerned. The amendment was lost.

Another amendment moved by Mr. *Bannerjee* to clause 12 of the bill which dealt with the conditions of registration of a society invoked discussion. Mr. Bannerjee suggested that the liability of a society whose objects included the creation of funds to be lent to its members and of which the majority of members were agriculturists, might at the opinion of its members, be limited or unlimited, provided that in the cases of limited liability societies, no share shall be withdrawable except in accordance with the bye-laws. The Hon. Mr. *M. B. Mullick* opposed the amendment and endorsed the view expressed by Mr. Wordsworth in this regard. There was, however, Mr. Mullick assured the House, ample provision made in the bill which would give a society the power to have its liability restricted. The amendments were all lost and the House adjourned.

Police Charge on Islamia College

23rd. JULY :—The House disposed of several clauses of the Co-operative Societies Bill to-day after which the Premier, the Hon. *A. K. Fazlul Hug*, said he had been authorized by his colleagues to convey to the Principal, the staff and students of Islamia College the Government's regret to any innocent person who might have been injured. He also announced that the Government had decided to appoint a committee of inquiry to go into the incident.

Mr. *Jalaluddin Hashemy* (Krishak Proja) who sponsored the adjournment motion, strongly criticized the action of the police in entering the college compound and charging the students with lathis. He maintained that the students of the Islamia College had not gone on strike nor had they joined any procession. Mr. *Bankim Mukerji* (Congress) asserted that the police would not have entered the precincts of the College without the backing of the Home Minister. He criticized the Home Minister for his "bureaucratic mentality" in trying to crush the spirit of the youth of the province. Mr. *P. N. Banerji* (Congress) suggested that the matter under discussion should not be made the occasion for mutual recrimination. He hoped that the Committee of Inquiry, which had been promised by the Chief Minister, would be given adequate powers to enable it to make recommendations for the future governance of students in colleges and schools. The Committee, he

said, should be an impartial one and should not consist only of politicians ; it should include men of educational experience. The Committee should see that students were neither exploited for political purposes, nor their urge for giving expression to their aspirations repressed. Mr. *Syed Nausher Ali* (Krishak Proja) felt that the Chief Minister's statement was belated. If it had been made a little earlier much unpleasantness might have been avoided and perhaps he would have earned the gratitude of many in this House and also of the people outside. The statement was neither complete nor satisfactory. The public would like to know at whose instance the police entered the college precincts. Had the Principal agreed ? Mr. *W. A. M. Walker* (Leader of European party) said that while his party regretted that any innocent persons should have suffered as the result of Monday's incidents, they also deeply deplored the agitation which led up to these incidents. He hoped that punishment would be meted out to those who had been responsible for instigating these youths. They deprecated the fact that a statement had been made on the floor of the House that a Committee of Inquiry would be appointed to investigate the incidents. Dr. *Shyamaprasad Mookerji* (Congress, Calcutta University) took exception to the statement made by the Chief Minister in which (the Chief Minister) had made "unwarranted references" to "our boys of the Islamia College" only. He pointed out that both Hindu and Moslem students were implicated in Monday's incidents and the Chief Minister should have expressed his regret without making any distinction between Hindu and Moslem students. Much as he disliked undue interference with legitimate student movements, he did not like continuous strikes in educational institutions. Ordinarily, there should not be any attempt on the part of any one to induce students to leave their schools and colleges to take part in strikes. They should, for the well-being of the province and the interest of the student community, put their heads together to find out the best means of preventing a recurrence of strikes in educational institutions. Whatever might be the means adopted they should not apply the police method. Mr. *A. R. Siddiqi* (Coalition) regretted that the members opposite had declined to admit the reasonableness of the statement which the Chief Minister had made on a previous occasion. The statement which he (the Chief Minister) had made that day required a colossal amount of courage. It had been admitted that the entry of the police into the college was an unfortunate affair and for this purpose the Government had come out boldly and courageously to appoint a Committee of Inquiry. He congratulated the Government on the step they had taken and appealed to the Chief Minister to bury this "wretched" incident and stop the whole agitation by releasing Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* (Leader of the Opposition) said he was glad that the Chief Minister had announced the appointment of an Inquiry Committee and that "prestige" had not stood in their way. He maintained that Monday's incident had the effect of cementing the bond of union between the two communities in a cause which they considered sacred. Mr. Bose regretted that the Chief Minister's statement on Monday's incident had not gone far enough. He asked the Chief Minister to take a statesmanlike view of things and consider the incidents from their proper perspectives. *Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin* (Home Minister) said that in view of the statement made by the Chief Minister and of the fact that the Government had promised an inquiry, he would not make any statement as it might be construed as prejudging the issue. As the trend of some of the speeches was in the nature of a personal attack on him, he welcomed the appointment of an Inquiry Committee and opposed the adjournment motion.

At this stage, an Opposition member moved that the question be put. This was lost by 96 to 74 votes, and discussion was resumed. While Mr. *Syed Badruddoja* (Coalition) was speaking on the motion, the time limit was reached with the result that the motion was talked out.

HOLWELL SATYAGRAHA SUSPENDED

24th. & 25th. JULY:—Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, announced that in view of the Premier's statement on Tuesday that the Government "have decided to take immediate steps for the removal of the Holwell Monument," he (Mr. Bose) took upon himself the responsibility of advising the public to suspend the Satyagraha movement inaugurated by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in this connexion.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES BILL (CONTD.)

The Assembly made considerable progress with consideration of the Co-operative Societies Bill to-day, about 30 clauses relating to the status and management of

co-operative societies, their duties and obligations and privileges, having been passed. All the non-official amendments in connexion with these clauses were lost, in one case, when the European party voted *en bloc* with the Opposition, the Government winning by a majority of only four votes. This was in respect of an amendment suggesting the deletion of sub-clause 2 of clause 25, moved by Mr. *Satyapriya Banerji* (Congress). Next day, the **25th. July**, the House resumed consideration of amendments to the different clauses of the Bill. One of the important clauses disposed of related to the investment of funds of co-operative societies. The Clause laid down that a co-operative society "may invest or deposit its funds in a Government Savings-Bank or in any of the securities specified in section 20 of the Indian Trusts Act, 1882, or with the sanction of the Registrar, in the shares or debentures, or on the security, of any other co-operative society with limited liability or in any other manner prescribed". All amendments, excepting the one moved by Mr. *Mukund Behary Mullick*, the Minister in charge, making a verbal alteration to the clause, were negatived and the clause as amended was passed. All the Government amendments were agreed to, while the Opposition amendments were either defeated or were withdrawn.

Agricultural Debtors Bill

On the motion of Mr. *Mukunda Bihari Mullick*, the Assembly next referred to a Select Committee the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (second amendment) Bill, 1940, with instructions to submit their report by August 8. The Opposition amendment urging circulation of the Bill for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by September 15 was lost without a division. One member belonging to the Congress Party, however, congratulated the Government on bringing forward the measure.

Abolition of Dowry Bill

26th. JULY :—The Assembly this evening disposed of six non-official bills, including the Bengal Marriage Dowry Prevention Bill, 1939, which the House circulated for eliciting opinion thereon. The Bill which was sponsored by *Maulvi Aftab Hossain* (Coalition) sought to put a stop to the dowry system and penalise the giving and taking of dowry. *Nawab Musharraf Hossain*, Minister in charge of the Judicial Department, moved by way of amendment that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by January 26, 1941. He pointed out that if they wanted to interfere in social affairs, they would find themselves in a position when they would not know what to do. After prayer interval, there was no quorum and the House adjourned till the 29th.

Co-operative Societies Bill (contd.)

29th. JULY to 1st. AUGUST :—At the resumed discussion of the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill there was a hot discussion on the question of account of societies. The Bill provided that accounts of every co-operative society shall at least once in each year and by such date as may be prescribed, be audited by the Registrar or by an audit officer authorised by him in this behalf by order in writing. Amendments moved from the Congress party urged that there should be separate audit which should be independent of departmental control. The House divided on the question and the amendment urging separate and independent audit was defeated by 83 to 55 votes. The House then adjourned till the next day, the **30th. July** when the Government sustained a surprise defeat over an Opposition amendment which wanted that the Registrar of the Co-operative Department should have no power of modifying the authenticated statement of accounts of a co-operative credit society prepared by an audit officer. When the *Speaker* put the amendment to vote, members from the Opposition benches shouted 'yes' while the number of those shouting 'no' from the Coalition benches was very small. The Speaker, therefore, declared the Opposition amendment carried. The Minister-in-charge of the Bill, Mr. *Mukunda Behari Mallick*, apparently taken by surprise, wanted to know if there was any way of having the mistake corrected on the floor of the House. The *Speaker* pointed out that it could not be done by this House, but the Minister, if he wanted, could bring forward an appropriate amendment in the Upper House. The consideration of the Bill had not been finished, when the Assembly adjourned till the next day, the **31st. July**, when the question of making an officer of a co-operative society liable to pay the surcharge for any loss sustained by the society due to any act or omission on his part was discussed. The Opposition pointed out that while the Bill provided for penalty for the non-official co-operators, it allowed the officers of the Co-operative Department to go scot free if any co-operative

society sustained any loss due to any act of omission on the part of such officers of the department. The Minister pointed out that while the officers of a society were responsible for its internal management, the officers of the department had nothing to do with it. He assured the House that if any officer of the department was found guilty of doing anything which might harm the interests of a society, departmental action would be taken against him as had been done on several occasions in the past. Of the 134 clauses of the Bill, only two remained which was disposed of on the next day, the **1st. August**, whereafter the third reading of the Bill was passed by 81 to 50 votes. During the third reading, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, leader of the Opposition, criticizing the Bill characterized it as out of date and as tending to officialization of the Co-operative movement. While admitting that the Bill had some drawbacks, the Hon'ble Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* maintained that through this Bill efforts had been made to decentralize the powers which, he hoped, would pave the way for the sound development of the movement. Mr. *W. C. Wordsworth* giving his blessings to the Bill said that there had been no doubt some failures in the working of the movement in the past but its positive achievements were also many. Mr. *Shamsuddin Ahmed*, leader of the Krishak Proja Party, said that the vesting of too much power in the hands of the Registrar did not augur well for the development of the Co-operative movement in this province.

PLEA FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (CONTD.)

2nd. AUGUST :—The Assembly resumed discussion to-day over Mr. *Maqbul Hossain's* (Krishak Praja Party) resolution (on 19th. July) recommending that the future Constitution of India should be framed by a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise with safeguards for the protection of the rights and interests of the Muslims. Opposing the resolution, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* declared that in the prevailing conditions of India the framing of a constitution through a Constituent Assembly was an impossibility. He said that he was not opposed to the Constituent Assembly as such, but his suggestion was that before they met in a Constituent Assembly, the framework of the constitution should be discussed and settled among the different communities and they would then meet in the Assembly to work out the details of the constitution. Mr. Huq referred to the difficulties experienced by statesmen in Canada, Australia and South Africa in the matter of framing a constitution by means of a Constituent Assembly. Of the total population of India, Hindus constituted about 67 per cent. In a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, if there were, say, 200 representatives, there would be about 134 Hindus and the rest would be the representatives of Muslims, Christians and Scheduled Castes and other minority communities. It would not take long to realise that when passions ran high and communal warfare sundered communities and broke peace and harmony the people would not be willing to vote for the interests of the country as a whole. They would generally vote for their own community and it would be evident that in such an Assembly, the majority community representing about 67 per cent of the population would dominate the opinion of the rest of the Assembly. He thought that the best solution of the problem would be to settle the frame-work of the constitution previously amongst the different communities and the details worked out later by the Constituent Assembly. The resolution was rejected without a division.

LAND REVENUE PROBLEM

The Assembly discussed another non-official resolution sponsored by Mr. *Mirza Abdul Hafiz* (Coalition) urging that steps should be taken to give effect to the recommendations of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission with necessary modifications. Mr. *Jalaluddin Hashemy* (Krishak Proja Party in Opposition) moved, by way of amendment, that steps to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission should be taken immediately without any modifications. More than half a dozen speakers belonging to the different groups participated in the debate which had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned till the 5th.

JUTE REGULATION AMEND. BILL

6th. AUGUST :—The House adjourned on the **5th. August** owing to the Dacca Mail accident, and on the next day, the **6th. August**, it passed two official Bills, the Bengal Jute Regulation Amendment Bill, 1940, and the Bengal Revenues (Charged Expenditure) Bill introduced respectively by the Hon. Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, Minister for Agriculture, and the Hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*,

Finance Minister. The Bengal Jute Regulation Bill, provides for a revision of the final record of land where jute is grown by the District Magistrate for the purpose of correcting mistakes and omissions found by them or brought to their notice.

The Revenue Bill

The Bengal Revenues (Charged Expenditure) Bill empowers the Government to declare the contribution payable by them under the following Acts as charged upon the revenues of the province :—The Dacca University Act 1920, the Howrah Bridge Act, 1926, the Bengal Motor Vehicles Tax Act, 1932, and the Albert Victor Leper Hospital Act, 1935. An Opposition amendment, moved by Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (Congress), urging circulation of the Bill for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by October 31, 1940, was rejected by the House by 34 votes to 55 whereafter the House adjourned.

Collections to War Fund

"The Government do not approve of collection of subscriptions for war purposes under threat or compulsion," stated the Home Minister, Sir *K. Nazim-ud-din* when Dr. *Nalinakhya Sanyal* (Congress) wanted to move an adjournment motion to discuss the "manner in which contributions to the War Purposes Fund are being raised by District Magistrates through the agency of Union Boards." Dr. Sanyal said that he had got four specific cases in which such subscriptions were sought to be raised under threat through the agency of Union Boards. He added that he would not press the adjournment motion if the Government issued a circular to the District Magistrates informing them that the Government did not approve of contributions to the War Purposes Fund being raised under threat of compulsion. The Home Minister having made the Government position clear in his statement, Dr. Sanyal did not press his motion.

Alluvion and Diluvion Amend. Bill

7th. AUGUST :—The Assembly had a very brief sitting to-day, the only item on the agenda being the Alluvion and Diluvion (Amendment) Bill, sponsored by *Sir B. P. Singh Roy*, Revenue Minister. The Bill sought to insert a new section in the existing Act empowering revenue authorities to assess to revenue alluvial reformations within an estate in certain cases. After *Sir B. P. Singh Roy* formally introduced the measure and moved for its consideration, *Rai Harendra Nath Chowdhury* (Congress) urged by way of an amendment that the Bill be referred to a select committee. The amendment was lost and the House preceeded with the consideration of the Bill. Mr. *Dhirendra Nath Dutta* (Congress) moved the only other amendment on the agenda. This was also turned down by the House, and the Bill was passed without any discussion.

The Jute Ordinance

8th. AUGUST :—The Jute Ordinance fixing the minimum price of jute, promulgated by the Bengal Government, was subjected to sharp criticism to-day when the House was given an opportunity to discuss the Ordinance. Mr. *Jalaluddin Hashemy* of the Krishak Rroja Party initiated the discussion by moving a resolution disapproving of the Ordinance The whole day was taken up with the discussion of Mr. Hashemy's motion, which was ultimately defeated. In course of the debate references were made by Opposition members to rumours which were current in the market that some ministers operated in the market for their personal advantage. Mr. *Walker*, Leader of the European Party, referring to these remarks said that he hoped that there would be categorical denials from the Ministry regarding these allegations. The Hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, who replied on behalf of the Government, strongly maintained that they were actuated by no other consideration than that of serving the best interest of the cultivators.

The Prohibition Bill

9th. AUGUST :—The Government's policy of gradual Prohibition was reiterated this evening by the Excise Minister, Mr. *P. D. Raikut*, speaking on a non-official Bill, entitled Bengal Prohibition Bill, introduced by Mr. *Harendranath Rai Choudhury* (Congress). In moving that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, Mr. *Roy Choudhury* said that when other provinces were forging ahead with the policy of prohibition there was no reason why Bengal should lag behind. If the Government were sincere in their declaration about the policy of Prohibition, they should introduce Prohibition in one of the big consuming districts: he suggested

that they should begin with the Twenty-four Parganas District, which, according to the speaker, was "the second greatest sinner in respect of the drinking evil." He added that as any attempt to secure Prohibition without legislation should only be trifling with it, this Bill proposed to furnish the instrument necessary for giving effect to it and ensuring its success. The Bill would prohibit the production, manufacture, possession, export, import, transport, purchase, sale and consumption of intoxicating liquor and products except religious, medicinal, scientific, industrial and such like purposes in the province of Bengal. In opposing the Bill and its reference to a Select Committee, the *Excise Minister* said that the experience of other provinces in India, where Prohibition had been introduced, had shown them that the Bengal Government's policy of gradual Prohibition was a sound one. He added that in the present financial position of the Government, it was not possible for them to introduce large-scale Prohibition, because in that case work in the nation-building departments would suffer. He emphasised, however, that the ultimate goal of this Government was total Prohibition. Mr. Roy Choudhury's motion was rejected by the House without a division.

THE MISDEMEANOUR BILL

Dr. *Nalinakha Sanyal* (Congress) next moved that his Bill entitled "the Bengal Misdemeanour Bill" be referred to a Select Committee. Mr. Sanyal said that the Government of India Act, 1935 did not provide for certain classes of offences which were regarded as acts of misdemeanour in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1919. The object of the Bill was to remove this anomaly. Dr. Sanyal told the House that the Bill was on the lines of a similar Act in England, entitled the Public Bodies Corruption Practices Act. *Nawab Musharaff Hossain*, Judicial Minister, opposed the Bill and its reference to a Select Committee. He held that there was no justification for a Bill of that kind. Dr. Sanyal's motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was rejected. The Assembly then adjourned till the 12th.

AGR. PRODUCE MARKETS BILL

12th. to 20th. AUGUST :—The Bengal Agricultural Produce Markets Bill, 1940, as reported by the Select Committee, came up for consideration on the **12th. August** on a motion by Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, Minister for Agriculture. The Congress Party's amendment urging recommittal of the Bill to the same Select Committee was negatived by the House without a division after the motion had been debated for more than two hours and a half. It was pointed out on behalf of the Congress Party that while they were in sympathy with the underlying principles of the Bill, they thought its provisions, as they had emerged from the Select Committee, would not further the objects of the Bill. No provision had been made in the Bill to ensure a fair deal and a fair price for the cultivators, which were the declared objects of the Bill. The Krishak Proja Party in opposition, however, wanted that the Bill should be considered clause by clause and any defects in it remedied on the floor of the House. The European Group insisted that the Bill should be tested as an experimental measure for a period not exceeding three years in one or two selected areas to be specified by Government notification. Speaking on behalf of the landholding community, Mr. *Tarak Nath Mookherjee* opposed the Bill. He protested against what he termed "the scheme of expropriation" provided in the Bill in regard to the taking of the management of private markets from owners by the market committees. Opposing the Congress Party's motion, Mr, *Tamizuddin Khan* pointed out that the Bill was introduced about a year and a half ago and it had been considered from all points of view in the Select Committee and he did not think any useful purpose would be served by sending it again to the Select Committee. As regards the European Group's suggestion that it should be introduced as an experimental measure in certain selected areas, the Minister remarked that it was a very useful suggestion and the Government would consider it. With reference to the registration of all markets for agricultural produce as provided in the Bill, the Minister claimed that the Bengal Government had taken a step in advance of other provinces. The Assembly at this stage adjourned till the **15th. August** when the House discussed some subclauses of the 'definition' clause and disposed of them. But as Government were not ready with their proposals with regard to other sub-clauses the House again adjourned till the **19th. August** when members of the Opposition pointed out that the definition of 'agricultural produce' in the Bill was too wide and they suggested that the Government should begin with by taking two or three commercial crops for the purpose of the Bill and after they had obtained sufficient experience of controlling the markets with regard to

these commodities, they could include other commodities within the scope of the Bill, or bring in a fresh legislation for the purpose of including all other commodities. Several amendments were moved by the Opposition on these lines. Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan* opposed the amendments, which were put to vote and lost whereafter the House adjourned till the 20th. August when Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan* moved a short-notice amendment defining 'agricultural produce.' The amendment was accepted by the House by 99 votes to 69, the European members voting with the Opposition. An amendment moved by Mr. *Morgan*, on behalf of the European Group, seeking to delete "any article of food or drink, manufactured or prepared wholly or in part from any produce of agriculture or horticulture" from the definition by the hon. Minister, was rejected by the House without a division. An amendment, moved by Mr. *Sahed Ali* of the Krishak Proja Party in Opposition, seeking to include sericulture within the definition of 'agricultural produce' was negatived by 59 votes to 111. The Assembly then adjourned.

Rural Primary Education Bill

16th. AUGUST :—Two non-official Bills took up the whole time of the Assembly to-day. The first of the measures, entitled the "The Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill," introduced by Maulvi *Abdul Jabbar Palwan* of the Krishak Proja Party, wanted that agriculturists should not be required to pay their share of the education cess as required under the Bengal Primary Education Act. The motion for taking the Bill into consideration was rejected by 107 votes to 65.

Fixation of Wages Bill

The second Bill entitled "Fixation of Minimum Rates of Wages Bill," introduced by Mr. *Sibnath Banerjee*, Congress Labour, wanted that minimum wages of workers in factories and mines should be fixed at Rs. 30. Mr. Banerjee's motion for referring the measure to a select committee was rejected by 58 votes to 43.

The Secondary Education Bill

21st. & 22nd. AUGUST :—The Prime Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, introduced ont he **21st. August** the Bengal Secondary Educational Bill and moved that it be referred to a select committee with instruction to submit their report by November 30. The Bill aimed at establishing an authority to regulate and control secondary education in the province as recommended by the Sadler Commission over twenty years ago. The Prime Minister, at the outset, regretted that members of the Congress Party and of the Hindu Nationalist Party whom he had proposed to include in the select committee had declined to give their consent to serve on the committee. "The inefficient secondary education prevailing in this province is one of the main causes of our comparatively slow progress", declared Mr. Fazlul Huq. The present unsatisfactory nature of secondary education control was in part a legacy from the now generally admitted unfortunate policy of providing for higher education facilities in the hope that those so educated would undertake the responsibility of spreading education downwards. Universities were created and questions concerning the constitution and powers of these Universities were the educational issues which attracted most attention. Little attention was paid to either secondary or primary education. Mr. Huq referred to the report of the Sadler Commission and said that conditions had changed for the worse since the Commission reported. When the Commission reported there were less than 700 recognised high schools. There were now nearly 1,400 high schools. But the constitution of the University was still the same, that is, one not designed for secondary education control. The Prime Minister remarked that successive Governments had tried to establish a controlling board and had failed. One of the reasons why this Government was not able to take earlier action was that until the recent amendment of the Government of India Act, it was not quite clear whether this legislature had power to enact a measure dealing with all aspects of secondary education. That power, he said, since April 1 of this year, definitely vested in the legislature. Replying to the criticism made in the press and on the platform by prominent educationists and others of the provisions of the Bill, Mr. Huq assured the Calcutta University that if after enquiry the Government were satisfied that following the effects of the new Bill the University's financial position and its activities justified a revision of the present five-year financial agreement, then the Government would be sympathetic and helpful. Certainly this Bill had not been designed to impose financial hardships upon the University and there was no reason to suppose that the University's ultimate financial stability

will be endangered. Concluding, Mr. Huq said that he had no illusions as to the difficulty of transforming the present ineffective secondary education into a vital, inspiring process and did not claim that the Bill was perfect. But he claimed that they were replacing a system in which progress was impossible by one in which the requisite progress could be made. He appealed for the co-operation of the people of the province when the Board was established in working it.

Mr. *Harendra Nath Rai Chowdhury* (Congress), moved, by way of amendment, that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by December 31, 1940. Mr. Rai Chowdhury said that secondary education in Bengal was the creation of non-official enterprise and it had been built up by voluntary contribution from the Government, and not by any substantial contribution from the public exchequer. Mr. Chowdhury told the House that their complaint was not so much because there were so many Hindus and so many Muslims on the proposed board, but because secondary education in Bengal was going to be handed over to the control of a political body, not an educational body. He also contended that the five lakhs of rupees at the disposal of the Board could not improve secondary education.

Mr. *Abdul Hakim* (Krishak Proja Party) moved an amendment, urging the circulation of the Bill for eliciting opinion thereon by November 30. The Assembly then adjourned till the next day the **22nd. August** when Mr. *P. R. Thakur* (Independent, Scheduled Caste) supported the Congress Party's circulation motion. He pointed out that the representation to his community in the proposed Secondary Education Board, its executive council and other committees was absolutely inadequate. Mr. *Atul Sen* (Congress) characterised the Bill as obnoxious and referred to the "ugly, communal and official" representation of the proposed Board. Speaking on behalf of the Krishak Proja Party in Opposition, Mr. *Abu Hossain Sarkar* said that his party had decided to accord qualified support to the Education Minister's motion for reference of the Bill to a select committee.

After a three hours' debate, in which about a dozen speakers participated, the House adjourned.

OMISSION OF BLACK-HOLE STORY

23rd. AUGUST :—A non-official resolution urging that the Government should take immediate action for the omission of all references to the alleged Black Hole tragedy from all books in use in the Province of Bengal, came up for consideration to-day. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Prime Minister, said that the resolution as worded, was not a practical proposition. The Government would be prepared to accept the resolution if it was amended to state that the Government should take immediate action for not allowing any book having references to the alleged Black Hole tragedy as a historical fact to be used as text-books and prize books. The mover accepted the amendment and the amended resolution was then passed by the House without a division.

THE FLOUD COMMISSION

The House next had prolonged discussion on a resolution urging that steps be taken to give effect to the recommendations of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission (Floud Commission) with necessary modifications for the replacement of Permanent Settlement and the Zamindari system by a ryotwari method. Speaking on the resolution, *Sir B. P. Singh Roy*, Revenue Minister, informed the House that the Government were anxious to take the fullest advantage of the recommendations of the Floud Commission and examination of the proposals by a special officer appointed by the Government was proceeding simultaneously with the consideration of the suggestion by the Government.

THE SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL (CONTD.)

27th. & 28th. AUGUST :—More than a dozen members participated in the third day's debate on the Secondary Education Bill on the **27th. August**. Speaking on behalf of the European Group, Mr. *W. C. Wordsworth*, supporting the Government motion for the reference of the Bill to a select committee, said that his group held the Bill to be better than nothing, though not so good as it might be. It had been accepted for the last twenty years that a Secondary Education Board was necessary and was coming, and that any Board must, in the present conditions, satisty the strongest party on which the Government depended and so it contained a doze of communalism. He pointed out that the circulation motion of the Congress Party meant postponement of the consideration of the Bill. He did not believe that there was any evil purpose, intention, or potentiality in the Bill or in the organisation it

proposed to set up. Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarker*, ex-Finance Minister, in supporting the Congress Party's motion for circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion, strongly condemned the provisions of the Bill and remarked that its object was communal and political, rather than educational. He said that instead of calling the Bill the Secondary Education Bill it should have been called "a Bill to strangle secondary education". Next day, the **28th. August**, Dr. *Syama Prosad Mookerjee* (Independent Hindu Nationalist), supporting the Congress Party's circulation motion, said that he was opposed to the main principle of the Bill and added, "Let me say it without any hesitation that this Bill is fundamentally unacceptable to us and even if it is adopted by the House as a result of Government majority, we are not going to accept it outside the Legislature. We shall consider it a sacred and imperative duty on our part to resist its operation in every possible manner." Mr. *Fazlur Rahman* (Coalition), representative of the Dacca University, supporting the provisions of the Bill, said it followed the recommendations of the Sadler Commission and the Secondary Education Board as proposed in the Bill was more autonomous than the one contemplated by the Sadler Commission. Mr. *Shamsuddin Ahmed*, Leader of the Krishak Proja Party, in supporting the Select Committee motion, appealed to Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose to revise their decision and agree to serve on the Select Committee. Winding up the debate on behalf of the Opposition, Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose* strongly condemned the provisions of the Bill and characterised it as an ill-conceived measure which, according to him, not only fell far short of the educational requirements of the province, but its proposals were incomplete in certain respects and preverse and reactionary in others. Mr. Bose declared that if this Bill was passed into law without giving an opportunity to the public, the educationists and the thousands of managing committees of high schools to give their opinion on it, "we shall consider it our duty, both inside and outside this House, to take such steps as will make the Secondary Education Bill a dead letter in this province". Replying to the debate, the Prime Minister, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, said that he wished that the threat that had been held out by Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee and the Leader of the Opposition had not been uttered in seriousness. He was prepared to accept them, whatever might be the consequences. He declared that the members of the Coalition Pary were determined to show to the world that they would be untrue to Islam and their culture if they did not put this Bill on the statute book. Refuting the charge that the proposed Secondary Education Board would be communal in composition, Mr. Huq enquired if the mere proper representation of Muslims on the Board was considered as an act of communalism ? He informed the House that the select committee would not be beginning its work before November and that in the meantime they would forward the Bill to the two Universities for their opinion and were prepared to take the views of educational experts to be nominated by the Leader of the Opposition and Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee. He was even prepared to go further, although against the mandate of his party. He was prepared to circulate the Bill for eliciting opinion thereon provided the threats that had been uttered were unconditionally withdrawn and an assurance was given by the Opposition that they would co-operate with them in the select committee.

A discussion arose as to the exact implications of the Prime Minister's offer. Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose*, Leader of the Opposition, said that if the Government agreed to keep an open mind in the matter and to consider the whole position on the basis of the views elicited after circulation of the motion, he would have no hesitation in accepting the offer. As regards what was said to be a threat, he pointed out that so far as he himself was concerned, he had merely referred to what might happen in the future if the Bill was passed into law in spite of the opposition of a big community which had contributed so much for the development and expansion of education in this province. The *Prime Minister* said that the remarks of the Leader of the Opposition did not mean an acceptance of his offer.

The motions were thereafter put to vote. The Prime Minister's motion for reference of the Bill to a select committee was adopted by 121 votes to 60. The Congress Party's motion for circulation of the Bill for the purpose of eliciting opinion was rejected by the House by 131 votes to 71. An analysis of the voting on the Congress Party's motion showed that all the Hindu members, excepting the Hindu Ministers, voted for it while all the Muslim members excepting the three independent, voted against it. The announcement of the result of the voting was followed by shouts of "Hindu Ministers Resign" from the Congress benches.

EDUCATION OF BACKWARD HINDUS

30th. AUGUST :—The Government suffered a defeat to-day, when a non-official resolution asking the Government to sanction Rs. 10 lakhs every year (including 1940-41) for the education of the scheduled caste and other educationally backward Hindus of this province, was adopted by the House. In the absence of the Prime Minister, who holds the Education portfolio, Sir *B. P. Singh Roy*. Revenue Minister, speaking on the resolution, said that the Scheduled Caste Education Advisory Committee, which had been appointed by the Government, had submitted a scheme and had made their recommendations with regard to the question of spreading education among the scheduled castes in the province. The Government would now apply their minds to these recommendations and would try to accept as many of them as possible. If in giving effect to the recommendations accepted by the Government, it was required that recurring grant should be made for the purpose, the Government should not hesitate to provide that sum. It did not matter to them if such a grant amounted to five or seven lakhs of rupees, or more. Mr. *Rasik Lal Biswas* (Coalition), the mover, wanted to withdraw the resolution on the assurance given by the Minister, but the House refused to grant leave by 58 votes to 52. the Government supporting the motion for leave.

BENGAL IRRIGATION SCHEME

3rd. SEPTEMBER :—A big irrigation project known as the Damodar-Hooghly-Howrah Flushing scheme, estimated to cost more than three crores of rupees, was placed before the Assembly this evening by Maharaja *Srish Chandra Nandy* of Cossimbazar, Minister for Works and Communication. The Minister made a reference to the project while moving a resolution to the effect than an improvement levy should be imposed in the area to be served by the Damodar-Hooghly-Howrah Flushing scheme. The total area within what might be called the perimeter of the scheme, is six lakhs and eleven thousand crores. The rate of levy which would be imposed, the Minister said, would be decided on the basis of calculation of the addition out-turn. It was proposed to finance the scheme by raising a loan of three crores of rupees. On behalf of the Opposition, Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (Congress) moved an amendment urging that the improvement levy which would be imposed under the scheme should be at a rate to be approved by the Assembly. Replying to the debate, the *Minister* pointed out that Government would take up the scheme as soon as the financial conditions would permit them to borrow the required money, but he could not say whether they could wait till the war was over. He assured the Europeans that the scheme would not affect the river Hooghly. He told the Opposition that, if there was no improvement in the area covered by the scheme, they would not impose any levy on the cultivators. The Opposition amendment was lost without a division and the Government resolution was accepted.

CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL AMEND. BILL

4th. to 10th. SEPTEMBER :—The hon. *Nawab Khwaja Habibulla Bahadur of Dacca*, Minister for Local Self-Government, introduced on the 4th. the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1940, and moved that it be referred to a select committee with instructions to submit their report by January 31, 1941. The Bill sought to remove the Chief Executive Officer from the sphere of influence of individual Councillors and Aldermen of the Corporation, to make definite provisions that appointment to higher posts in the Corporation shall not be made except on the recommendation of a Service Commission (the Chairman and members of which will be appointed by the Government), and to assume larger powers of control in cases of default or abuse of powers by the Corporation. The Bill further sought to make a definite provision in the Act for the suppression of a department of the Corporation and the dissolution of the body of Councillors and Aldermen in case the Corporation had shown its incompetence to perform, or had persistently made default in the performance of the duties imposed on it by or under the Act, or had abused its powers. The appointment by the Government of a Government Officer as Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation and the conferment of certain powers on him was also provided. In moving reference of the Bill to a select committee, the Minister pointed out that it was intended to meet a widespread demand for improving the efficiency and tone of the administration of the Calcutta Corporation. "I confess," the Minister remarked, "that there is some force in the contention that the proposed measure is a retrograde one not quite in harmony with progressive democratic ideas of local self-government, but I hope the House will agree with me that circumstances have compelled the Government to retrace their steps in this matter. Viewed against the background

of nepotism, inefficiency and corruption which have characterised the administration of the Corporation during the last few years, our proposals appear to offer the only effective remedy that can be thought of and may on that ground be fully justified." Next day, the **5th. September,** about a dozen members participated in the debate. Discussion more or less followed the lines which emerged on the previous day—members of the Coalition Party describing the measure as an urgent piece of legislation necessary to effect much-needed reforms in the working of the Corporation, while the Opposition characterized it as "reactionary and retrograde." The House then adjourned till the **9th. September,** when about a dozen speakers, mostly belonging to the Opposition, participated in the debate. Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu,* Deputy Leader of the Congress Party and a former Mayor of the Corporation, remarked that history had not recorded a constitutional outrage of such enormity perpetrated by a Government upon a helpless people. The 'popular Ministry' in Bengal, was, by sheer violence, attempting to put the hand of the clock of progress half a century back. Mr. Basu suggested that the Government might test the *bona fides* of the charges levelled against the Corporation by holding a general election in January on this issue. If they got a clear verdict of the rate-payers in favour of the Bill it might be brought up during the next budget session before the House and passed without a single dissentient voice. Mr. *J. C. Gupta,* Chief Whip of the Congress Pary, criticised the attitude of the European group towards the Bill and observed that they acted quite un-Britonlike when they were in India. If such a Bill, remarked Mr. Gupta, had been brought forward in the British Parliament, the Government in power would have fallen the next day. *Syed Badruddoja* (Coalition), in supporting the motion for circulation, cited cases of irregularities in the Corporation administration. Next day, the **10th. September,** Mr. *Sarat Ch. Bose,* Leader of the Opposition, in the course of his speech, gave, what were, according to him, instances of Ministerial interference in appointments during the last three years the Ministry had been in power. Mr. Bose pointed out that the charge that arrears in collection were large could not be made justifiably by the Government, since the Government themselves owed the Corporation Rs. 12 lakhs. Mr. Bose charged the hon. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy with interference in judicial proceedings, by quoting from a letter which the latter wrote to the Commissioner of Police in connection with the prosecution of a certain Muslim. How could such a frankly communal Government interfering in the course of justice be, he asked, entrusted with power to destroy at will the autonomy of the Calcutta Corporation ? The *Premier,* intervening in the debate, referred to Mr. Bose's challenge that a referendum be taken on the Bill and asserted that Calcutta Hindus who formed 80 per cent of the rate-payers being communally minded, would naturally throw out the Bill. At this stage loud and angry protests drowned the Premier's voice and the Premier withdrew his remarks on the Speaker advising him not to introduce communal colour in the debate. Mr. *N. R. Sarker,* ex-Minister, supporting the Congress Party's amendment, said that if the Calcutta Corporation could be charged with nepotism and favouritism in the matter of appointment, the same charge could be levelled against the present Government of Bengal. Mr. Sarker thought that the main and real object of the Bill was to get control of the Corporation for the purpose of distributing all patronage among the supporters of the Ministry. Supporting the Select Committee motion, Mr. *M. A. H. Ispahani,* Leader of the Muslim league Party in the Corporation, said that no one could deny that the present state of the Corporation was such that a collapse was imminent. Mr. *T. C. Goswami* observed that it was very easy with a comfortable majority to get a measure through but it was not so easy to make the people swallow it. Mr. *A. R. Siddiqui,* Mayor of Calcutta, said that they were all agreed that abuses had crept into the administration of the Corporation and that the proposed measure had received unqualified support for the majority of its clauses with slight modifications. Mr. *Shamsuddin Ahmed,* Leader of the Krishak Proja Party, appealed to the Government to agree to the circulation of the Bill. Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose,* Leader of the Opposition, said that members of the Cabinet had interfered in the matter of appointments in the Calcutta Corporation, the Improvement Trust and other bodies and he asked the House to consider seriously whether they could vest the powers proposed in the Bill in a Government with such a record. Participating in the debate, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq,* Premier, cited the instances of Bombay and Madras where the Government had power to appoint the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation and said that he failed to understand why there was opposition to the Bengal Government being vested with such powers.

The *Nawab Bahadur of Dacca*, Minister in charge of the Bill, replying to the debate, said that it appeared that the intention of the Opposition was to delay the passage of the Bill.

The Congress Party's amendment was then put to vote and rejected. The motion for Select Committee was carried. The European Group voted with the Government against the amendment, while the other groups in the House, namely, the Congress, the Krishak Proja, Independent, Scheduled Castes, and the Hindu Nationalist Parties voted for the amendment. The Government motion for reference of the Bill to a select committee was accepted by the House by 127 votes to 32.

HINDU WIDOWERS' RE-MARRIAGE BILL

6th. SEPTEMBER :—"No Hindu widower shall marry any one who is not a widow." This was the main provision of a non-official Bill entitled the Bengal Hindu Widows' Remarriages Propagation Bill, which was introduced by Mr. *Manmohan Das* to-day. Mr. Das, moving the Bill, said that if it was provided that a widower whenever he would remarry should marry a widow, all the widows between the ages of 5 and 25 numbering about three lakhs in the province might get remarried. On behalf of the Government, *Nawab Musharaff Hussain*, Judicial Minister, moved by way of an amendment that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon by July 18, 1941. He said that if public opinion was strongly in favour of the Bill, there would be no difficulty on the part of the Government to accept it. The House accepted the amendment without a division.

DOWRY RESTRICTION BILL

Another non-official Bill entitled the Bengal Dowry Restriction Bill, 1940, introduced by Mr. *Surendranath Biswas*, was also circulated for eliciting public opinion by November 30.

SHOPS & ESTABLISHMENTS BILL

11th. & 12th. SEPTEMBER :—The Bengal Shops and Establishments Bill, 1940, as passed by the Upper House, came up for consideration this evening, In moving for the consideration of the Bill, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Commerce, said that some other provinces had passed Bills of this type. But they had not been brought into operation presumably because they contained provisions which had not the goodwill of all parties and perhaps because they were difficult to administer. The Minister thought that he had eliminated such provisions from the Bill now before the House as might stand in the way of its being put into operation. Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* (Congress), speaking on an amendment to the 'commercial establishments', pointed out that journalists had been excluded from the purview of the Bill, although they knew how very difficult it was for them to get their monthly payments on the due date. It would be desirable, if not in the body of the Bill itself, to give special protection to them. Replying, Mr. *Suhrawardy* said that the definition of 'commercial establishments' in the Bill was quite wide. It applied to clerical establishments of all commercial undertakings. The Speaker, *Khan Bahadur Azizul Haq*, said that clerical staff of printing presses was included in the definition. Dr. *Sanyal* : The editorial staff will not be regarded as clerical staff. *The Speaker* : I think we shall leave out the editorial staff for the present. Dr. *Sanyal* : They are most hard working people. Mr. *Suhrawardy* believed that the rank and file in printing presses and newspaper offices would come under the purview of the Bill as clerical staff of commercial establishments and, if necessary, the Minister would declare all those establishments as commercial establishments. The European Group welcomed the Bill. The House had not concluded discussion when it adjourned till the next day, the **12th. September**, when the Bill as passed by the Upper House, was passed by the Assembly. The hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister in charge of the Bill, told the House that he hoped to bring forward an amending Bill with regard to the question of regulation of hours of work of employees in commercial establishments by March next. The Congress Party's amendment, urging inclusion of commercial establishments within the purview of the Bill so far as the question of working hours was concerned, was rejected by the House by 103 votes to 53.

LEGISLATORS DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL

18th. SEPTEMBER :—*Sir Nazimuddin*, Home Minister, introduced to-day the Bengal Legislature (removal of disqualifications) Amendment Bill, 1940, seeking to amend the Act of 1937. Under the Act a person is not debarred from becoming or being a member of either Chamber of the Bengal Legislature by reason only of the fact that as a part-time member of His Majesty's Naval, Military or Air Force he holds

en office of profit under the Crown in India. When, however, such a member of the Legislature holds such office as a full-time member in any of His Majesty's forces, he is disqualified for being a member and his seat in the Legislature falls automatically vacant. The object of the amending Bill is to enable such a member to retain his seat in the Legislature even if he holds such an office in time of war for any purpose or in time of peace for any purpose connected with internal security. On behalf of the Congress Party, Mr. *Santosh Kumar Basu*, Deputy Leader, pointed out that the clauses in the amending Bill had been so drafted that civil engineers, doctors or even menials who might be employed in connection with the equipment or administration of Military, Naval or Air Force would be made eligible for election to the Legislature, thereby setting at naught the very salutary provisions of the Government of India Act, which definitely laid down that no persons who held a post under the Crown in India would be qualified for election to the Legislature.

AGRICULTURAL DEBTORS AMEND. BILL

19th. SEPTEMBER :—The House passed the Agricultural Debtors (Second Amendment) Bill, and permitted the Home Minister, *Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin*, to withdraw the Removal of Disqualification Amendment Bill previously introduced by him. Sir Nazimuddin said that he proposed to introduce a fresh Bill at the next session, in which he hoped the objections raised to the present Bill would be met. Meanwhile in order to permit members so desiring to take an active part in the war effort it was proposed to bring into effect by an Ordinance the provisions of such a Bill. The Assembly at this stage was *prorgued*.

Autumn Session—Calcutta—28th. Nov. to 4th. Dec. 1940

WITHDRAWAL OF PRESS BAN

The Assembly met on the **28th. November** for its autumn session with the Speaker, Khan Bahadur *Azizul Haque* in the Chair. The notification issued recently by the Government banning publication in the province of news regarding hunger strikes by persons in jails or places in British India was the subject of an adjournment motion. Moving the adjournment motion, Dr. *Nalinaksha Sanyal* characterised the Government Order as "astounding ". He remarked that the Nazi Government had not been able to stop news in the manner sought to be done by the Government of Bengal. But what the Nazi Government could not do, Sir Nazimuddin had tried to do. Dr. Sanyal said that the public had a right to know about the grievances of the prisoners on hunger-strike. He asked if the rumour that the prisoners were not given certain facilities regarding interviews, correspondence, management of the kitchen, etc. was correct. He also wanted to know whether it was a fact that a person like Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose had not been allowed to have in his possession a shaving stick and a safety razor. *Sir Nazimuddin*, the Home Minister, in his reply to the debate, referred to a catalogue of grievances submitted by the hunger-strike persons and said that all of them were being treated as I and II class prisoners and were being given all possible facilities. Sir Nazimuddin informed the House that fifteen persons detained under Section 26 of the Defence of India Rules in the Presidency Jail were in hunger-strike. He contradicted the statements made in the House by two Labour Members of the Congress Party alleging that there were hunger-stikes by prisoners in the Dum Dum and Alipore Central Jails. He pointed out that there was no hunger-strike in any jail except in the Presidency Jail. The grievances on which the prisoners had gone on hunger-strike, he characterised, as "very unsubstantial" and claimed that the rules framed for the detention of persons under Sections 26 and 120 of the Defence of India Rules in Bengal compared very favourably with the rules framed by the other Provincial Governments and the Government of India. In justifying the order, Sir Nazimuddin said that it was promulgated not to prevent ventilation of grievances of the prisoners, but to stop the publication of statements and speeches which might create bitter feelings, hatred and excitement and might lead to serious results. It was further meant to deprive the agitation of the publicity which was required for its success. In conclusion, the Home Minister said that he was prepared to look into the grievances of the hunger-striking prisoners after they had given up hunger-strike. He appealed to the members of the Congress Party to persuade these prisoners to follow the advice of Mahatma Gandhi who had discouraged hunger-strikes. The motion was rejected by 104 votes to 64.

MOTOR SPIRIT SALES TAX BILL

Earlier, the House, on a motion of the Finance Member, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, referred to a Select Committee the Motor Spirit Sales Tax Bill. It proposed to levy a tax of one anna six pies per gallon on the retail sales of petrol and a tax of six pies per gallon on retail sales of motor spirit other than petrol. The Sales Committee was asked to submit its report by December 21. The Finance Minister, in moving his motion, pointed out that the proceeds from the tax would be earmarked for road development in the Province. The tax under this Bill when passed into law would not be imposed before September 1, 1941. An Opposition motion urging circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion was rejected by the House without a division. The Assembly then adjourned.

THE SALES TAX BILL

29th. NOV. to 2nd. DEC. :—The Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Bill which was introduced to-day by the Hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Finance Minister, and sought to be referred to a Select Committee met with strong opposition. The Bill sought to lexy a tax of two per cent per annum on all retail sales exceeding twenty thousand rupees. A number of food articles, raw materials and certain other articles were exempted from the tax. Goods dispatched to addresses outside Bengal were also exempted from the imposition of the tax. The tax was expected to yield a revenue of two crores of rupees at a cost of not exceeding Rs. seven lakhs.

An amendment moved by the Krishak Proja Party urged that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion. This was supported by the Congress party also. Krishak Proja Party members launched a virulent attack on the Government charging them with "criminal" wastage of money entrusted to their care, whereby they had forfeited the right to be entrusted with more money. Even the spokesman of the European Party, Mr. *R. M. Sassoon*, who did not oppose the Select Committee motion, strongly criticised some items of financial administration of the Government and wanted an assurance that this would not be done again. He said that the European Party considered that the necessity for the tax had not been established. They reserved the right to oppose the Bill at a later stage if they were not supplied with facts and figures which definitely established that additional taxation was necessary. Next day, the **30th. November**, an account of the financial position of the Government was given by the Hon. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Finance Minister, in his reply to the debate. The Minister told the House that the deficit for the current year was going to "materialise with a vengeance". He recalled that in February last he had fore-cast a deficit of Rs. 57 lakhs, which had now mounted to Rs. 120 lakhs. The revenue position had been deteriorating owing to circumstances over which the Government had no control. Their jute export duty receipts would be less by Rs. 50 lakhs, and unless there was an immediate rise in the price of jute, their land revenue receipts would be much smaller than they had expected. Therefore, the Finance Minister added, this taxation measure was absolutely essential in order to meet the present emergency. A suggestion had been made that the Government should tax jute. The Finance Minister said that he was prepared to tax jute if it could be shown that it would not result in further depressing the price of jute in the mofussil, and that the tax would not be ultimately passed on to the agriculturist. He was not sure that it would not be, and he had, therefore, exempted jute from the operation of the tax. Mr. *Abu Hossain Sarkar* (Krishak Proja) moved by way of an amendment, that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion by March 31, 1941. Mr. Sarkar characterised the Bill as backdoor legislation. At the close of the financial year, when they did not know what the financial condition of the Government was, there was absolutely no justification for bringing forward a measure of this kind. Mr. *Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal* (Congress) described the Bill as a "pernicious" measure, and remarked that if the Bill was passed into law, it would add penury to the poverty of the people of Bengal. Mr. Sanyal suggested that the Government should have first taxed the fat salaries and the rich people. Mr. *Iswar Das Jalan* (Congress) considered the time inopportune for bringing forward a taxation proposal of this kind. He thought that the imposition of the proposed tax would drive away the wholesale trade from the province to the adjoining provinces. *Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhury* (Congress) said that the spirit with which such a Bill was generally introduced in the legislature was found wanting in the Finance Minister. This Ministry, who had been returned through sepatate Constituency, thought that they were only entitled to feel for the general public and others who had come through General Constituency had no right to say in

that regard. In was this spirit that was reflected in the opening speech of the Finance Minister. What was the position of the Bill? Whether there was any necessity for the Bill or not it concerned him very litttle. The Finance Minister simply said that because he told at the time of introducing the budget last year that there would be taxation measure, therefore, the Bill had been put forward. Mr. *Idris Ahmed*, a member of the Coalition Party, took the House by surprise when he also strongly criticised the Bill and asked his Party men not to lend their support to the Bill unless the Government gave an assurance that the money raised by this measure would be earmarked exclusively for the spread of free primary education. Mr. *Nalini Ranjan Sarkar*, the former Finance Minister, subjected the Bill to a detailed criticism. He said that he strongly felt that they were at present faced with no compelling necessity which would justify the Government's introducing such a huge measure of taxation, which would interfere with trade, small industries and make the burden on the poor heavier. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, intervening in the debate, justified the measure. He said that it was untrue that he had promised to provide "dal, bhat" to the peple. What he said was that the problem of "dal, bhat" was the problem of problems to-day. Replying to interruptions and ironical laughter from the Opposition, Mr. Huq said that if any one believed that anybody could come and get 'dal, bhat' at his Jhoutalla house he was not only a fool but he lived in a fool's paradise. He could not be expected to provide food to five crores of people everyday. The House at this stage adjourned till the **2nd. December** when the Opposition motion urging the circulation of the Bill, was rejected by 124 to 72 votes. The Government motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee was, thereafter, carried by 118 to 73 votes, one Coalition Party member remaining neutral. In his final appeal before voting took place, the Finance Minister, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy* remarked, "Nobody likes taxation. As a politician I am afraid of it. I detest it and I would have never dreamt of introducing this measure had it not been that the finances of Bengal and the needs of the people demanded that we should supplement our resources for the purpose of giving them relief." The Finance Minister emphasised that the position to day was such that it was impossible, without further taxation to meet their ordinary requirements. He reminded the European Group that it was practically only the Bengal Government which in the whole of India supported the Government of India and the British Government in their affort. He asked them to realise that if they wanted that the people should participate in the war effort, they must try to raise their standard of living and bring joy and happiness to their homes. The Finance Minister added that it was almost certain that he might have to come up with fresh taxation proposals before the House in the near future. But he assured them that whenever he considered any taxation proposal necessary he would take the House into his confidence beforehand.

Higher Prices for Raw Jute

The Assembly next passed a resolution that the Government of Bengal should take immediate steps "to ensure higher prices of raw jute for cultivators in the current season by adopting such necessary and suitable measures as may be economically justifiable." The matter was discussed on a special motion in view of the conference convened by the Government of India in New Delhi for December 4, of representatives of the jute-growing provinces and the mills to decide on ways and means of disposing of this year's crop at a level of prices to all concerned, particularly the grower.

Local Boards & Census Bill

3rd. DECEMBER:—A discussion on arrangements in connection with the forthcoming census took place to-day, when the Government Bill entitled the Bengal Local Authorities Census Expenses Contribution Bill was introduced. The Bill sought to empower local boards to contribute towards petty expenses in connection with the forthcoming census. In the course of the discussion, Mr. *Atul Sen* (Congress) criticised the census arrangements as not being conducive to the collection of proper and impartial information. *Sir Bijoy Prosad Singh Roy*, Revenue Minister, who introduced the Bill, pointed out that the local Government were not in any way responsible for census operations. But if any defect in the existing arrangements were communicated to the Government in a specific manner they would certainly be only too glad to forward them to the Central Government with their comments on the matter. The Minister informed the House that the

Bengal Government proposed to address the Central Government about the desirability of having joint enumerators. An Opposition motion, urging circulation of the Bill, was rejected without a division, and the Bill was passed by 95 votes to 56.

Earlier the House passed by 92 to 50 votes the Bengal Legislature (Removal of Disqualifications) Bill. The Assembly then adjourned.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES BILL

4th. DECEMBER :—The Assembly agreed to-day to the amendments which had been made by the Upper House to the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill 1940. Strong opposition was offered to some of the amendments which the Upper House had effected and the House divided on as many as five occasions and the discussion continued for over two hours. Mr. *Satyapriya Banerjee* (Congress) objected to the deletion of the word 'economic' with reference to clause 11 which provided for registration of Co-operative Societies. He said that this was a move in direct opposition to the ideas of the Co-operative Societies which prevailed all over the world and the rest of India. It altered the character of the Bill altogether and offended against the principle of co-operation. Mr. *Atul Sen* (Congress) supporting the amendment said that the taking away of the word 'economic' would open flood-gate of jobbery and lead to the misuse of the money of the Co-operative Societies for political purposes. Replying the Hon. Mr. *M. B, Mullick* said that contrary to what Mr. Banerjee thought the Bengal Legislative Council in their wisdom were of opinion that the retention of the word 'economic' would interfere with the functioning of the Co-operative movement in the province. Further, he could assure the House that there would be no misuse of money as alleged by Mr. Sen. The amendment carried in the Upper House was agreed to. Dr. *Nalinakshya Sanyal* (Congress) strongly objected to the insertion of a sub-clause to clause 77 of the Bill which dealt with the nature of the audit. By this sub-clause the Upper House gave power to the Registrar to modify the audit report. Dr. Sanyal objecting to it suggested that the report drawn up by the auditor should be final and if any modification had to be made that must be done by the auditor himself. If such wide powers were vested on the Registrar, that might lead to abuse. Mr. *Abu Hossain Sarker* (Krishak Proja) on behalf of his party recorded their protest against the sub-clause on ground of principle. The Hon. Mr. *M. B. Mullick* replying stated that the Board of Directors of an institution had every right to take exception to certain remarks in the adult report. Therefore it was right and proper that the Board of Directors should have the right to draw the attention of higher authorities to such remarks and had them modified. The House agreed to the amendment made by the Upper House and Dr. Sanyal's suggestion was turned down. The House was then *prorogued.*

Proceedings of the Bengal Council

Monsoon Session—Calcutta—26th. July to 19th. Sept. 1940

RECRUITMENT OF BENGALIS IN ARMY

The monsoon session of the Bengal Legislative Council commenced in Calcutta on the **26th. July 1940** with the Hon. Mr. *Satyendra Chandra Mitra* in the chair. A non-official resolution urging the Government to move the Government of India to recruit soldiers from among the Bengalis so as to raise a permanent unit with a view to its incorporation into the Indian Army was unanimously carried. Moving the resolution Rai Bahadur *Keshav Chandra Banerjee* (Independent) said that India's destiny was inseparably linked with that of Britain. But he regretted that the British statesmen of the present day did not seem to realise that a contented India would be a bulwark against any enemy to the British Power. The giving of military training to Bengalis would be greatly appreciated. Bengal would rise to a man to help Britain at this critical period. Replying to the debate, *Sir Nazim-ud-Din*, Home Minister, said that whether the Government of Bengal had any responsibility in the matter referred to by the resolution, or not, was a debatable question. The question of defence of

India and all matters connected with the Army in India was under the purview of the Government of India, and the Provincial Governments had no say in all these matters. Therefore, if any representation was to be made in regard to the question under discussion, it should be made through the proper representatives of Bengal in the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. In any case, the Home Minister stated, thanks to the efforts made by the Government, and particularly by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, the Army authorities had agreed to raise a battalion of territorial forces for the duration of the war from among the Bengalis. So far as the question of maintaining the force after the war was concerned, it would depend on how Bengali recruits acquitted themselves. The Home Minister pointed out that if Bengal really wanted an army of her own, Bengal would have to pay for it. "It is Mr. Jinnah's zonal scheme which can give you your own army. That is the only possible way," he added. Otherwise, they could not expect any improvement over the present state of affairs. While not opposing the resolution, the Home Minister said that the proceedings of the day's debate on the resolution would be forwarded to the proper quarters. The Council then adjourned till the 29th.

Muslim & Public Services

29th. JULY :—Government's policy of recruiting Muslim candidates in Public Services from outside the province, overriding the claims of qualified applicants of other communities in Bengal, was the subject of an adjournment motion to-day. "This is", said Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das*, sponsor of the motion, "communalism in excelsis, rather, communalism run mad. The present policy of the Government disclosed that they stand for people outside Bengal even to the detriment of the best interests of the people of the province." Observations were made in course of the debate that followed by prominent Coalitionists, including the *Chief Minister*, who sought to defend the policy lately enunciated in the Lower House by Minister Tamizuddin Khan. Islam, the Premier argued, was a great democratic religion recognising the brotherhood of Moslems throughout the world. It was that feeling which had actuated his Government to come to the decision so adversely criticised by the Congress members. Khan Bahadur *Syed Muazzamuddin Hossain* stated that the Muslim nation was not confined to Bengal or India alone but extended to all other parts of the world. The interests of the Bengalee Muslims would thus be better served by Muslims imported from outside. Khan Bahadur *Naziruddin Ahmed*, a Muslim Leaguer, advised them to cultivate an India-wide outlook for the sake of unity and the conception of a greater India. The motion of Mr. Das was eventually negatived by the House.

Motor Vehicles Rules amended

30th. JULY :—The Council discussed the special motion relating to the Bengal Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940, moved by *Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, Revenue Minister. The Council adopted the rules with modifications. It will be remembered that at a joint conference of both Houses a draft set of rules was recommended for approval. There were no less than 112 amendments, the majority of which stood in the name of the Revenue Minister. In all 97 amendments were carried, 14 were not moved and one was lost. Of those adopted by the House, 37 were sponsored by Sir *B. P. Singh Roy*, 10 stood in the name of Mr. *Mesbahuddin Ahmed* (Coalition) and the one which was defeated was moved by Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur of Nashipur.

Shops & Establishments Bill

31st. JULY :—The Bengal Shops and Establishments Bill, 1939, as reported by the Select Committee, was taken into consideration to-day. The object of the bill was to regulate the holidays allowed to, the hours of work of, and the payment of wages to, persons employed in shops, commercial establishments and establishments for public entertainment or amusement. It was proposed that every shop shall be entirely closed on at least one and a half days in each week and every person, employed for not less than six consecutive days, shall be allowed at least one and a half days as holidays in each week. No shop shall remain open after 8 p.m. No person employed in a commercial establishment shall be permitted to work more than two hundred and eight hours in any one month and persons employed in establishments for public entertainment or amusement shall not be allowed to work more than ten hours in one day. Payment of wages, the bill proposed, should be made not later than the tenth day of the month immediately succeeding

that in respect of which such wages are payable. The penalty prescribed for vlolating any of the provisions relating to holidays, and hours of work is rigorous imprisonment which may extend up to six months or fine extending up to Rs. 500 or both ; while for violating provisions relating to payment of wages, leave etc., the offence will be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend up to one month or a fine which may extend up to Rs. 50 or with both. The Select Committee recommended that in the first instance the operation of the bill should be limited to Calcutta and its suburbs and Howrah. The Hon'ble *Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, leader of the House, moved that the bill as reported by the Select Committee be taken into consideration. The motion was carried and the House adjourned.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS INTRODUCED

2nd. AUGUST :—The Council elected Khan Sahib *Abdul Hamid Chowdhury* (West Mymensingh) as its Deputy President in place of Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury. Following the election, 31 non-official Bills covering various subjects, were introduced in the House.

One of the Bills was the Bengal Bus Drivers and Conductors Bill (Mr. *Humayun Kabir*) which was aimed to regulate the holidays, the hours of work, fixation and payment of wages of bus drivers and conductors. The object of another Bill, the Bengal Domestic Servants' Relief Bill, 1940, introduced by Mr. Kabir, was to regulate the holidays allowed, the hours of work, the conditions of employment of domestic servants employed in commercial establishments, houses, residences and dwelling places. By a Bill, the Bengal Moslem Marriage Extravagant and Superfluous Expenditure Regulation Bill, 1940, Mr. *Nur Ahmed* wanted to regulate extravagant and superfluous expenditure at weddings among the Mussalman community in Bengal. Mr. *Hamidul Huq Chowdhury* introduced the Indian Bar Council (Amendment) Bill, 1940, in order to remove by legislation certain restrictions and disabilities at present suffered by a class of advocates which prevent them from practising on the Original Side of the Calcutta High Court. Khan Bahadur *Ataur Rahman's* Bengal Ferries (Amendment) Bill, 1940, was circulated for eliciting public opinion on the motion of the Hon. Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandy.

SHOPS & ESTABLISHMENTS BILL (CONTD.)

5th. AUGUST :—The only item of business to-day was the consideration of the clauses of the Bengal Shops and Establishments Bill, 1939. As a number of amendments had been received some of which Government were prepared to accept and to put in amendments on those lines, the consideration of the Bill was postponed till thursday when the House adjourned as a mark of respect to the death of Rai Saheb *Indu Bhusan Sarcar*, a member of the Council.

MILITARY TRAINING IN COLLEGES

9th. AUGUST :—Two important questions, namely, the immediate starting of military colleges in University centres "in order to train Indian students as officers in Army, Navy and Air Services for the defence of India against aggression and "enabling adult citizens of British India to keep arms for self-protection without any licence", came up for consideration in the shape of non-official motions. Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* (Congress), moving the first resolution, said that the universities in England and on the Continent provided facilities for imparting military training to their students. India was the only country where there were no such facilities. Since war was spreading and coming nearer home, he appealed to the British Government and the Government of India to give up their traditional policy of distrust of Indians and supplant it by a policy of trust of India and Indians so that Indians might be allowed to learn the art of defence under modern conditions. On behalf of the Government Sir *Bijoy Prosad Singha Roy*, Revenue Minister, said that as this subject was the concern of the Government of India, his Government would forward the motion and the discussion thereon to the Central Government. Personally, he thought the proposal made was an unpractical one.

ARMS FOR SELF-PROTECTION

In moving the secod motion, regarding grant of facilities for keeping arms for self-protection without a licence, Mr. *Humayun Kabir* reminded the House of the common law prevailing in England where anybody and everybody could keep arms provided he had money. He was of the opinion that India should take a lesson in this respect from England. Speaking on behalf of the Government, Sir *Khwaja Nazim-ud-din*, Home Minister, said that the matter raised by Mr. Kabir did not

directly concern the Provincial Government. Therefore, the Government would express no opinion on the merits of the motion and they would remain neutral at the time of voting. They would, however, forward the resolution and the discussions thereon to the Government of India.

Both the motions were rejected by the House, the first by 15 votes to 23 and the second by 12 votes to 18, the Government remaining neutral. The Council then adjourned till the 12th.

Shops & Establishments Bill (contd.)

12th. & 14th. AUGUST :—The Council took up for consideration on the **12th. August** the Bengal Shops and Establishments Bill clause by clause. The Council adopted without discussion a Government motion excluding commercial establishments from the scope of the Bill. Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister for Commerce and Labour, explained in this connection that the Government had not sufficient information at their disposal which would enable them to implement the particular clause of the Bill relating to the working hours in commercial establishments. The Government, however, proposed to conduct an enquiry into the working hours of various kinds of commercial establishments in the province and after the enquiry had been concluded, the Minister proposed to bring forward an amending Bill in March next year. About eight clauses of the Bill were disposed of before the House adjourned till the next-day, the **14th August**, when the Bill was passed. The Bill received support from all sections of the House. The Congress Party while welcoming the measure pointed out certain omission in the Bill regarding restriction of working hours in commercial establishments, and the fixation of a particular day in the week to be observed as a general holiday. The House then adjourned till the 16th.

Non-Martial & Martial Classes

16th. AUGUST :—The abolition of the distinction between martial and non-martial classes in India in regard to recruitment in different sections of the Indian Army was urged in a non-official resolution unanimously adopted to-day. The resolution, *inter alia*, stated that an address be presented to His Excellency the Governor, through the President of the House, with a view to making a strong representation to His Excellency the Viceroy and through him to His Majesty's Government in England urging the necessity for the abolition of the distinction. The Home Minister, *Sir Nazimuddin*, said that this was one of the subjects for which the Provincial Government were not responsible. What they could do in this matter was to forward a copy of the proceedings to the Government of India. The Home Minister regretted that Bengalees were not evincing much interest in taking advantage of the facilities for being recruited to the Army, Navy and Air Force.

The House next rejected a non-official resolution moved by Mr. *Birendra Kishore Roy Choudhury*, urging that no official Bill evoking any communal or economic controversy should be introduced in either House of the Legislature.

Jute Regulation Bill

19th. AUGUST :—The Council to-day passed two official Bills, namely, the Bengal Jute Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1940, and the Bengal Revenue (Charged Expenditure) Bill, 1940. These Bills had already been passed by the Bengal Assembly (Lower House) in the current session. The object of the Bengal jute Regulation (Amendment) Bill was to provide for a revision of the final record of lands, on which jute was grown, by the District Collectors for the purpose of correcting mistakes and omissions found by them or brought to their notice.

Legislature Disqualification Removal Bill

22nd. AUGUST :—The Bengal Legislature (Removal of Disqualifications Amendment) Bill, 1940, as settled in the Lower House was passed by the Council to-day. This was the only item that was before the House and it took the House a quarter of an hour to consider the Bill. The measure sought to enable a member of either of the House of the Legislature to retain his seat even when he held a permanent office in His Majesty's Naval, Military or Air Forces in time of war for any purpose connected with the internal security of Bengal. *Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy* was the member in charge of the Bill.

Non-official Bills

23rd. AUGUST :—Eleven non-official Bills were dealt with by the Council to-day. Of those, one was under consideration, one was passed, one was

withdrawn, three were referred to select committees and five were directed to be circulated to elicit public opinion.

The Bengal Patni Taluks Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1940, with the amendments made by the Assembly to the Bengal Patni Taluks Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1939, was taken into consideration. The Bengal Patni Taluks Regulation (Amendment) Bill 1939, as settled in the Council was passed.

Khan Bahadur *Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain* (Coalition) withdrew the Bengal Water Hyacinth (Amendment) Bill, 1940, on an assurance by Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, Minister for Agriculture and Industries, that Government would bring forward a similar measure.

Two Bengal Land Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bills, 1940—one sponsored by Khan Bahadur *Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain* (Coalition) and the other by Mr. *Nur Ahmed* (Coalition) were referred to select committees as also the Public Demands Recovery (Amendment) Bill, 1940, which too stood in the name of Mr. *Nur Ahmed*.

The Eastern Bengal and Assam Disorderly House (Amendment) Bill, 1940, the Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy Bill, 1940, the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Bill, 1940, and the Bengal Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, 1940, were directed to be circulated for eliciting public opinion.

Co-operative Societies Bill

27th. AUGUST :—The Council to-day sat for just over an hour. The Bengal Alluvion and Dilluvion (Amendment) Bill, having been passed, the consideration of the Bengal Co-operative Societies Bill was taken up. After some amendments had been disposed of, the President, Mr. *S. C. Mitra*, announced that as Government wanted time to consider the remaining amendments the Council would be postponed till Wednesday. There were 715 amendments to the Bill, of which 23 were dealt with. Of these one was carried, two stood over, three were lost and the remainder were not moved.

Primary Education in Bengal

30th. AUGUST :—A non-official resolution urging that an additional sum of one crore of Rupees be set apart by the Government of Bengal in the course of five years for the expansion and improvement of primary education in Bengal was adopted to-day without a division. Speaking on the resolution, which was moved by a member of the Coalition Party. Sir *Bijoy Prosad Singh Roy*, Revenue Minister, said that the Government had every sympathy with the spirit underlying the resolution but there were practical difficulties in the way of accepting the resolution as it stood. He asked the mover to withdraw the resolution which the latter, however, declined to do, and the resolution was adopted by the House without a division.

The House next rejected by 24 votes to 13 a resolution moved by a scheduled caste member of the Congress Party urging that an annual recurring grant of five lakhs of rupees be sanctioned by the Government of Bengal for the spread of education among the scheduled castes in the province.

Ship-Building Industry in Bengal

6th. SEPTEMBER :—A non-official resolution asking the Government of Bengal to move the Government of india to establish as early as possible a ship-building Industry in Bengal was passed to-day. All parties and groups in the House excepting the European Group supported the resolution which was moved by Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das* (Congress). The European Group objected to the resolution on the ground that in the resolution "racial complexities" had been introduced, namely that the assistance which the Government was asked to give the ship-building industry was sought to be limited to companies formed by Indians. Speaking on the resolution, Mr. *H. S. Suhrawardy*, Minister of Labour and Commerce, said that the Government had every sympathy with the spirit underlying it. He referred to the recent attempt that was made to establish a ship-building industry in Calcutta by the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. He said that the Commerce Member of the Government of India recently had come to Calcutta to find out whether certain industries could be established in Calcutta because the place had some natural advantages which no other port in India had. Unfortunately, however, there arose some difficulties owing to which Calcutta was not selected for the ship-building industry. During the negotiations, the Minister remarked, the Bengal Government were not consulted but they learnt later that the Scindia Steam Navigation

Company had decided upon Vizagapatam. Had they been given an opportunity, the Government would have tried their best to keep the industry in Calcutta.

ALLOCATION OF REVENUES

13th. SEPTEMBER :—A resolution urging the modification of the Government of India Order, 1936, ensuring allocation to Bengal her due share of Central revenues accruing from any tax on income other than the agricultural income was unanimously adopted to-day. Speaking on the resolution, the Finance Minister drew a gloomy picture of the financial position of the province and remarked that there was very little doubt of their facing considerable deficits in the coming year. If the barest justice had to be accorded to Bengal, he added, earliest steps should be taken to reverse the present amendment.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES BILL (CONTD.)

28th. AUG. to 19th. SEPT. :—Consideration of the Co-operative Societies Bill was resumed to-day. The Opposition attack was mainly concentrated on clause 9 of the measure relating to the appointment of Registrar of Co-Operative Societies. Mr. *Humayun Kabir's* amendment was pressed to a division and lost by 26 votes to 14. The European party did not participate in the voting. The Council then adjourned till the **2nd. September** when it made good progress with the consideration of the Bill, and disposed of a large number of amendments to clauses 9 to 29. The clauses were agreed to with modifications of a minor character. The House sat an hour later than the usual time. Next day, the **3rd. September**, further progress was made when clauses 30 to 50 were passed with modifications of a minor character. Clause 47, however, was held back for consideration by Government. The discussion was rather dull and failed to evoke any interest. There were a large number of amendments to different clauses of the bill. Most of them stood in the name of the Coalition Party members but a very few of them were moved. The Opposition moved amendments suggesting changes which were all rejected. The House adjourned till the next day, the **4th. September**, when it disposed of a few of the amendments to clauses 51 to 58. When clause 59 of the Bill was taken up, the President, Mr. *S. C. Mitter*, said that as Government were not ready with the further progress of the Bill he would adjourn the House for the day. Next day, the **5th. September**, the House disposed of a number of amendments to clauses 60 to 74. The clauses were agreed to by the House with modifications of a minor character. On the **9th. September**, the Council voted down the proposals of the Opposition to make audit independent of the Registrar and to place it under the control of an entirely separate body. In reply to the debate the Hon. Mr. *H. B. Mullick* stated that the Government had already taken steps to separate audit so far as the Central Banks were concerned. But, he informed the House, that with regard to the village societies it was not only a huge problem but also an impossible task for Government to undertake. Mr. Mullick also stated that in no other province of India had audit been taken out of the hands of the Registrar. Further, he added, the general administration of the society would be carried out by the non-official managing committees and therefore no question arose as to the overlapping of the administration with the Audit Department. The House then disposed of a number of amendments to clauses 75 to 82. The clauses were agreed to with modifications of a minor character. Next-day, the **10th. September**, the only clause on which some discussion took place was clause 98 which read, "if any sum due as an instalment or part of an instalment payable under a mortgage in favour of a co-operative land mortgage bank has remained unpaid for more than one month from the date on which it fell due, the bank may, in addition to any other remedy available to it, apply to the Registrar for the recovery of such sum by distraint and sale of the produce of the mortgaged land, including the standing crops thereon." Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutta*, Leader of the Opposition, by an amendment urged that the clause be omitted. He characterized it as a drastic measure and apprehended that it would cause great hardship to the poor ryots. The amendment was pressed to a division and negatived by 24 votes to 13. Khan Bahadur *Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain* (Coalition) suggested by another amendment to the clause that not more than half the produce of the mortgaged land should be attached for the purpose. The amendment was accepted by the Minister and carried by the House without any opposition. The Council then adourned till the **11th: September**, when it disposed of 23 more clauses of the Bill. Only a few clauses of the Bill were left for consideration. An important clause of the Bill, clause 126, had been held back for consideration on

account of difference of opinion among the members in regard to the interpretation of it. The difficulty arose as to whether the clause really intended to give retrospective effect of the measure or not. Divergent views were expressed on the point as the members could not come to a decision and the clause was held back for consideration. The House then adjourned till the **12th. September** when it concluded the consideration of all the amendments to the rest of the clauses of the Bill, and the clauses were agreed to with certain modifications. Only a few amendments to the schedules of the Bill were pending consideration. There was a certain amount of discussion over an amendment of the Congress Party to a clause that gave power to Government to frame rules for the purpose of this Act. Mr. *Kamini Kumar Dutta*, Leader of the Opposition, suggested by moving the amendment that rules framed by Government should have the approval of the Legislature. Mr Dutta said that the Act itself had been of Fascist character and it would be made more Fascist if they gave power to the Executive without this power of rule-making being subjected to the approval of the Legislature. Mr. Dutta was supported by the *Raja Bahadur of Nashipur* and Mr. *Lalit Chandra Das*. The Hon. Mr. *M. B. Mullick* opposed the amendment. He said that rules that would be framed could not be inconsistent with the principles underlying the Act. It would be mere waste of time, he added, for the House to go into the details of the rule. The amendment was rejected, 15 voting for 26 against. The House then adjourned till the **18th. September** when the third reading of the Bill was taken up. Mr. *Ranjit Pal Chowdhury* (Congress) characterized the measure as a clever, future, election-device, a well-laid plan and programme for fighting the coming election by their ministers. Mr. *J. B. Ross*, leader of the European Party, sounded a note of warning that the Government should choose the right man as the Registrar regardless of communal or other extraneous considerations. Khan Bahadur *Syed Muazzemuddin Hossain* (Colition) remarked that they found their Hon. Minister in charge of the bill more obstinate and unreasonalbe than the European bureaucracy, as he would not allow any amendment of even party members however reasonable that might be unless approved by the department head. Next day, the **19th. September**, Mr. *M. B. Mullick*, Minister for Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness, in closing the debate repudiated the suggestion that the Bill had been actuated by any dictatorial motive and remarked that Government had tried to meet existing difficulties and to put the co-operative movement on a sound basis. In order to put a stop to corrupt practices the Bill provided that loans must be used for the purpose for which they were taken. He assured members that so long as the present Government was in power, all possible steps would be taken to keep all the Services free from corruption. Turning to remarks of Mr. Ross, the Minister said that it was within the province of every member to suggest what course should be adopted to improve a measure of this kind. But it was rather unkind for Mr. Ross to say that there were many drafting defects and that the Bill was slipshod. Mr. Ross and his Party should have suggested amendments to improve the wording of those provisions which they considered faulty ? The Bill was passed.

On the motion of Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, Minister for Agriculture and Industries, the Bengal Water Hyacinth (Amendment) Bill was taken into consideration, whereafter the House was *prorogued*.

Winter Session—Calcutta—9th. to 12th. December 1940

WATER HYACINTH AMEND. BILL 1940

The Winter Session of the Council commenced on the **9th. December 1940.** The House took up the consideration clause by clause of the Bengal Water-hyacinth (Amendment) Bill, 1940, introduced by the Hon. Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, Minister for Agriculture at the last session of the Council. The Bill sought to enable Collectors or Authorised Officers to prepare schemes, make estimates of the cost and carry out the work of construction and maintenance of fences and barriers etc., that might be required to prevent the influx and divert the movement of water hyacinth in affected areas. The Bill also authorised the Collector or Authorised officers to recover the cost proportionately from the persons benefitted. Mr. *Humayun Kabir* (Krishak Proja) in welcoming the measure expressed the opinion that certain further improvements on the provisions of the Bill were necessary. He drew the attention of the Minister in Charge to the increase in the rate of amount,

from six annas two pice to Rs. 3-8-0 per acre, charged to the cultivator as cost. The result had been, he said, that the cultivators refused to pay the amount and the work in this connexion suffered heavily. Secondly, Mr. Kabir said the Collector had been made the sole authority regarding the operation of this Bill when passed into Act. Mr. Kabir suggested that officers of the Public Works and Irrigation Department were more conversant with the problems of water-hyacinth and they should be entrusted with the work. Mr. Kabir also suggested that the cost should be recovered only from those cultivators or persons involved who would accrue benefit from the operation of water-hyacinth scheme. The Hon. Mr. *Tamizuddin Khan*, replying, stated that after mature consideration Government had come to the conclusion that the Collector was the most appropriate person to deal with this matter. So far as other suggestions were concerned Mr. Khan said that Government would consider the constructive advice given by Mr. Kabir. The House adopted two amendments of formal character moved by the Government Whip. The third reading of the Bill was taken up on the next day, the **10th. December**, when the Bill was passed. The Minister thanked the members for allowing the measure to be passed without any opposition and pointed out that the Bill as it now stood, would be more useful in dealing with the problem of water-hyacinth. He assured the members that steps would be taken to see that the schemes were executed at as cheap a cost as possible.

Dismantling of Railway Line

12th. DECEMBER :—The situation created by the alleged failure of the Government to properly represent to the India Government about the loss, hardship and inconvenience caused to the public and the trading interests in the country by the proposed suspension of the Kalukhali-Bhatiapara railway line in Fairdpur district, was discussed to-day on an adjournment motion by Mr. *Humayun Kabir*. Explaining the Government position, the Reveuue Minister, *Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, said that as soon as the Bengal Government received information regarding the Government of India's proposal, they made a strong protest. Several Ministers of the Government, he added, had also waited on the Member in Charge of Communications, Government of India, in this connection, but the latter had already made up their mind. Mr. Kabir, the mover, did not ultimately press the motion.

Official Bills Passed

The Council to-day passed three-Government bills, namely, the Bengal Local Census Expenses Contribution Bill, the Bengal Legislature (Removal of Disqualifications Amendment) Bill, and the Bengal Rural Poor and Unemployed Relief (Amendment) Bill. The Council also agreed to the recommendations of His Excellency the Governor with regard to the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill. The House at this stage was *prorogued*.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly

Secret session—Lahore—15th. July 1940

Communist Menace in the Province

The first secret session in the history of Indian Legislatures commenced at Lahore on the **15th. July 1940** when the Punjab Legislative Assembly by 91 votes to 48 accepted the motion of the Premier that the day's proceedings be held *in camera*. Some amendments to the motion for secret session had been tabled by the Opposition but the Speaker ruled that the motion could not be debated upon or amended. *Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, *Diwan Chamanlal*, Mr. *Bhimsen Sacher* and others raised points of order suggesting that amendments could be moved. *Ch. Krishna Gopal Dutt* said that the rules of the Punjab Assembly were different from those by which the House of Commons was governed. He pointed out that there was no provision for a secret session in the Punjab Assembly Rules. If, however, the motion had been admitted, he urged that amendments should also be allowed. The *Speaker* said that though the Punjab Assembly Rules were silent on the point the procedure that was being adopted was not inconsistent with their rules. Mr. *Bhimsen Sacher* (Congress) said that the Chair had the right to exclude strangers and the Premier's motion, therefore, was an encroachment on the authority of the Chair. It was also *ultra vires* of the Government of India Act. The *Speaker*, however, held that the motion was in order. *Malik Barkat Ali*, (Muslim League) supported the Congress point of view saying that the rules of the House did not provide for putting a motion without any debate or amendment. The rules in England were different. *Sardar Sampuran Singh*, Leader of the Opposition, elucidated the difference between the Speaker exercising his authority to ask strangers to withdraw and the House deciding to go into a secret session on the motion of the Premier. He said in the former case the proceedings would be recorded and the members would have the right to divulge the proceedings whereas in the latter case no proceedings could be recorded and the members would perhaps be bound not to divulge the proceedings. He requested the Speaker to exercise his authority instead of leaving the matter to the House. The *Speaker*, however, maintained his original ruling and put the motion to the vote of the House which was carried by 21 to 48 votes. The press was then asked to withdraw and the House went into the secret session.

At the outset, the *Speaker* announced that he had received notices of 22 adjournment motions. Out of these, he said, eleven were covered by the subject-matter of the official resolution to be discussed to-day in the secret session and therefore could not be moved. Ten motions relating to the recent happenings at Sargodha and other local matters were ruled out of order.

The twenty-second motion standing in the name of *Malik Barkat Ali* (Muslim League) proposed to discuss the imposition of punitive police in the walled portion of Lahore. The *Speaker* held this motion in order but in view of the fact that this extraordinary session of the Assembly had been called for discussing a specific matter of great importance, he said he would defer the motion to the next ordinary session of the Assembly on the understanding that he would not object to the motion on the ground of absence or urgency.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's Speech

A report of the proceedings of the secret session of the House was issued under the authority of the Speaker. The *Premier* moved the following resolution :—

"This Assembly records its approval of the action taken by the Government to preserve the peace of the province and trusts that it will continue to keep a vigilant watch over the activities of persons engaged in subversive movements calculated to disturb the public tranquillity, and will, when necessary, take effective action against them, the preservation of peace and maintenance of law and order being of supreme importance at this juncture in the interest of the safety and integrity of the country and by reason of the strategical position of the Punjab and the large proportion of recruits which it provides for the Indian army."

Referring to the question of the Communist menace to the internal peace and security of India, particularly the Punjab, and whether it is merely a bogey created by the Punjab Government as an excuse for taking action against certain members of the Congress, the Premier said that it would not perhaps be inopportune to direct the attention of the public to a few quotations from the public press as well as from certain secret Communist publications in the country which threw a flood of light on the questions. The quotations would give an unbiassed student of Indian politics a sufficiently clear indication of the existence of an active, skilfully directed and determined inter-provincial movement in India, which derived its inspiration from abroad and aimed at creating widespread disorder to be followed by a violent revolution in the country. The quotations would also indicate that the strategic plan of the Communist wolf to don the clothings of the Congress—its sheep—had not deceived some of the foremost Congress leaders.

As regards the recent orders of the Punjab Government for the detention of certain Communist workers, the Working Committee of the Punjab Congress, the Premier pointed out, had taken it upon itself to criticise the ban on the Indian Communist Party. The public might, he said, be reminded in this connection that some of the Congress leaders, who had shouldered the responsibilities of the administration, had taken a very different view of this ban. In February, 1939, the Congress Government in Bombay were asked on the floor of the Legislature if they would recommend to the Government of India to remove the ban. The reply was that they did not consider it in the interest of the public to make such a recommendation. On March, 17, 1939, the hon. Mr. *K. M. Munshi*, a Minister in the same Government, found occasion to express more vigorously his views about Communist activity in his province. A few months earlier than in Bombay, the Congress Government in Madras had found it necessary to issue an official communique calling the attention of the public to the dangerous character of Communist activity in that province. More instances, observed the Premier, could be given to show that Communist activity on those lines had forced itself from time to time on the attention of almost every Provincial Government in India, whatever the political complexion of the Government might have been.

The Premier then referred to the Communist technique in India and said that an interesting part of it had been to work as far as possible through the Congress organisation. Believing in ideals and methods wholly opposed to those of the Congress, they had yet no scruples against singing the Congress pledge with a view to using the organisation and platform of a recognised political party for the furtherance of their own programme. Some of the foremost Congress leaders saw this and publicly warned Congressmen against what was happening.

Two quotations, pointed out the Premier, should suffice to show this. The first was from a public statement by Mr. *Jawharlal Nehru* himself who said, "There are a few, somewhat new to the Congress, who while apparently agreeing, plan differently. They realise that there can be no national and nationwide movement, except through the Congress. All else would be adventurism. They want, therefore, to utilise the Congress and at the same time to break through it in directions which are opposed to Congress policy. The proposed technique is to embed themselves in the Congress and then to undermine its basic creed and method. In particular, the continuance of the technique of non-violence is to be combated, not obviously and patently, but insidiously and from within."

In March. 1939, the Premier continued, Pandit K. D. Malaviya who, a short while ago, had been the Secretary of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee, issued a public statement drawing attention to the class of men "who are joining the Congress in the name of radicalism or socialism."

Sir Sikander Hyat then referred to how the war had apparently quickened the pace of Communist activity in the various provinces of India, particularly the Punjab. The Communists in the Punjab—and no doubt in other provinces—had been telling one another in their secret circular letters and illegal news-sheets and preaching to others that the present was the most opportune time for trying all those methods which were intended by them to bring about a violent revolution in the country and the establishment of an Indian Soviet republic with the help of Foreign Powers. An illegal news-sheet, which claimed to be the official organ of the Punjab branch of the Third International, copies of which had come to the notice of the Government had, for instance, the following in its issue of May last : "It is time that Indians rose to the occasion and following an organised political programme launched a war against the British Government. The first strategy in this connection would be to have mass strikes in big factories and a simultane-

ous no-tax and no-rent campaign. This will result in the dislocation of industries and the means of transportation. These strikes will bring millions of men in the field against the Government, rendering its forces and machinery ineffective. An attack on the military and police posts by the national guard in rural as well as urban areas will deal a severe blow to the administration." "It is, however, proposed," proceeds the news-sheet, "to utilise a possible Congress Satyagraha movement for putting the above programme into effect." An article in the same issue said : "Satyagraha is a weapon of the weak and cannot be effective for achieving independence. Still, instead of showing hostility to Satyagrahis, the Communists should endeavour to create circumstances under which the Congress might be forced to declare war throughout India. As soon as this is done, the Communists will be in the forefront of this war and by their organising genius and strategic ability turn the Congress to their own purpose."

The Premier explained that these quotations had been given only to indicate the trend of Communist activity in the Punjab. They were, by no means, the most poisonous parts of the secret literature which was being circulated in the province. Nor had Communist activity in the Punjab been confined to secret pamphleteering.

Sir Sikander maintained that the Punjab Government would have been failing in what was their first and foremost duty towards the province at the present stage if they had not taken the necessary action to control and suppress this underground activity which was assuming menacing proportions. The maintaining of proper contacts with an underground movement of this nature and the obtaining of correct information about them were a delicate but important part of the responsibilities of the administration, with which the electorate of the province had charged the present Government. It would defeat the best interests of the province if, in dealing with Communist activity, the Government were to do anything which might throw out of gear the machinery through which they were able to maintain their watch on it.

The Premier concluded by saying that the Government would, however, assure all sections of the public that in the case of every individual whose detention without trial had been ordered, the Government had fully satisfied themselves after considering the available information that the individual had been actively connected with a subversive movement, the nature of which was amply indicated by the above quotations. The Government further wished to assure all peace-loving and law-abiding citizens of the province that a vigilant watch was being kept on all subversive tendencies in the province and that the Government were determined not to let those tendencies disturb peace and order in the province.

A debate followed in which the following members took part : Sardar Sampuran Singh, Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian Abdul Aziz, Diwan Chamanlal and Dr. Muhammad Alam.

The Premier made a brief reply after which the motion was put and carried.

Winter Session—Lahore—22nd. Nov. to 16th. Dec. 1940

CRIMINAL LAW AMEND. BILL

The Winter session of the Punjab Legislative Assembly commenced at Lahore on the 22nd. November 1940, and passed by 70 votes to 28 the third reading of the Punjab Criminal Law (Second Amendment) Bill, which extends, for a further period of five years, the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act 1935, due to expire on November 30, 1940. The Congress Party opposed the Bill, maintainiug that the Act had been misused in the past, and that no terrorist movement existed in the province. Mir *Maqbool Mahmud*, Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier, said that as many as 370 arrests were made under the Act by the Congress Ministry in Madras within a short span of three months, whereas not more than one-fourth of that number had been made in the Punjab in four years. *Chaudhry Krishna Gopal Dutt*, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, said that Mr. Rajagopalachari's action in using the Criminal Law Amendment Act had been openly condemned. Replying to the debate, the *Premier* paid a tribute to the realism of Mr. Rajagopalachari, and said that his action had been upheld by Mahatma Gandhi. The Premier added that if the Congress leadership had been in Mr. Rajagopalachari's hands, the Congress would not be treading the path it was doing to-day. The Premier assured the House that action under this Act would be taken only if Government were forced to do so.

Tax on Urban Property Bill

29th. NOVEMBER :—*Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*, the Premier, introduced to-day the Punjab Urban Immovable Property Tax Bill and moved for its reference to a Select Committee. The Bill sought to levy a tax at the maximum rate of one per cent on the capital value of buildings and lands in urban areas, with certain exemptions. The Bill, however, empowered the Provincial Government to levy, in addition, a surcharge not exceeding one half of the original tax during the continuance of the present war and for a period not exceeding twelve months after the termination thereof. This war surcharge will only be used for expenditure on matters connected with the present war. The *Premier* said that he was moving the Bill on the recommendation of H. E. the Governor and indicated that in the first year the tax might be levied at the nominal rate of one quarter of one per cent of the capital value and might not be imposed on all towns mentioned in the schedule. Mr. *C. Krishna Gopal Dutt*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, requested the Premier, since it was the last day for the Congress Party to attend the session, to give the Congress members an opportunity to express their views on the measure before they withdrew. The *Premier* appealed to the Congress Party to do their duty to their constituencies and stay on in the house when such important measures were coming before it instead of starting on a quest after a will-o'-the-wisp. The Premier explained at length the reasons which prompted the Government to bring forward the Bill before the House. The proposed tax would tend to produce a more equitable adjustment of the burden of taxation over the whole population of the Province. He recognised that the urban classes were paying income-tax, but those whose income was below Rs. 2,000 were entirely exempted from the tax whereas the rural classes, in addition to the land revenue, had to pay local rates, the chowkidhar tax, the haisivat tax and the professional tax. Thus the taxes in urban areas were not only comparatively light, but the people were enjoying all amenities of life. The Government had decided to bring the present measure before the House after the maturest consideration and after a thorough examination of its effects by their Economic Adviser. The Premier pointed out that if the House so desired he would arrange for examining the possibility of levying a window tax and a hearth tax provided in the Government of India Act, as an alternative to the present tax.

Removal of Disqualification Bill

Earlier, the House passed the Punjab Legislative Assembly Removal of Disqualifications (Amendment) Bill, which enabled working railwaymen and Government labourers to be elected to the Punjab Assembly from the trade union labour constituency.

Capital Value of Buildings

3rd. DECEMBER :—The question whether it was within the competence of provincial legislature to levy a tax on the capital value of buildings and land as provided in the Urban Immovable Property Tax Bill, was discussed for over two hours this afternoon on a point of order raised by Rai Bahadur *Mukandlal Puri*. Mr. Puri said that the taxation of capital value was the exclusive cognizance of the Federal Legislature as laid down in Item 55 of the Federal List. Mr. Puri asked the ruling of the Chair whether the House could proceed with further discussion of the Bill. Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan*, the Premier, pointed out that it was intended to levy a tax on the rateable value and they were perfectly within their right to levy such a tax. If, however, the members thought that the method followed in Bombay was better, he was willing to meet them. The matter could be further discussed in the Select Committee. Various lawyer-members of the House participated in the discussion expressing conflicting views. Mr. *Manoharlal*, Finance Minister, explaining the legal position, pointed out that no capital levy was contemplated. It was merely a method of assessment and the Punjab Government wish to carry forward its legitimate power of imposing tax on land and buildings. Mr. *Sleem*, the Advocate-General, said that if the matter was doubtful, it could be decided by the Federal Court. At one stage, during the discussion, the *Speaker* indicated that he might have to throw out the Bill, but after listening to the arguments of both sides, he held that in view of the fact that the question was difficult and important he would stick to his established principle of not curtailing the jurisdiction of the House. He therefore, held that the House would proceed with the Bill.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

5th. DECEMBER :—The Assembly disposed of 31 non-official Bills to-day of which 26 were either rejected or not moved, as they stood in the name of Congress members. Three new Bills, namely, the Sikh Gurdwaras Amendment Bill, the Punjab Suppression of Immoral Traffic Amendment Bill and the Colonisation of Government Lands (Punjab Amendment) Bill, were introduced. The Punjab Hindu Charitable and Religious Endowments Bill was circulated for eliciting public opinion and the Female Singers Prohibition Bill was referred to a select committee.

THE PRIMARY EDUCATION BILL

9th. & 10th. DECEMBER :—The policy of the Punjab Government regarding the question of languages and scripts was defined by *Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*, the Premier, during the discussion on the Primary Education Bill which was piloted by *Mian Abdul Haye*, the Education Minister. The *Premier* said that immediately after coming into power, the present Government issued a written declaration that, where communal matters were concerned, the Government would adhere to the *status quo* in the absence of any reasonable agreement among the communities. If, however, an agreement was arrived at, the Government would be only too happy to give effect to it. Expressing his personal views, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan said that if India wanted to become one nation, it was essential that they must have a common national language. The Muslims had been calling it Urdu, the Hindus Hindi and the Congress politicians had named it Hindustani. It was only a question of name and so long as the basic language was the same, the name did not matter. The Premier expressed the view that they must have simple Urdu as the national language of India. The real difficulty, he said, was the script, and it was not insurmountable. Script was merely a mechanical device to convey the meaning. Referring to the provincial sphere, Sir Sikander said that there should be a *lingua franca* in every province, besides the provincial language. So far as the Punjab was concerned, Urdu was spoken and understood throughout the province. He pointed out that in matters like these, common methods had to be devised by mutual understanding and not super-imposed. If a conference were convened by the Opposition members for this purpose, he, as well as the Minister of Education, would be glad to help them. Replying to the criticisms against the Bill, the Premier said that no girls were being compelled to learn Urdu. There would be Hindi schools as well as Gurmukhi schools. He emphasised that the Government were more jealously and scrupulously safeguarding the rights of the minorities than Governments in other provinces. He referred in particular to the Wardha scheme which, he said, had been thrust on the minorities in spite of their protests. Concluding, the Premier said that the present was the time to bring the communities together, and he wished that the attempt which was being made at present to bring about unity would succeed. He hoped that the Punjab in this matter would not lag behind but give a lead to the other provinces. The House passed clause three of the Bill, which lays down that any local authority may by a two-third majority, resolve that primary education shall be compulsory within the local area concerned. Next day, the **10th. December**, the Assembly passed the third reading of the Bill, which provided for the compulsory attendance of children at primary schools. The Bill had been on the legislative anvil for about three years, in the course of which it was twice referred to select committees. Rapid progress was made with the clauses and there was no debate on the third reading. The sitting lasted about an hour.

URBAN PROPERTY TAX BILL (CONTD.)

11th. to 13th. DECEMBER :—The Assembly, after a four hours' debate, agreed to take into consideration on the **11th. Dec.** the Punjab Urban Immovable Property Tax Bill as reported by the select committee. A motion for circulation of the measure as well as a motion to recommit the Bill to a select committee were rejected without a division. Replying to the debate *Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*, the Premier, said that his personal view was that in cases where buildings are really vacant, rebate should be allowed and the combined taxation on property should not exceed 25 per cent of the annual value. He indicated that at the maximum rate proposed in the Bill, the yield would be approximately Rs. 96 lakhs. As regards the pitch of taxation, the Premier said that, after allowing for deductions provided for in the Bill, the actual pitch would be 14 per cent of the annual value. He however pointed out that in the first instance, they would levy tax at the rate of 10 per cent of the annual value and concentrate on big cities only. The Premier explained

that the Bill had been brought forward with the dual purpose of meeting the increasing expenditure on beneficent activities and to give proportionate relief to the poor ryots, in accordance with the pledge repeatedly given on the floor of the House. Next day, the **12th. December**, the House, after a whole day's debate, rejected, without division, a non-official amendment seeking to fix the maximum rate of taxation at 10 per cent of the annual value, instead of 20 per cent. Sir *Gokulchand Narang*, a former Minister and others supported the amendment. Replying to the debate, Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan*, the Premier, reiterated the assurance that, at the outset, the rate of taxation would not exceed 10 per cent, but if the Opposition members, as a result of friendly discussion, convinced him that it was excessive, he would examine the possibility of reducing it to about 7½ per cent. The amendment was moved by *Rai Bahadur Sohanlal* (Ministerialist) and supported by three other members of the Ministerialist Party and four members of the Independent Party. Next day, the **13th. December**, the House passed the two main controversial clauses of the Bill. One of these fixes the maximum rate of taxation at 20 per cent of the annual value and empowers the Provincial Government to levy a 50 per cent surcharge for war purposes during the continuance of the present state of war and for a period not exceeding twelve months after its termination. The other clause exempts buildings and lands the annual value of which does not exceed Rs. 300 in Lahore and Simla and Rs. 240 in other areas. Exemptions are also provided for buildings and lands used exclusively for public worship or public charity including hospitals, orphanages and almshouses and such buildings and lands used for the purposes of a factory as may be prescribed. Sir *William Roberts*, a European member, sought to reduce the surcharge for war purposes from 50 to 25 per cent. While agreeing that the surcharge was justified by the present emergency, Sir William pleaded that the Government should start with a lower percentage. Sir *Sikander Hyat Khan* pointed out that the actual surcharge, according to the undertaking given by him, would not exceed 5 per cent in the beginning. He hoped that the war would not last more than three years : but if it did, the surcharge would have to be raised. The Premier said that in the present emergency the people of England had voluntarily surrendered to the Government the right to take away their entire property, and he expected the urban classes in the Punjab to do their duty. The rural classes were already contributing their mite. If, however, the latter shirked their duty at any stage, a similar tax or even a heavier one would be imposed on them. The Premier explained that the danger was real and near, and they felt secure because of the might of the British navy and army.

Recruitment of Army Cadets

16th. DECEMBER :—The Assembly to day discussed a non-official resolution recommending to the Government to urge on the Army Department of India the vital importance of recruiting the bulk of their cadets, both for the ordinary and emergency commissions, from the ranks of the "enlisted" classes. *Khan Bahadur Mushtaq Ahmad* Gurmani, Parliamentary Secretary to the Education Minister, moved an amendment to the effect that cadets both for ordinary and emergency Commissions should be recruited from different classes in the same proportion in which they are represented in the ranks of His Majesty's Indian Defence forces. The resolution was supported by about a dozen members and opposed by three including Sir *Gokul Chand Narang*, former Minister. Sir Gokul Chand Narang said that in modern warfare what really counted was brain and not brawn. He strongly criticised the artificial distinction between martial and non-martial classes in India and thought that any body who received good training could become a good fighter. Replying to the debate, *Major Khizar Hayat Khan*, Minister, P. W. D., maintained that the distinction between martial and non-martial classes had exisied in this country since the time of Manu. The present war, however, provided an opportunity for the non-martial classes to come forward, prove their mettle, and get their due share in the officers' ranks. Referring to the Urban Battalion, that is being raised in the Punjab, the Minister deplored that for sixteen posts of other ranks not more than eight people had applied, while for two posts of commissioned ranks no less than 130 applicants had come forward. The resolution as amended was carried without a division.

Earlier, the Assembly passed a non-official resolution as amended at the instance of *Chaudhri Tikka Ram*, Parliamentary Secretary, recommending to the Government to raise an adequate fund whenever necessary for the purpose of starting wholly or partially state-owned and state-managed industries in the province. On the motion of the Finace Minister, the House agreed to adjourn for Christmas recess till January 20, 1941.

The Assam Legislative Assembly

Winter Session—Shillong—11th. to 23rd. November 1940

Ban on Meetings in Sylhet

The winter session of the Assam Legislative Assembly commenced at Shillong on **11th. November 1940**, when it rejected, by 50 votes to 42, an adjournment motion moved by Mr. *Rabindranath Aditya* (Congress) to discuss the order promulgated under the Defence of India Rules banning processions, meetings, etc., in the district of Sylhet. Replying to the motion, the Premier, Sir *Mahomed Saadulla*, said that the best interests of India would be adequately safeguarded with active and increasing support to Britain in the successful prosecution of the war. Sir Mahomed referred to the Congress attitude towards the war and said that his party was equally patriotic, but its line of action was different. It thought that if the British lost the war everything would be lost. The motion was put to vote and was defeated. Mr. *Jogesh Chandra Gohain*, an erstwhile Congress member, remained neutral. Nine adjournment motions were moved of which two were admitted and the rest were either postponed or withdrawn or ruled out of order.

Motor Vehicles Rules

12th. NOVEMBER :—The Decree Settlement Bill, 1938, was referred to a select committee. The House by 53 to 44 votes rejected an adjournment motion tabled by the Opposition to discuss the action of the Government in framing and putting into operation rules under the Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1939, without giving an opportunity to the House to consider the rule.

Supplementary Demands for Grants

14th. NOVEMBER :—Sir *Muhammad Saadulla*, Premier, presented to-day a list of supplementary demands for grants totalling Rs. 2,25,435 for the year 1940-41. The demands will be discussed and voted on November 19, 1940. Explaining the Ministry's gift in July last of Rs. 1,00,000 to war fund, which had been placed under the head "extraordinary charges," the Premier said, "To help the Crown in its present struggle with Fascism, the Dominions, the Colonies and the dependencies of the Crown and the Indian States have placed their financial resources as well as their man-power at the disposal of the Crown. The purpose of the present war is not one of British imperialism but one undertaken to safeguard the peace, liberty, self-government and progress of the world and so upon the successful resistance of the British Commonwealth of Nations to brute forces of the totalitarian Powers which aim to dominate the world, depends not merely the peaceful economic progress of India but also the political development in the direction of that independent nationhood which every Indian patriot desires. In recognition of what the struggle means to every man, woman and child in Assam, the Ministry decided to offer a lakh of rupees as their contribution to the war fund and the amount was credited to the British Exchequer in July last." Before they sanctioned the amount, the Premier explained, the Government of Assam had considered the provincial revenue accounts for the last year and found themselves able to do so as the revenues of that year proved much better than anticipated.

Bills Referred to Select Committees

The Assembly, by 51 votes to 42, accepted a motion of Khan Bahadur *Saiyidur Rahman* for consideration of the Provincial Legislature Removal of Disqualifications Amendment Bill, 1940.

The Temporarily Settled Districts Tenancy Bill and the Maternity Benefit Bill were referred to Select Committees.

The Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill and the Deputy President's Salary Bill were next taken into consideration.

Abolition of Upper Chamber

15th. November :—The Assembly to-day carried without division a motion, moved by Mr. *Maqbul Hussain Chaudhary* of the Ministerialist Party, that the Assembly is of the opinion that the Government of Assam should take proper and adequate steps for the abolition of the Assam Council. As many as seven members

spoke on the subject and characterised the Upper Chamber as a stumbing block in the path of Assam's progress. They maintained that the sooner the chamber was abolished the better for the Province. Speaking on the motion, the *Premier* said that he had always opposed the idea of a second chamber for Assam, for which he thought there was no room in the Provinces. The idea was mooted, when the Government of India Bill was being discussed in Parliament, to safeguard landed interests in the permanently settled districts of the Province. He said that the resolution was vauge and that it should have been in the shape of an address, as required by Section 308 of the India Act. The Premier added that the proceedings of the debate might be forwarded to His Majesty's Government. The Ministry would not make any recommendation on the matter, which would be at the discretion of the Governor.

PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME

16th. November:—That the Government had decided to undertake various beneficial schemes involving large capital expenditure from the loan of Rs. 50 lakhs floated in the open market in September last, was disclosed by *Sir M. Saadulla* in the Assembly to-day, when the Premier placed a note on the present financial position of the Province. The Premier said that for current year the Assembly had sanctioned a lump sum of Rs. 12,000 to meet the initial expenditure in connection with the mass literacy campaign, but a further sum of about Rs. 62,000 would be needed. The total provincial revenue receipts for the first half of 1940-41 amounted to Rs. 1,38.75,000 and expenditure to Rs. 1,41,82,000. The House then considered the Goalpara Tenancy Amendment Bill, 1939, clause by clause. Out of 75 amendments, only two were discussed. The Government opposed both, which were lost.

EXECUTION OF DECREES BILL

18th. November:—The Assembly to-day considered amendments made by the Council on the Temporary Postponement of Execution of Decrees Bill 1938. The Bill provides for temporary postponement of execution of decrees pending improvement in the financial condition of agriculturists and certain other classes of persons. Speaking on amendments members agreed that the changes made by the Council were of a harmless nature and they improved the Bill to a substantial extent. Mr *A. Whittaker*, Leader of the European Group, supporting the amendments referred to the Assembly's resolution on the abolition of the Upper Chamber, and observed that these amendments should convince the House that the Council had done some good to the Assembly and improved upon a Bill of the orginating Chamber (laughter).

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS RULED OUT

19th. November:—The motion for a supplementary demand for a lakh of rupees, which the Ministry had contributed towards the War Fund, was declared out of order to-day by the Speaker. Mr *Kamini Kumar Sen* (Congress Coalition Party), ex-Judical Minister, opposing the motion, raised a point of order. He contended that the grant was unauthorised and was not contemplated by Section 150 of the Government of India Act. The grant, he added, could not come by way of a supplementary demand under Section 81 of the Government of India Act. The form in which the motion had been moved was also defective. *Sir M Saadullah*, the Chief Minister, who moved the motion, claimed that the grant was legal. He said that the defence of Assam and, for the matter of that, of India, was intimately inter-linked with that of Britain. Mr. *Gopi Nath Bardoloi*, ex-Premier, and Mr. *Fakruddin Ali Ahmad*, ex-Minister, supported the point of order raised by Mr. Sen. Declaring the motion out of order, the Speaker said that it had raised a grave constitutional issue. After considering all aspects of the matter, he suggested that the demand might be made at the next budget session.

ASSAM TENANCY BILL

22nd. November:—An appeal to the landlords of Assam to move with the times was made by *Khan Bahadur Sayidur Rahman*, the Revenue Minister, in the course of the final debate on the Tenancy Bills moved by the Government to-day. Referring to the Bills which propsed to provide relief for all classes of tenants, the Revenue Minister paid a tribute to the Bardoloi Cabinet for introducing these Bills, and observed that these were the valuable fruits of provincial autonomy, and sufficient indication that the elected representatives were united in their desire

to do good to the people. Mr. *Baidyanath Mookerjee* and Mr. *Santoshkumar Barua*, both speaking on behalf of the Zemindars, said that justice had been totally denied to the landlords and that the provisions of the Bills were revolutionary in character.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

23rd. NOVEMBER :—The Assembly passed the following Government Bills to-day :—The Speakers and Deputy Speakers Salaries and Allowances Bill, The President's Salary Amendment Bill, The Civil Procedure Amendment Bill, The Members Emoluments Amendment Bill, The Motor Vehicles Taxation Amendment Bill, The Provincial Legislature Removal of Disqualifications Amendment Bill, The Deputy President's Salary Amendment Bill and the Embankment Drainage Bill. The Forest Amendment Bill was referred to a Select Committee. The House was then *prorogued*.

The Assam Legislative Council

Winter Session—Shillong—23rd. Nov. to 2nd. Dec. 1940

LOWER PAY FOR A. I. SERVICES

23rd. NOVEMBER :—The Assam Legislative Council to-day aceepted a resolution recommending that the Government should request the proper authorities to revise and reduce at an early date the scales of pay for the All-India services. The resolution was moved by Mr. *Abdul Majeed Choudhury*. The request was made mainly in view of the fact that the scales of pay for all provincial services had already been revised and reduced.

29th. NOVEMBER :—During question time to-day it was revealed that the question of separating the judiciary and the executive was under the consideration of the Government and that the special officer appointed for preparing a scheme had finished his labours.

Replying to another question, Mr. *Abdul Majeed Choudhury*, Minister, informed the House that the idea of universal military training had been found impracticable and the question of military training of students of colleges in Assam was under correspondence with the Central Government.

30th. NOVEMBER :—A recommendation that the Government should request the proper authorities to revise and reduce at an early date the scales of pay for the all-India Services was made by the Council to-day.

The resolution on the subject was moved by Mr. *Abdul Majeed Choudhury*. The request was made especially in view of the fact that the scales of pay for all provincial services had already been revised and reduced.

The resolution was accepted by the House.

LOCAL BOARDS BILL

2nd. DECEMBER :—The Council passed to-day without a division the Local Board Elections Emergency Provisions Bill, 1940, moved by the Government.

The Bill empowers the Government to order the postponement of triennial elections to local boards due to be held before 1st April 1941 for such period as they deem it necessary but not later that 31st March 1942.

The *President* then adjourned the House till January 7, 1941.

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The Sind Legislative Assembly

Winter Session—Karachi—27th. Nov. to 14th. Dec. 1940

Official Bills passed

The Sind Legislative Assembly commenced a brief session at Karachi on the **27th. Nov. 1940** in an atmosphere of cordiality. *Khan Bahadur Allabux,* Opposition leader, who had accepted a seat in the Cabinet, and his supporters occupied the front bench in the Ministerialists' bloc. The *Speaker,* Mr. *Miran Mohamed Shah,* at the outset, announced that the no-confidence motion and the several adjournment motions of which notice had been given had all been withdrawn.

The House next passed a condolence resolution touching the death of Mr. *H. S. Pamnani,* a Congress member of the Assembly, who was murdered at Rohri, the speakers representing all sections of the House paying tribute to Mr. Pamnani's selflessness, devotion to duty and spirit of service.

The House adopted as many as five official bills within an hour, passing them into law. The Advisory Committee consisting of six Ministers and ten other legislators representing all sections of the House which Maulana Azad had set up had already discussed and accepted them. These include one aiming at checking gambling particularly in cotton futures.

India and the War

29th. NOVEMBER :—An interesting debate was raised this afternoon on the first reading of a Bill seeking to exempt from disqualification a member of the Assembly if called upon to serve His Majesty's Territorial Forces. The debate covered a wider field of principle following a ruling by the Speaker that the members could dilate on the policy underlying the war and India's views on it.

At the outset, the Leader of the Congress Party, read a statement opposing the Bill holding that the principle of the Bill was in conflict with the attitude of Congress over the question of war, that the war was not really being fought for democracy and freedom of nations and that the country was forced to participate in it against its will. Mr. *Amin Kosho* and Mr. *Naraindas* vehemently opposed the Bill. *Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh,* the Finance Minister, replying on behalf of the Government, asserted that India would be a willing partner in the prosecution of the war had she been given the same status as other Dominions and there was no doubt that she was denied this. He also shared the views expressed by other members that the war was not being fought really for freedom and democracy as proclaimed by Britain, but the issue now before the country as stated by Mahatma Gandhi was freedom of speech with regard to war. But so far as this Bill was concerned, he concluded, it nefther related to the freedom of the country nor assistance in the prosecution of the war, but merely gave freedom to those members who wished to join His Majesty's Forces. The Bill was passed into law without division.

The Assembly also passed three more Bills including one seeking to further penalise illicit distillation of liquor and importation and possession of contraband intoxicants.

Shop Assistants' Bill

2nd. DECEMBER :—Quick progress was made by the Assembly this afternoon with the Shop Assistants' Bill introduced by the Government. The House disposed of as many as 37 clauses in less than three hours. The Bill which was read for the second time was designed to regulate hours of work in shops, commercial establishments, restaurants and theatres and was modelled on the lines of the Bombay legislation. The provisions also sought to regulate conditions of employment of shop assistants and the Act in the first instance would apply to the city of Karachi and will be extended to other towns in the province within a year.

14th. DECEMBER :—The Assembly adjourned *sine die* at the request of the Premier, after question hour this afternoon. An important measure on the agenda for the introduction of joint electorate in local bodies, was not taken up, due to the absence of unanimity among the members on certain details.

Proceedings of

The Indian National Congress

THE

All India Congress Committee

AND THE

Working Committee

Hindu Sabha & Muslim League Conferences

AND

Provincial Political Conferences

July—December 1940

The Indian National Congress

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Wardha—17th June to 21st. June 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from 17th to 21st June, 1940. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided.

The members present were : Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachary, Bhulabhai Desai, Shankerrao Deo, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Syed Mahmud, Asafali and J. B. Kripalani.

Shris Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Narendra Dev, Achyut Patwardhan, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit were present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the afternoon sitting of the Committee.

Tribunal

The Provinces of Bombay, Maharashtra, Nagpur and Delhi having failed to appoint the Tribunal by the date specified by the Working Committee, the following tribunals were appointed in terms of Article VIII of the Congress Constitution.

Bombay

I. Shri Motichand G. Kapadia, 2. Vasantram J. Vakil, and 3. Dr. V. B. Gandhi.

Nagpur

1. Shri Krishnadas Jaju, 2. Shri Raghunathdas Dhorte, and 3. Shri M. T. Sharief.

Maharashtra

1. Shri K. S. Firodia, 2. C. A. Tulpule, and 3. S. S. More.

No tribunal could be appointed for Delhi owing to the breakdown of the Congress machinery there.

Delhi

The Working Committee passed the following resolution :

"In view of the breakdown of the Congress Constitution in the province of Delhi and in view of the opinion expressed by the Election Tribunal in this connection the Committee are of the opinion that Art. XIII, Clauss C (ii), be applied to Delhi province for the carrying on of Congress work there. The President is requested to make the necessary arrangements in this behalf."

Does the word Executive cover P. C. Cs ?

The A. I. C. C. Office received queries as to whether the word "executive" in the resolution on Satyagraha passed by the last meeting of the Working Committee covered P. C. Cs also. It was decided that the P. C. Cs and A. I. C. C. were not covered by the word "Executive" occurring in the satyagraha pledge.

Volunteer Organisation

The interim report submitted by Shri R. S. Pandit on the Volunteer Organisation in the various provinces was considered by the Working Committee and the following resolution was passed :

"The Working Committee considered the interim report of Shri R. S. Pandit on the volunteer organisation of the Congress. The Committee generally agree with his recommendations and are of opinion that Provincial Congress Committee should encourage in every way and promote the growth of trained volunteers for national service under their auspices in accordance with Congress principles, and that there should be as large a measure of uniformity all over India in regard to pledge, cautions and training as is practicable and desirable. In order to help in this, the following volunteer committee with Shri R. S. Pandit as Secretary is appointed to draw up model rules of training and to advise the Provincial Congress Committees in all mattes pertaining to volunteers. This Committee will present its report of the steps taken and the advice given to the P. C. Cs to the Working Committee.

1. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, 2. P. H. Patwardhan, 3. Mian Iftikharuddin, 4. Shri R. S. Pandit (convener), 5. One representative of Khudai Khidmatgars,"

POLITICAL SITUATION

The following statement was issued on the political situation :

The Working Committee have been deeply moved by the tragic events that have taken place in Europe in startling succession and, in particular, by the misfortunes that have befallen the people of France. These events have already had far-reaching consequences, and they are likely to be followed by other happenings which will lead to novel situations and complex problems.

Ever since the commencement of the European war, the Congress has followed a policy which was based on its principles and on the attitude of the British Government towards the demand that India should function as a free and independent country. This policy was confirmed in the Ramgarh resolution. The manner of the application of this policy will necessarily depend on the situation which changes from day to day. Problems which were distant are now near at hand and may soon demand solution. The problem of the achievement of national freedom has now to be considered along with the allied one of its maintenance and the defence of the country against possible external aggression and internal disorder.

The war in Europe, resulting from a desire for imperialist domination over other peoples and countries, and a suicidal race in armaments, has led to human sorrow and misery on a scale hitherto unknown. It has demonstrated the inefficacy of organised violence, on however vast a scale, for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples. It has shown beyond a doubt that warfare cannot lead to peace and freedom, and the choice before the world is uttermost degradation and destruction through warfare or the way of peace and non-violence on a basis of freedom for all peoples. Mahatma Gandhi has presented to the peoples of the world, crying for relief from the crushing burden of war, a weapon in the shape of organised non-violence designed to take the place of war for the defence of a people's rights and freedom against armed aggression. He feels that at this critical phase in the history of man, the Congress should enforce this ideal by itself declaring that it does not want that India should maintain armed forces to defend her freedom against external aggression or internal disorder.

While the Working Committee hold that the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in their struggle for independence, the Committee cannot ignore the present imperfections and failings in this respect of the human elements that they have to deal with, and the possible dangers in a period of transition and dynamic change, until the Congress has acquired non-violent control over the people in adequate measure and the people have imbibed sufficiently the lesson of organised non-violence. The Committee have deliberated over the problem that has thus arisen and have come to the conclusion that they are unable to go the full length with Gandhiji. But they recognise that he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way and therefore absolve him from responsibility for the programme and activity which the Congress has to pursue under the conditions at present prevailing in India and the world in regard to external aggression and internal disorder.

Many of the problems which the Working Committee have considered in this connexion are not of the present, though they may be of the near future. The Committee wish to make it clear that the methods and basic policy of non-violence in the national struggle for freedom continue with full force and are not affected in the least by the inability to extend it to the region of national defence.

The War Committees that are being formed are definitely aimed at increasing the War effort. In view of the Congress policy, they cannot be supported, and Congressmen cannot participate in them or contribute to war funds. Nor can Congressmen associate themselves with Government-controlled civic guards.

The Working Committee advises Congress Committees to encourage in every way the recruitment and training of peaceful volunteers for national service. Congress Committees should also organise people in villages and other areas for self-defence and in order to maintain a sense of public security in their respective areas. This should be done on a non-communal basis and in full co-operation with all other groups interested in this task.

In view of the difficult times that loom ahead, it is essential that the Congress should function as an active and disciplined organisation. Provincial Committees are enjoined to take necessary steps for this purpose. They should realise that it is of urgent and vital importance that the Congress should function in this way

in these days of crisis, and should not be merely a roll of vast numbers of inactive members. All members of executive committees, in particular, are expected to take a continuous and active part in Congress work, and those who are unwilling or unable to do so are failing in their duty to the country and are of no service to the organisation.

The critical situation that faces the world to-day requires vigilant attention and action whenever needed. For this purpose the Working Committee will meet at frequent intervals, and all members must keep in readiness to obey an urgent summons. The All-India Congress Committee should be summoned to meet in the last week of July.

SATYAGRAHA

The following resolution on 'Satyagraha' passed by the meeting of the Working Committee held at Wardha from 15th. to 19th. April, was by mistake not incorporated. It is therefore given here.

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.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Delhi—3rd. July to 7th. July 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Delhi on July 3-7, 1940. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided.

Members present were : Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalacharya, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Bhulabhai Desai, Shankerrao Deo, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Govind Ballabh Pant, Syed Mahmud, Asafali and J. B. Kripalani.

Shris Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Narendra Dev and Achyut Patwardhan were present by special invitation, Gandhiji was present throughout.

The following two resolutions were passed.

POLITICAL SITUATION

The Working Committee have noted the serious happenings which have called forth fresh appeals to bring about a solution of the deadlock in the Indian political situation ; and in view of the desirability of clarifying the Congress position they have earnestly examined the whole situation once again in the light of the latest developments in world affairs.

The Working Committee are more than ever convinced that the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the complete Independence of India, is the only solution of the problems facing both India and Britain and are, therefore, of opinion that such an unequivocal declaration should be immediately made and that as an immediate step in giving effect to it, a provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre, which, though formed as a transitory measure, should be such as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature and secure the closest co-operation of the Responsible Goverments in the provinces.

The Working Committee are of opinion that unless the aforesaid declaration is made, and a National Government accordingly formed at the Centre without delay, all efforts at organizing the material and moral resources of the country for Defence cannot in any sense be voluntary or as from a free country, and will therefore be ineffective. The Working Committee declare that if these measures

are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw in its full weight in the efforts for the effective organisation of the Defence of the country.

WAZIRISTAN

Khansaheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan has reported to the Working Committee that an attempt was made on behalf of the Provincial Congress Committee to send a deputation amongst the Waziris with a view to use their influence with the tribesmen and to wean them from dacoities, kidnappings and the like. It is the conviction of the Provincial Congress Committee of the Frontier Province, which conviction the Working Committee share that it is possible to cultivate friendly relations with the tribesmen of the surrounding country. With that end in view, the party was to proceed to Waziristan to examine their economic condition, and to render them such aid for their social welfare as was possible for the Provincial Congress Committee to render. It was their intention also to find out the causes of the dacoities. But the permission was not given by the Government of India to proceed to Waziristan. The deputation had offered to take any official with them if the Government thought such a step necessary. But for reasons best known to them, the Government declined to entertain the proposal. The Working Committee regret that decision and take this opportunity to declare to all the tribesmen that the Congress can have nothing but good will towards them. The Congress has always sought to establish the friendliest relations with them, to share their sorrows and to help them in all possible ways, especially in the way of educating their children, improvement of their economic condition and promotion of medical and hygienic welfare. The Working Committee hope too that the leaders of tribesmen will reciprocate the Congress good will and endeavour to the best of their ability to wean those tribesmen who resort to dacoities and the like, which the Working Committee have reason to believe have no political or religious motive, but are prompted by poverty, and by machinations of those who have political motives. The Working Committee hereby appoint Shri Bhulabhai Desai and Janab Asaf Ali, Shri Bhulabhai Desai acting as leader, to proceed to Waziristan and carry on the work that the said deputation would have done. The Working Committee hope that all facilities will be given to the deputation to proceed to Waziristan. The Working Committee trust that the deputation will forthwith proceed on their mission and report to the Working Committee the result thereof. The Working Committee advise the people of the Frontier Provinces to discover the causes of the depredations from the tribesmen, not to get frightened, but patiently to discover the ways and means of cultivating neighbourly relations with the tribesmen.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President issued the following statement in connection with Waziristan :

The Congress Working Committee have given frequent and earnest thought to the problem of raiding on the Frontier. They were distressed by this because of the suffering and insecurity it caused, and also because it led to bitterness and ill-will between our people and our neighbours across the Frontier. They realised, however, that the way to solve this problem was to approach the Border Tribes in a friendly way. They advised Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his colleagues of the Frontier Province to seek contacts with the Waziris by sending a deputation to Waziristan, but unfortunately the Government refused to give remission for this deputation.

The Working Committee have again considered the grave situation that exists and conferred with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. They have decided to depute two of their members, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mr. Asaf Ali, to proceed to the Frontier, to develop contacts with the Waziris and other Border tribes, and to study the problem in all its aspects. I am sure that their visit will prove of help to us in dealing with this problem. I trust that the Government will give every facility to these two representatives of ours.

It has long been our declared policy and desire to have friendly relations with our neighbour nations and peoples, and we are convinced that when we have the chance, we shall be able to do so with advantage to all concerned. A free India will be strong enough to protect her frontiers, but the real strength that we seek to build is the friendship of our Border peoples. We shall try to understand their difficulties and make them understand ours, and the contacts that we shall develop will, we trust, bring peace and security and economic betterment to both sides of the Frontiers.

General Secretary's Circulars

Circular No. 12—6th. June 1940

The A. I. C. C. office has been receiving complaints that the Clause (g) (ii) of Article X of the Congress Constitution relating to the allotment of delegates' seats to the Indian States is being abused and misapplied by several P. C. Cs. The last meeting of the Working Committee appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai and J. B. Kripalani, the General Secretary to go into this question and make suitable recommendations to remedy the said abuse. I am sending you herewith the recommendations which the Sub-Committee has made to the Working Committee. You will please go through these recommendations and favour me at your earliest convenience with your remarks thereon to enable the Sub-Committee to frame its final recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The general rule to be followed is to ensure, as far as possible, that the delegates' seats allotted to a province, on account of the population of the Indian States attached to the Province, should not be allotted to others. In the event of a sufficient number of Congress members not being made in the States concerned or from these States, these seats, or such of them as may be found necessary, will not be filled. For the purpose of this calculation, State members of the Congress will be either those who belong to a Congress Committee within the States, or those who while residing in or connected with the States concerned join as primary members of a Congress Committee situated in a non-State area but adjoining the State. In order to distinguish the latter class of Congress members, a separate register of States members should be kept in the adjoining Congress Committee situated outside the confines of this state.

Keeping the above principle in view, a P. C. C. may allot delegates for the States' peoples' seats, either to a Congress Committee where such exists in a State or to the adjoining districts adjoining the State, provided that such delegates' seats shall only be filled if there are a sufficient number of primary members in or from the States. In no event will such seats be allotted to areas where there are no States' peoples.

The above principle cannot be strictly or easily applied to small States and to State areas which are closely interwoven with non-State territories. Certain variations will have to be made in such cases, otherwise these small State areas may be completely disfranchised and neglected. Therefore in the final allotment of seats based on States populations, this fact has to be borne in mind and provided for.

The P. C. Cs are requested to apply the above principle and considerations to the allotment of these States delegates' seats and to send these figures with their own remarks and recommendations, to enable this Sub-Committee to frame its final recommendations.

Circular—10th. June 1940

According to the A. I. C. C. Constitution, the last date for the payment of provincial quota due to us from you is 30th June, 1940. Kindly arrange for payment of the amount before the said date.

Circular No. 13—24th. June 1940

I am sending you herewith a copy of the statement issued by the last meeting of the Working Committee on June 21, 1940 from Wardha. You will study the statement with the close consideration that it deserves.

The statement does not seek to change any of the fundamental principles and policies the Congress has followed under the leadership and guidance of Gandhiji 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. In international affairs the Congress has always declared its faith in universal disarmament and the freedom and equality of the peoples of the world. It has declared that it has no quarrel with its neighbours with whom it seeks to live in peace and amity.

The Working Committee fully realise that there can be no peace in the world as long as "imperialist domination over other peoples and countries and a suicidal race in armaments" continue. They believe that organised violence on however vast a scale is ineffective for the "defence of national freedom and the

liberties of people". They, however, feel that owing to the conditions created by the world war, the country may have to pass through a period of internal commotion and disorder leading to external aggression. Under such conditions the Working Committee are conscious that the Congress has not acquired such non-violent control over the people as would be adequate to resist the forces of disorder non-violently. It cannot on that account divest itself of its duty to advise the people wherever there is any panic or danger to organise themselves for self-protection in the traditional way.

The Committee have made it clear that the "methods and basic policies of non-violence in the national struggle for freedom continue in full force" and we are not affected in the least by our inability to extend them to problems which are not of the present. All this must be clearly understood and explained to Congressmen.

I would particularly invite your attention to the last but one paragraph of the statement in which the Committee have emphasized that the Congress should function as an active and disciplined organisation, in view of the difficult times ahead of us. To this end Congressmen in general and all members of the executives in particular, should take active and continuous part in Congress work. The efforts we have been putting forth since Ramgarh in the direction of organising and preparing ourselves for the coming struggle through the constructive programme should not be relaxed and must be continued with increasing intensity.

Circular—13th. July 1940

Doubts have arisen regarding the policy that is to govern volunteer corps organised under Congress auspices. These doubts are due to a misunderstanding of the statement issued by the Working Committee from Wardha on June 21, 1940. In my circular letter No. 13 sending the Wardha statement, I made it clear that the fundamental Congress policy of non-violence remains unchanged. In spite of this letters asking for clarification continue to be received by the A. I. C. C. Office. To get an authoritative interpretation the matter was referred to the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Delhi.

The opinion of the Working Committee is that the Wardha statement provides for a situation when all civil authority has disappeared and there is internal chaos. Only under such circumstances, for purposes of self-protection, deviation from the strict policy of non-violence has been contemplated. This also because, in the words of the statement "the Congress has not acquired such non-violent control over the people as would be adequate to resist the forces of disorder non-violently". None the less it is the earnest hope of the Working Committee that if and when such internal conditions of confusion and chaos arise the people of India will have acquired sufficient restraint and self-discipline to act non-violently. As long as any organised civil authority functions the Congress policy of non-violence remains. Non-violence must also continue to be the Congress policy for our freedom struggle against British Imperialism. This has been abundantly made clear in the Wardha statement.

All volunteer corps organised by Congressmen or Congress Committees must therefore be based on non-violence. Every member of such organisations whether he be a Congressman or not must pledge himself to non-violence. The Congress pledge in its entirety must however continue to apply to members of the Congress volunteer corps ; that is, they must in addition to non-violence pledge themselves to spinning, khadi and participation in civil disobedience. These special rules apply only to Congressmen but the rule of non-violence must apply to all volunteer corps organised under Congress auspices with a purely Congress or mixed membership.

Practical reasons also impose upon the country the need for non-violence on the members of various volunteer corps. Only on basis of non-violence can communal conflicts be avoided.

Arrests and Convictions

The following are some of the cases of arrests, convictions, internments, externments, searches, gagging orders, and the like compiled from the daily press and reports from Provincial Congress Committees :—

In Bengal

Sylhet, May 6 :—Mr. Jagneshwar Das has been served with a notice under Section 38 of the D. I. A.

Rajshahi, May 6 :—Jamini Kanta Majumdar, a prominent Krishak leader of the district has been served with a notice under Section 144, Cr. P. C. prohibiting his entry into the police stations of Raninagar and Atrai.

Rangpur, May 6 :—Charges have been framed under Section 56(4) of the D. I. R. against Mihir lal Mukerjee and Abdul Makshood Sarkar, prominent Congress and Krishak workers of the district.

Dinesh Chandra Lahiri, Secretary, Rangpur District Krishak Samity and prominent Congress worker has been arrested under Section 56(4) of D. I. R.

Serampore, May 6 :—It is learnt that the District magistrate of Hooghly has asked Mr. Bhowani Shanker Mukerji, organiser of the Serampore Cultural Conference, not to hold the Cultural Conference within the jurisdiction without his permission.

Mr. Prafulla Sen of Khadi Mandal who has been organising Satyagraha Conference at Nakunda in Arambag has been asked not to hold the Conference within the limits of the district without the sanction of the District Magistrate.

Dacca, May 6 :—Satindrachandra Roy, prominent member, Congress Socialist party and ex-detenu was arrested under Section 56(4) of the D. I. R.

Dinajpur, May 6 :—Internment orders under D. I. R. have been served on Messrs. Ajitdas, Kalipada Sarkar and Janardhan Bhattacharya, Kisan workers of the district.

Rangpur, May 6 :—Dineshchandra Lahiri, Secretary, Rangpur District Krishak Samity and a prominent Congress worker has been arrested under Section 56 (4) of the D. I. R. for having delivered an anti-war speech at Mahali.

Rajshahi :—Mr. Dinesh Chakravorty, Mr. Atal Chakravorty, Mr. Gopal Sarkhel, Mr. Janen Sen, Mr. Kali Ghosh, Mr. Biren Sarkar, Mr. Ram Saha and Mr. Sachin Biswas are under arrest. The second session of the District Krishak Conference could not be held at Parail, as it was declared unlawful under D. I. R.

Faridpur, May 8 :—Ex-detenu Rohini Bhattacharya has been sentenced to one year's R. I. in connection with his recent political activities.

Dacca, May 8 :—An order of 'home internment' was served on Mr. Mrityunjay Roy, Assistant Secretary, District Forward Bloc under the D. I. R. He will have to report himself once a week to the police station.

Dacca, May 7 :—An ex-detenu Nepalchandra Nag, a prominent worker of the Narayanganj Textile Labour Union has been arrested under D. I. R. on a charge of holding a Congress Workers' Conference on March 31 without permission.

Calcutta, May 7 :—Mr. Jagat Bose, a labour leader, was served with an order by the Govt. of Bengal to quit Calcutta, 24 Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Asansol sub division of the Burdwan District within 24 hours.

Brahmanbaria, May 7 :—Primalkanti Dhar, a student of the 2nd year class of Brindaban College was arrested under D. I. R.

Calcutta :—Calcutta Gazette publishes the list of the following persons on whom orders of externment have been served, directing them not to remain in any place within the limits of Calcutta and its suburbs and the districts of 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly, the Asansol Sub-division of the Burdwan district and the sadar sub-division of the Midnapore district :—

Mahammad Musa Khan, Deo Saran Bhagat, Mia Bux, Shaikh Bhartu Mia, Raj Bahadur Khan, Bhandoo Shah, Bechan Ali; Shaik Mohd. Sariff, Daroga Singh, Shariff Khan, Inder Pasi, Dhanu Rajwar, Ram Asrey Mallik, Bandoo Rajowar, Narendra Nath Goswami, Ram Asis Singh, Lal Bahadur Pandey, Sk. Dubar, Abdul Latif, Ram Dular Singh, Bisseswar Koiry, Hanif Khan, Amjed Ali, Nepali Thakur, Mustafa Hossain, Rahamat Ali, Ram Sumer Passi, Sh. Chhotte, Pratap Tewary, Raghunath Thakur, Dachoo Thakur, Ali Jan Khan, Bolaki Bhagat, Harinandan Choudhury and Harihar Missir.

Dinajpur, May 8 :—Notices under D. I. R. are understood to have been served upon Sjts. Nishith Kundu, M. L. A., Bibhuti Guha, Janardan Bhattacharjee, Susil Sen, Kali Sarkar, Ganen Sarkar, Gul Mahammad, Anath Roy, prominent kisan workers prohibiting them from participating in public meetings and processions for 6 months without previous permission of the District Magistrate.

Hili or Hijli, May 8 :—A notice under Section D. I. R. has been served on Sjt. Pratap Chandra Majumdar, a prominent Congress worker by the District Magistrate of Dinajpur asking him not to convene, organise, hold or take part in any public procession, meeting or assembly without permission from the District Magistrate. Any person contravening the order shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to 3 years and be also liable to fine.

Balurghat, May 9 :—Notices under D. I. R. prohibiting to hold public

processions, meetings or assemblies without notice have been served on the Secretaries of Balurghat Sub-divisional Congress Committee and the Pleaders' and Muktears' Bar Associations and individually on Mr. S. C. Bagchi, Pleader and Mr, Kalinarayan Sanyal, Muktear.

Kushtia, May 8 :—Fresh restraint orders under D. I. R. were served on Mr. Dhirendra Nath Das Gupta, Secretary, Kushtia Sub-divisional Congress Committee, Munshi Bahadurali Biswas, Vice-Chairman of the Kushtia Municipality, Mozaharli Biswas and Omarali, members of the Kushtia Textile Workers' Union for period of 1 month after the expiry of the term of one month of the restraint order of the District Magistrate Nadia.

Dacca, May 9 :—Ex-Andaman prisoner, Annada Pal and two others Promatha Nundy and Profulla Chakravarty were arrested under D. I. R. on a charge of holding a Congress Workers' Conference at Dacca on March 31 without permission.

Malda, May 9 :—Mr. Sudhendu Jha, a Kisan leader of the district has been sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 100 in default to undergo R. I. for 6 months under D. I. R. for having organised a meeting without permission.

Dinajpur, May 10 :—Nearly a dozen internment orders under D. I. R. have been served upon Bibhutibhushan Mitra, Secretary, Student Federation of Gurgola, Kahmeshranjan Chakravarty, Janardan Bhattacharji, Kalipada Sarkar, Ajitchandra Das and other Kisan workers.

Netrokona, May 10 :—Tarak Nath Roy, acting Secretary of Sub-divisional Kisan Committee has been arrested under the D. I. A.

Sylhet, May 10 :—Jitendra K. Bhattacharya, a Kisan leader and member of the local board was arrested under Sections 143 and 447/339, I. P. C. in connection with Bhatipara agrarian trouble.

Mymensingh, May 14 :—Mr. Dhirendra N. Ray, of Dacca an assistant in the office of the local Forward Bloc was served yesterday with a notice directing him to leave Mymensingh district within 24 hours.

Calcutta, May 14 :—Mrs. Bimal Prativa Devi, former detenu was served with a notice by the Bengal Government under D. I. A. directing her not to enter the industrial area of Burnpore (near Asansol).

Kushtia, May 16 :—A notice under D. I. A. was served on Mr. Suresh Chandra Roy, Secretary of Local Congress Committee ordering him to reside and remain within his local residential house and not to communicate with others on political or labour matters for a period of one month.

Netrakona, May 14 :—Maulvi Miafaruddin Ahmed, worker of the Sub-divisional Kishak Samity was sentenced under rule 38 (5) of the D. I. A.

Mymensingh, May 16 :—Mr. Radhika Dutta of Pabna has been convicted under D. I. A. and sentenced to 1 year's R. I.

Dinajpur, May 13 :—The District Magistrate, Dinajpur has promulgated an order under D. I. R. prohibiting the holding, convening, organising or taking part in public procession, meeting or assembly from the 2nd May to the 20th October 1940 without at least 3 day's notice in writing to the appropriate authorities and without their previous written permission.

Mymensingh, May 14 :—Mr. Nihar Ranjan Dutta, a Congress worker has been served with a notice by the District Magistrate of Mymensingh directing him to refrain from such activities as would cause disaffection towards the Government and tension of feeling between various classes of the population.

Calcutta :—Mr. Pravas Sen, member of the A. I. Students' Council and the Bengal Trade Union Congress has been served with an order by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta directing him not to deliver any speech or otherwise to take part in any public procession, meeting or assembly within the meaning of Sub-rule 2 of Rule 56 of the D. I. R. The order shall remain in force for one year.

Agartala, May 17 :—Mr. Hariganga Basak, General Secretary, Tripura Rajya Gana Parishad and a prominent Congress worker of Tipperah district has been served with an order of the district Magistrate, Tipperah under D. I. R. to leave the district within 48 hours.

Comilla, May 16 :—The D. M. of Tipperah has issued order under D. I. A. stating that no meetings or processions should be held in the district without previous permission of the same for a week in advance.

Suri, May 17 :—Mahesh press has deposited a sum of Rs. 1,000 as security as demanded by the D. M. of Birbhum in connection with the publication of 2 articles 'Birbhumer Katha', a vernacular weekly, printed and published by the Mahesh Press under the editorship of Nitya Naryana Banerji. The paper was

charged with systematically carrying on a campaign of vilification of Government servants and has suspended publication for the time being.

Chittagong May, 23 :—Patitpaban Nandi, intermediate candidate who had been arrested on March 7 for possession of a proscribed issue of a paper was sentenced to 9 months R. I. under D. I. A.

Sylhet, May 24 :—Biresh Chandra Misra, Secretary of Sylhet D. C. C. and Satyabrata Datta, Secretary of the T. C. C. were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 20 each or in default to undergo one week's S. I. for having led an unlicensed procession on January 26 at Sylhet. They preferred jail.

Sylhet, May 27 :—Kali Prasanna Das, Secretary of the Sylhet Scavengers' Union has been arrested under D. I. R.

Calcutta :—In exercise of the power conferred by Sub-rule (1) of Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor of Bengal, by a notification of the Calcutta Gazettee, May 23, directs that except in so far as he may be permitted by the Governor, the undermentioned persons shall not at any time after the expiry of 48 hours from the service of this order be in any place within the province of Bengal.

1. Kartar Singh alias Ghari, son of Gawan Singh, police-station Makodar, district Jullundur and Chak 193 (Sarin) police-station Kurrianwalla, district Lyallpur, and also 118A, Ashutosh Mukerji Road, Calcutta.
2. Dharambir Singh, son of A. F. Soares alias Arjun Singh of Aldena, police-station Corona Bardez, Goa and 95A, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.
3. Naina Singh, son of Thakur Singh of Dhut Kalan, Banga Kapurthala State, and also of 118A, Ashutosh Mukerjee Road, Calcutta.

Chittagong, May 29 :—Mr. Kalipada Sen Gupta, a Labour organiser, was arrested for alleged violation of an order under the Defence of India Rules. Mr. Birendra Das Gupta, Secretary of the Rail Road Workers Union, has been externed from the district of Chittagong under the same rules.

Sj. Bankim Chandra Mukerjee, member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly representing labour, a former President of the All-India Tarde Union Congress and a member of the presidium of the Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha, was arrested under D. I. R.

Comilla, May 29 :—Four Congress and labour workers, Umesh Lal Singh, Hari Ganga Basak, Sachindra Lal Singh and Ananta Lal De, have been served with notices, under the Defence of India Rules, by the District Magistrate of Tipperah, directing them to leave the district immediately.

Notices have also been served on five others, Haralal Saha, Chandra Sekhar Das, Nepal Chandra Naha, Sailendra Kumar Roy and Brojendra Kumar Chakravarty, restricting their movements.

Jharia, May 29 :—Mr. Hafiz Jalal-ud-din, Vice-President of the Labour Party, Bengal, has been served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules by the Government of Bihar, directing him to quit Chota Nagpur.

Krishnagar, May 30 :—Mr. Somnath Lahiry, a Bengal member of the A. I. C. C. and a prominent labour leader, who was ordered to leave Calcutta and suburbs in March last, has been further ordered, under the Defence of India Rules, to leave the district of Nadia immediately.

Calcutta, June 6 :—The Offices of the All-India Kisan Sabha, the Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha and the Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union were searched this morning by the special branch of police who seized several papers including a copy of the constitution of the B. P. Kisan Sabha.

Serampore, June 8 :—The Serampore Sub-divisional Congress Office and the residence of Chandra Mohan Nandy of the town were raided by the police early this morning. Papers and books have been seized. Nandy has been taken in custody.

Calcutta, June 8 :—Summonses have been served on the Editor and Printer and Publisher of the *Matribhumi*, a nationalist Bengali daily, by the Ch. Presidency Magistrate, directing them to appear before him on June 19 to answer charges under the D. I. A. in connexion with the publication of a piece of news regarding the Bihar Provincial Students' Conference in the issue of the paper of May 1.

Calcutta, June 12 :—The security of Rs. 500 deposited by the Printer and Publisher of the English weekly 'Forward Blok', edited by Mr. Subhas C. Bose, has been forfeited to the Government under the India Press (Emergency) Act.

Calcutta :—On 2 separate petitions of complaint filed by the Detective Department of the Calcutta Police, Mr. R. Gupta, Ch. Presidency Magistrate issued summons under the D. I. R. against Sjt. Satyandra Nath Majumdar, editor and Sjt. Suresh Ch. Bhattacharji, printer-publisher of *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and against

Sjt. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh editor and Sjt. Sashi Bhusan Dutta, printer-publisher of *Basumati* for the publication on April 7 of two articles entitled 'Odds and Ends' and 'Leftists' in the papers respectively.

Chittagong :—Mr. Sukhendu Dastidar and 11 others, including students and peasants have been arrested under D. I. A. for holding May Day in Jaistapura without previous sanction of the District Magistrate.

Narayanganj :—Mr. Brajendra Chandra Das, ex-detenu has been arrested.

Calcutta :—Summons have been issued against Mr. Janaki Jiban Ghosh, editor, *Advance* and Mr. R. S. Virley, printer and publisher of *Advance* under D. I. R. for the publication of an article entitled 'Duty of Present Day Students' in the paper of May 1.

Calcutta :—Mr. Makhanlal Sen, editor of *Bharat*, a vernacular daily, Mr. Bankim Chandra Sen, editor of *Desh*, a vernacular daily, and Mr. Nirmal Chandra Banerji, editor of *Dunia*, another vernacular daily and printers and publishers of these three journals appeared today before the Ch. Presidency Magistrate to answer a charge under the D. I. R. for the publication of articles in the papers in contravention of the Government order in connexion with the celebration of 'National Week' by the B. P. C. C. (suspended) and speeches by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Swami Sahajanand Saraswati.

Calcutta, June 14 :—P. Ghose, an ex-detenu, was arrested under D. I. A.

Dinajpur, June 16 :—Satyendra Nath Roy, Secretary, Thakurgaon Sub-Divisional Congress Committee and Assistant Secretary, Dinajpur District Kisan Committee and Mrinal Kumar Taluqdar, a kisan Organiser have been served with notices to leave this district within 24 hours and not to enter within three months.

Haji Mohammud Anesh, Pleader, President, Dinajpur District Krishak Samity and Vice-President, Thakurgaon Sub-Divisional Congress Committee has been arrested under Section 56 of D. I. A. for holding procession and meetings without previous permission.

Calcutta, June 18 :—Mr. Nani Das Gupta and Mr. Manoranjan Das Gupta, two prominent Congress workers in Calcutta have been arrested under D. I. R.

Narayanganj, June 18 :—Mr. Barin Ghose, a labour leader of Narayanganj, Textile Union was arrested on Saturday last under the D. I. R.

Chittagong, June 17 :—Restriction orders served under D. I. R. on eight local youths have been renewed.

Calcutta, June 18 :—Mr. Mani Bishnu Chaudhury, a member of the A. I. Students Council was arrested under the D. I. R.

Calcutta, June 21 :—By notification in the Calcutta Gazette, H. E. the Governor of Bengal has, under the D. I. R. directed that (1) Panchu Gopal Banerji of Jessore and of 4/3, Nilmony Ganguly Lane, Calcutta; (2) Ananta Kumar Sarkar of Katipara, Khulna and of 2, Khelat Ghose Lane and 5, Duff Lane, Calcutta; (3) Saroj Mukherjee of Bahadurpur, Burdwan and of 21, Noor Md. Lane, Calcutta shall not at any time after the expiry of forty-eight hours from service of these orders be in any place within the limits of Calcutta and its suburbs and the districts of 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly, the Asansol Sub-division of Burdwan district and the Sadar Sub-division of the Midnapore district.

Mr. Saroj Mukerjee and two others have been arrested under D. I. A.

Calcutta, June 26 :—Mr. Debendra Nath Sukul, a member of the A. I. C. C. and Acting President of the Budge Budge Jute Workers' Union, was arrested.

Calcutta, June 27 :—Mr. Rajendra Dev, president of the suspended B. P. C. C. was arrested under the D. I. A.

Calcutta, June 27 :—Further publication, sale and distribution of the pamphlets entitled "A Draft Resolution on the War and Our Tasks" and "Ramgarh and After" have been prohibited by the Government of Bengal, by a notification issued under D. I. R.

Brahmanbaria, May 4 :—Parimal Dhar alias Tulshi, an I. A. student of Habiganj College was arrested under D. I. A. Some books and literature are reported to have been seized from his place.

In the Punjab

Jullundur May 2 :—Sarder Ujagar Singh was arrested from his village, Punalian Kalan under the D. I. A. Bhai Sunder Singh Makhauspuri, an exconvict of the "Babar Akali Conspiracy Case" has also been taken into custody under the same Act.

Rohtak, May 6 —Ch. Mehar Singh a prominent Congress worker of village Madina was arrested under the D. I. A.

Lahore, May 17 :—The Punjab Government has under D. I. R. proscribed the pamphlet in Gurmukhi entitled "Sri Guru Govind Singhji-ki-Bhawishat Bani."

Multan, May 18 :—Chaudhri Ata Ullah, president of the Multan Congress Committee was arrested under D. I. A.

Lahore, May 20 :—Rajkumar, a student of Delhi was arrested under D. I. R.

Jullundur, May 20 :—Pandit Mohan Lal, and Mr. Satya Prakash, President and the Secretary of the Una Tehsil Congress Committee have been arrested under the Defence of India Act for alleged objectionable speeches during the National Week.

Lahore, May 21 :—Gian Chand, a Congress worker of Hoshiarpur was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

Jullundur, May 23 :—Pandit Har Chand Apra, President of the Phillaur Tehsil Congress Committee, and Sant Rullia Ram, a prominent Congress worker of Apra were arrested under D. I. R. for delivering alleged objectionable speeches during the National Week.

Jullundur, May 23 :—Mr. Harbans Singh Karnana, former General Secretary of the District Kisan Committee has been placed under strict police surveillance.

Lahore, May 23 :—Basant Kumar, Office Secretary of the Lahore District Congress Committee, was arrested under the D. I. R.

Gujranwala, May 29 :—Harbans Lal, Secretary Rampur Congress Committee was convicted under D. I. R. and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment for a speech made at his village on March 23.

Lahore, June 2 :—Hafiz Salamat Ullah a blind Ahrar dictator, was arrested in his village in Jullunder under D. I. A. for reciting all alleged anti-recruitment poem.

Lahore, June 7 :—Mr. Dhanwantri, President of the D. C. C. of Lahore was arrested under D. I. A.

Ahmad Khan Lassi, Propaganda Secretary of the Las Bella Nationalist Party of Sind, was arrested recently for distributing certain communist literature, and was released on bail, has been re-arrested for distributing communist pamphlets again.

Mr. Bhabhti Prasad, a Congress worker of the district and a member of District Satyagrgha Committee has been arrested under D. I. A.

Mohanlal, a labour worker, was arrested under D. I. R. His house was also searched and some papers seized.

Simultaneous searches were made in several other places including the house of Rajkrishan Dev Dutt, Ratan Singh and Ranglal. The office of the Press Workers Union was also raided.

Rohtak, June 6 :—Ch. Meer Singh of the District Congress Committee Rohtak, was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment under D. I. A.

Amritsar, June 17 :—Ghulam Mahamad alias Ezi Hindi, who was recently interned here under D. I. A. has been ordered today by the Punjab Government not to take part in any meeting or procession of more than five persons in any place within Amritsar Municipal limits nor participate in any political movement. He had also been directed to report twice daily to the Station House Officer Amritsar Police at 7 A.M. and 8 P.M.

Lahore, June 24 :—Laza Sunamrai, a Congressman of Lahore, was arrested at Fazilka on a warrant issued from Jullunder under the Defence of India.

Lahore, June 20 :—Maulvi Ahmad Ali, President of the Anjuman, Khadamuddin and the Imam of Sheranwali Mosque was arrested under D. I. A.

Ludhiana, June 27 :—Baba Rur Singh M. L. A. Punjab and Sardar Hazara Singh Hamdam have been arrested following raids on their houses.

Lahore, June 27 :—Over half a dozen communists were arrested in Lahore following simultaneous raids carried out by the police at a number of places including the Bradlaugh Hall. The arrested persons include Mr. Ramchandra, President of the Lahore District Congress Committee, Mr. Rajbans, President of the Student Federation, Prof. Abdulla Safdar, Mr. Firozubin Mansur and Sardar Kultar Singh brother of the late Bhagat Singh.

Lahore, June 27 :—Master Kabul Singh, Master Hari Singh, Sardar Sohan Singh Josh and Sardar Harian Singh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly have been arrested under D. I. R.

In the United Provinces

Unao :—Mr. Sewakram, a member of the Government bench of Honorary Magistrate at Safipur, has been arrested under the D. I. A.

Bareilly, May 6 :—Mr. K. R. Rukum Singh, a Congress M. L. A. was arrested at Badaun under Section 107, Cr. P. C. in connection with the agitation started

against the District authorities of Badaun regarding the promulgation of some orders which are alleged to have infringed the rights of the Hindus.

Cawnpore, May 14 :—Mr. Rajkishore, labour leader has been arrested under Rule 30, D. I. A. on a charge of having delivered objectionable speeches at labour meetings recently held.

Mr. Devi Prasad, another leader was arrested under Section 1151, Cr. P. C. on the ground of apprehension that he might commit some cognizable offence. He will also be prosecuted under Rule 30, D. I. A. for, as alleged, delivering objectionable speeches.

Lucknow, May 17 :—The Office of the U. P. Provincial Forward Bloc was searched for proscribed literature.

Etawah, May 14 :—'Krantikari Hitler', a book by Aditya Kumar Bajpai, printed and published by the Hindu Press, Etawah nas been declared forfeited to H. M's Government under the D. I. A.

A security of Rs. 1.000 has also been demanded from the keeper of the press.

Gorakhpur, May 9 :—Mr. Jagdish Pathak, a Socialist member of the U. P. C. C. has been arrested under D. I. A. in connexion with certain speeches delivered by him on May Day.

Cawnpore, May 30 :—Mr. Phulchand Katyar, a prominent Congress worker has been arrested under Section 38, D. I. A.

Gorakhpur, May 14 :—Mr. Akchaibar Singh, General Secretary of Gorakhpur D. C. C. and a member of the U. P. C. C. was arrested under Section 38 of D. I. A.

Muttra, May 13 ;—Mr. Adavait Kumar Goswami, General Secretary, Forward Bloc, Brindaban has been sentenced to 2½ years' R. I. under two sections, that is, one year under the D. I. A. and 1½ years for conspiracy.

Unao, May 14 :—Mr. Damodar Das Agarwal, joint secretary of the Unao D. C. C. has been sentenced to one year's S. I. and a fine of Rs. 250 or in default four months' further imprisonment.

Basti :—Pt. Lalta Prasad, Secretary, D. C. C. has been arrested under Section 34/3, D. I. A.

Unao :—Mr. Ramghulam, who was being prosecuted under the D. I. R. for delivering a speech in a public meeting held at village Deotara on Feb. 3 was sentenced to 1 year's S. I.

Mr. Jagprasad of Tahsil Purwa was arrested under D. O. A.

Unao :—Mr. Parmatma Din who was being tried under the D. I. A. was sentenced to one year's S. I.

Lucknow :—Mr. Sujanchand of Forward Bloc has been sentenced to four years' R. I. and a fine of Rs. 20 or in default three months' further imprisonment including two months' solitary confinement for distributing anti-war leaflets and occupying the Magistrate's chair in the court room.

Lucknow :—Mr. Pulin Behari Banerji, General Secretary of Lucknow Congress Committee was arrested under a warrant from Mainpuri.

Azamgarh, May 23 :—Mr. Algurai Shastry, M. L. A. who is undergoing one year's imprisonment under Sec. 108, Cr. P. C. in the Azamgarh Jail has been served with another warrant under D. I. A.

Aligarh, May 27 :—Swami Sarnanand, Chairman, Reception Committee, Aligarh District Conference was arrested on May 20 in Nayabans under D. I. A.

Fatehgarh, May 27 :—Pt. Ramswaroop Pande, a prominent Congress worker of Cawnpore who was arrested about 3 weeks ago at Thathia under Section 38 of the D. I. A., has been convicted and sentenced to 2 years' R. I.

Sultanpore :—Ram Prasad Pande, Secretary of the Mandal Congress Committee of Jamaon in the district of Sultanpore was arrested under Rule 38 of D. I. A.

Jhansi, May 27 :—M. Gajadhar Singh, General Secretary of D. C. C. has been sentenced to 1 year's S. I. for refusal to furnish a security to be of good behaviour. Several places including the office of the D. C, C. and T. C. C. and of *Jansangram*, a Hindi Weekly Journal and the residence of Mr. Bhagwandas, ex-Bhusaval Bomb Case Prisoner were searched.

Allahabad :—Mr. Padmakant Malviya, Secretary of the Local Forward Bloc and Chairman of the Health Committee of the Municipal Board and Mr. Kedarnath Malviya have been arrested by the local police under D. I. R. Their houses were also searched.

Lucknow, May 28 :—Mr. Sunderlal Gupta, M. L. A., has been arrested under D. I. A.

Aligarh, May 27 :—The office of the D. C. C. Aligarh was searched for the

cyclostyled copies of the Ramgarh Congress resolution on war which was distributed in the city.

Lucknow, May 30 :—Mr. Shafique Ahmad Naqvi, a prominent labour and Congress worker was arrested under Section 129 of D. I. A.

Dehra Dun, May 30 :—Mr. Om Prakash, a congressman was sentenced to one year's R. I. and a fine of Rs. 100 in default 3 months' further imprisonment under D. I. A.

Agra :—Dr. Raghubardayal Chaturvedi and Mr. Krishnaswami were sentenced to 6 months' each under D. I. A.

Maulvi Saeed Hussain, a prominent Congress member was arrested under the D. I. R.

Hardoi, May 21 :—Pt. Ramswarup Shukla, publicity officer and Treasurer D. C. C. and a member of the P. C. C. was arrested under D. I. A.

Sultanpore :—Th. Baijnath Singh, President, Mandal Congress Committee, Tikri was arrested at his residence under D. I. A, in connection with an alleged revolutionary song which he is said to have sung in a Congress meeting held at Debriyawan.

Hapur, May 29 :—Mr. Gukuldas of the A. I. S. A. was arrested here by Meerut Police under Sec. 129 of D. I. A.

Mainpuri :—Mr. Madhonarain Mudgal, a prominent Congress worker of Mainpuri district has been served with a notice by the District Magistrate directing him not to deliver any speech within the district for a period of 2 months.

Agra, May 22 :—Maulana Syed Hasan, Vice-President of the Agra Town Congress Committee was arrested under D. I. A. for making an alleged objectionable speech.

Gorakhpur, June 21 :—Mr. Krishna Shanker Srivastava, a lawyer of Kasia was arrested under D. I. A.

Mr. Brijkishore Sastri, a labour inspector of the P. C. C. has also been arrested under D. I. A.

Agra, June 19 :—Mr. Naharsingh, a member of the D. C. C. and a former member of the U. P. P. C. C. was arrested under D. I. A.

Benares :—Mr. Promode Lahiri, Secretary Mazdoor Sabha was sentenced to one year's R. I. under Sec. 38 of D. I. A.

Agra, May 30 :—The City Magistrate convicted Mr. Jivaram Paliwal, editor and Sripatlal Dube, printer and publisher of *Sainik* and sentenced them to two years' rigorous imprisonment each and a fine of Rs. 800 and Rs. 500 respectively or in default of the fine six months' further imprisonment.

The police arrested Mr. Hafiz, a labour worker under D. I. A.

Meerut, May 30 :—Sherjung, an ex-convict of the Ahmedabad dacoity case, was arrested under the D. I. A.

Allahabad :—Mr. Abanikanti Chakravarti, an ex-political prisoner from Bengal who is at present at Allahabad, has been served with an order under D. I. A. directing him to confine himself within the province of Bengal with effect from June 1.

Allahabad, June 7 :—Dr. Rammanohar Lohia was arrested in the premises of the A. I. C. C. Office under the D. I. A.

Sultanpur, June 3 :—Mr. Kedarnath Arya, member of A. I. C. C. was arrested under D. I. A.

Dehra Dun June 7 :—Mr. Surendra Pande and Mr. Virendra Pande of Cawnpore who have been attending the O. I. Political Study Summer Session of Radical Congressmen here, were arrested under D. I. A. on a warrant from Cawnpore.

Unao, June 8 :—Mr. Badaprasad Avasthi and Jag Prasad, Vice-president of the A. D. C. C. a former R. D. Organiser respectively were sentenced to one year's R. I. under D. I. A.

Meerut, June 8 :—The police raided a shop of a book-seller in Ghaziabad and seized some communist literature. The owner of the shop was arrested under D. I. A. and lodged in Meerut Jail.

Lucknow :—Mr. Prakash Chandra Pande, General Secretary of the Electric Supply Workers' Union was arrested in Aminabad at 5 p.m. under Secs. 38 and 34 of the D. I. A.

Unao :—Searches were made in the houses of Mr. Shekhar Nath Gangoli, Mr. Makundnath, Secretary, Unao Congress Mandal, Mr. Rud Narain Dixit, Secretary, Unao Kisan Sangh and Baley Sharma, Secretary, Kisan Singh, Safipur.

Bareilly :—Mr. Damodar Swarup Seth was arrested under D. I. A.

Aligarh :—Th. Malkhan Singh, T. L. A. President of Aligarh D. C. C. and Th. Netrapal Singh, editor of *Swadesh*, a Congress Weekly were arrested under D. I. A.

Unao :—The houses of Mr. Sahiblal of Safipur, Mr. Daya Shanker Sailani, member of the P. C. C. and Mr. Chatrapal Singh were searched.

Jhansi :—Mr. Nityanand, Secretary of the D. C. C. Mr. Balkrishna Sarma, President of the Barwasagar Mandal Congress and Mr. Narain Dass Khare, a member of the D. C. C. were arrested under D. I. A.

Lucknow :—Simultaneous raids were carried out in Lucknow for the recovery of an urdu book entitled Azadi Ki Nazmen edited by Mr. Sibte Hasan.

Lucknow, June 19 :—Police carried out a search of residence of Mrs. Brajesh Singh.

Allahabad, June 18 :—Police have arrested Mr. Om. Prakash Sangal and Mr. Radhanath Chopra to be detained under Sec. 129 of D. I. A.

Dehra Dun, June 19 :—Residence of Mr. M. N. Roy was raided and some books, letters and leaflets written in German language were seized.

Police raided the house of Rajabahadur Prem Pratap Singh, son of Raja Mahendra Pratap. The search continued for 8 hours during which correspondence that passed between Pem Pratap and his father and a postcard written in German were seized.

Cawnpore, June 21 :—Mr. Devidatta Agnohotri, President of Deputy ka Parao Ward Congress Committee was arrested under Rules 34 and 38 (5) of D. I. A.

Muzuffarnagar, June 22 :—A warning to the members of the Muzaffarnagar Bar Association is reported to have been issued by the Collector of this district asking them to study the D. I. A. because the Association passed a resolution expressing its inability to contribute to the war fund.

Jhansi, June 22 :—Bhagwandas Mohar, a former prisoner of Lahore Conspiracy Case was arrested under D. I. A.

Benares, June 24 :—Mr. Sunderlal Gupta, M. L. A. who was being tried under Section 38 of D. I. A. was sentenced to 18 months' R. I. with a fine of Rs. 200 in default further rigorous imprisonment for 6 months.

Benares :—Mr. Shiva Pujan Tripathi, a prominent Congress worker was arrested under Sec. 129 of D. I. A.

Basti :—Mr. Krishna Chandra Sharma was arrested under D. I. A.

Lucknow :—Mr. Kanhaiyalal Kacker was arrested under Sec. 38, D. I. A.

Lucknow :—Mr. Srikrishna Varma, Secretary of Hazratganj War Congress Committee and Mr. Jailal were arrested under D. I. A. Rule 36.

In Bihar

Raxaul, May 3 :—Sant Sewak Prasad, General Secretary, Champaran District Socialist Party has been arrested under D. I. A.

Patna, May 3 :—Three Kisan Sabha workers have been arrested in Betiah on the 'May Day' under the D. I. R.

Patna, May 2 :—The Bihar Police served today a notice on Anil Mitra, a communist now residing in Kadamkuan, Patna, directing him not to live anywhere in Bihar and quit the province within 24 hours.

Patna, May 3 :—The office of the *'Janata'* a Leftist Hindi Weekly and the press in which the journal is printed were searched by the police this morning and certain leaflets and manuscripts were seized.

Raxaul, May 3 :—Pt. Kedarmani Shukla, a former political prisoner, has been arrested at Bettiah, under D. I. R. Mahant Dhanaraj Puri, the President of the Champaran District Kisan Sabha has also been arrested.

Swami Basantrananda Giri, Secretary of the Saran Kisan Sabha, Chapra and Pandit Braja Behari Misra were sentenced to 2½ years' rigorous imprisonment under Section 35 (5) D of the D. I. R. by Sub-Divisional Officer.

Mr. Jogeshwar Singh, President of the Sonepur Thana Kisan Sabha, was arrested at Sonepur under Section 38 (5) of the D. I. R.

The Government of Bihar issued an order, under the D. I. A. externing Sj. Ramesh Chandra Acharya, an ex-detenue, from the Province of Bihar.

Patna, May 12 :—It is reported from Monghyr that Mr. Bhola Pd, a prominent Kisan worker and active member of the Students Federation has been arrested under D. I. A.

Patna, May 18 :—Mr. Rambriskh Benipuri, editor of the *'Janat'* a local Hindi Weekly, was convicted and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment by the City Magistrate today under Sec. 38 of the D. I. A.

Patna, May 14 :—Mr. Sheobachan, Secretary of the Saran Thana Congress Committee and Mr. Jivendra Brahmachari, Vice President of the Saran District Congress Committee were convicted for delivering antiwar speeches, and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 or in default to six months' further rigorous imprisonment each.

Mr. Basant Nandgiri, Secretary of the Saran District Kisan Sabha was taken into custody under the D. I. A.

Gaya, May 15 :—Mr. Rambalak Sharma, Secretary of the Sub-divisional Kisan Sabha, Jehanbad, has been arrested under D. I. R.

Patna, May 16 :—Pandit Sheelbhadra Yajee, M. L. A. was arrested here this morning under D. I. A.

Feni, May 15 :—Mr. Susil Kumar Majumdar, an ex-detenu of Sahadepur, Feni, has been served with an order of externment asking him to leave the place forthwith.

Patna, May 17 :—Four Hindi leaflets, stated to contain matters prejudicial to the Defence of India Rules, have been declared proscribed and all their copies forfeited by the Government of Bihar, according to a Gazette notification.

Jamalpur, May 25 :—Babu Karey Singh was arrested under the D. I. R.

Motihari, May 28 :—Umashankar Sukla and Sant Sevak, who have been sentenced to undergo two months' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 50 each under the Police Act are awaiting another trial under Section 38 of the D. I. A.

Patna, June 1 :—The police carried out searches in a number of houses and institutions in Hajipur.

Monghyr, May 31 :—About 700 copies of a Hindi book entitled "Antarjwala" have been seized by the police, who raided the residence of the author. Mr. Naresh Prasad Varma Visharad, and the press where the book was printed.

Permanand Prasad, a college student, has been arrested here under D. I. R.

Patna, June 16 :—Kanahai Singh, a kisan of Patna district was arrested at Paliganj yesterday, under the D. I. A.

Patna, June 18 :—Mr. Sagar Singh, a prominent kisan worker, was arrested at Masaurhi under the D. I. A.

Hajipur, June 24 :—Two members of the Muzaffarpur D. C. C. residing in Gandhi Ashram at Hajipur were arrested and some pamphlets published by the Bihar Congress Socialist Party seized by the police under D. I. A.

Bhagalpur, June 20 :—Mr. Deva Narain Misra and several others have been arrested under D. I. A. Pandit Panchanand Jha, Manager, Srivastava Press, Bhagalpur was arrested under D. I. A.

Gaya, June 24 :—Mr. Abdul Aziz, a member of the Congress Socialist Party and a Congress worker of Gaya district was arrested under D. I. A.

Patna June 25 :—On the strength of a warrant issued by the District Magistrate of Dehra Dun, the Kotwali police arrested Mr. Parmanand, the General Secretary of the League of Radical Congressmen of Bihar.

Mr. Kishore Prosanna Sinha, Secretary of the Bihar Socialist Party was arrested under D. I. A.

Patna June 26 :—Mr. Chandra Singh, ex-political prisoner of Bihar is reported to have been arrested at Calcutta under D. I. A.

In Bombay

Bombay, May 22 :—Mr. Mohammed Syed, a Labour Leader, Vice-President of the Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag) and a Corporator, arrested under the Defence of India Act, Rule 38 read with Rule 34 for a speech to have been delivered on the 27th March at the time of the textile strike.

Released on bail of Rs. 3000 on undertaking not to make a speech in Bombay while on bail and that he would report to the C. I. D. whenever required to do so.

Charges framed on May 30, 1940. Case proceeding.

Bombay, May 22 .—Miss Godavari Gohkale, a member of the Servants of India and Labour leader, arrested at the Servants of India Society premises for breach of the order under the Defence of India Rules by delivering a lecture at Ambarnath on May Day, and taken to Kalyan.

On May 23, 1940 she was placed before the Magistrate of Kalyan and was remanded to Police custody till May 25.

On June 4, 1940 charges were framed against her under Rule 26 (6) of the Defence of India Act. Accused pleaded not guilty. Case adjourned for further evidence.

Bombay, May 23 :—Mr. P. K. Kurane, Member, Bombay P. C. C., arrested under the Defence of India Rules for making an alleged anti-war speech some time back. Bailed out on a sum of Rs. 500 on May 24, 1940. Case pending.

Bombay, May 23 :—Mr. Bapat (Senapati) prosecuted under the authority of the Provincial Government on a charge of sedition for addressing a gathering during the 'National Week' on 6th April 1940 at Bombay (Chowpatty) under the auspices of the 'Forward Bloc', was sentenced to 1 year's R. I.

Bombay, May 26 :—Mr. Indulal Yagnik arrested under the Defence of India Act. Released on bail on May 27, 1940 but rearrested same night on a charge of making speeches in contravention of the order served on him under the Defence of India Act. It was also stated on behalf of the prosecution that Mr. Indulal Yagnik had committed a breach of the prohibitory order served on him under the Defence of India Act by publishing a statement in a newspaper.

Again released on bail and case is proceeding.

Bombay, May 29 :—Sjt. Girdharlal Thakkar and Mr. C. Jani, who were arrested on May 19, 1940 sentenced to eight days' R. I.

Bombay, May 29 :—Mr. Amir Haider Khan, Member Bombay P. C. C. arrested under the Defence of India Act for two alleged anti-war speeches said to have been made on April 23 and 28th last in Bombay. Remanded to Jail custody till 8th June.

Bombay, May 29 :—Mr. Amir Haider Khan, Member Bombay P. C. C. arrested Member of the Central Executive of the All-India Kisan Sabha, General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress, etc., arrested at Ankola under the Defence of India Rules. To be interned in Bombay.

Bombay. May 5 :—Mr. L. S. Nagarkar, Member of the Council of Action of the Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag) and a prominent worker of the North Bombay Students' Union, arrested under the Defence of India Rules for two alleged speeches on 28th March and 9th April. Remanded to jail custody till 6th June.

Bombay, June 5 :—1. Mr. A. S. R. Chari, Advocate, 2. Mr. Jalaluddin Bukhari, a Kisan worker, 3. Mr. R. S. Naidu, A Political cartoonist, 4. Chandravadan Chaudhari, Jt. Hon. Secy. All India Students' Federation, 5. Sudhir Fakiro, 6. A. B. Kharidkar, 7. S. G. Tambitkar, 8. B. B. Rangnekar, arrested under the Defence of India Act and taken to Poona, it is understood, to be interned.

Note :—Some of the houses and offices of these persons were searched by the Police. At Mr. Chari's place, it is understood, the Police seized two books from his library—Stalin's Life and Lenin's Teachings. The Office of the 'National Front' and the residence of Mr. R. S. Naidu were also searched and a mass of literature is alleged to have been seized from the latter place. A. C. I. D. reporter and a few plain clothes policemen also visited the office of the Girni Kamgar Union but, it is learnt, took no action beyond a plain 'look-see'.

Surat, June 7 :—Mr. Jashwant Thakkar, President of the Bombay Presidency Students Federation, arrested at Surat under the Defence of India Act. Brought to Bombay enroute to Poona where he will be interned.

Bombay, June 7 :—Mr. Shanker alias Babasaheb Keshav Phansalkar, proprietor of the Universal Astrological and Statistical Bureau, Bombay, and his son Mr. Waman, alias Rao Saheb, arrested under the Defence of India Rules for alleged circulation of false and alarming news about the war.

Allowed bail to the sum of Rs. 500 on June 8, 1940. Case pending.

In Karnatak

Belgaum, June 11 :—Dr. Tendulkar, who is connected with the "*Warta*". a Marathi weekly paper of Belgaum, has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Belgaum, June 15 :—Under the D. I. A. Prabhakar Parulekar, printer, publisher and keeper and Messrs. Galgall and Sawant, joint editors of the "*Warta*", Belgaum were arrested.

The Government of Bombay have demanded a security of Rs. 3,000 under Section 3 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act from the keeper of the Warta Press, Belgaum, for printing a Marathi weekly Warta which published on April 23 last matters falling within the D. I. R.

Vidarbha

Akola, June 8 :—Mr. Omprakash Mehta of Nagpur who was arrested last Saturday was sentenced to undergo 2 years hard labour under the D. I. A.

In Maharashtra

Nasik, May 13 :—Mr. Govindrao Deshpande, M. L. A. and a prominent Cogress leader of the Nasik District and the Secretary of the Maharashtra P. C. C. has been warned by the Bombay Government that he should take care while speaking in public meeting.

Poona, April 16 :—Mr. V. M. Bhushkute, who was arrested on April 6 under the D. I. R. was convicted and sentenced to one year's R. I. and a fine of Rs. 500 or in default to six months' further imprisonment.

Poona, May 21 :—Mr. D. V. Babhale, a Forward Bloc worker has been arrested under Section 42 and 111 of the D. I. A.

Sholapur, May 21 :—Mr. K. K. Deshpande, a labour leader was arrested under D. I. A.

Sholapur, May 24 :—Mrs. Miniskshibai Karhadkar, a member of the Red flag Girnikamgar Union was arrested under D. I. A.

Sholapur, May 31 :—Mr. Vishnupant Patil and the labour leader Mr. Madur were arrested under D. I. A.

Mr. M. D. Vibhute arrested last week under D. I. A. was sentenced to 18 months R. I. and a fine of Rs. 100.

Poona, June 12 :—Mr. S. M. Joshi, Socialist leader and member of the A. I. C. C. and Mr. Madho Limaye, Secretary, Provincial Socialist Party were arrested under D. I. A.

Poona, June 10 :—Sjt. Keshao Gorey was arrested under D. I. A.

Poona, June 12 :—Mr. V. D. Chitale, a member of the A. I. C. C. was arrested under D. I. A. for an alleged objectionable speech made by him on May 1 last.

Mr. K. R. Samant has been arrested under D. I. A.

Poona, June 20 :—Houses of Mr. K. N. Padke, socialist leader, Mr. E. Y. Joshi of the Students' Federation and five others were searched by the police.

In N. W. Frontier Provinces

Peshawar, May 17 :—Mr. Khuram Khan was arrested today by the C. I. D. Police at Nowshera for keeping in his possession 125 posters entitled "Jangi Bigul" (trumpet of war).

Peshawar, May 28 :—Lala Kandan Lal, of the Vernacular Press, was arrested by the Police under Rule 38 D. I. R. it is alleged for circulating an incorrect report.

Peshawar, June 3 :—About a dozen searches of the houses of leading Forward Bloc workers of the province were made by the police simultaneously early this morning in Peshawar city and villages in the district in connection with the hunt for two cyclostyled pamphlets entitled "Weekly Bolshevik" and "Jang-ka-Bigul" (Trumpet of war, described as objectionable).

Peshawar, June 12 :—The house of Mr. Ralsarannagina, a socialist kisan worker was searched yesterday in the city by the C. I. D. Inspector when some proscribed literature was seized.

Peshawar, June 25 :—Four persons are reported to have been arrested at Utmanzai for alleged propaganda against currency notes.

In Nagpur

Nagpur, June 24 :—Mr. Chouthmal, a Kisan worker was arrested by the police on a warrant under the Defence of India Rules from Akola.

In Mahakoshal

Jubbulpore, May 24 :—Mr. Ananda Rao Lokhande was placed under arrest under Section 32 (1) of the D. I. A.

The police raided a number of houses in Betul and Multai in quest of proscribed literature and is reported to have removed some alleged objectionable books and leaflets from these houses.

Betul :—According to a message from Betul, Babu Rao Dhote, a member of the D. C. C. was arrested under D. I. A. and sentenced to 3 years R. I.

Beharilal Patel. M. L. A. and Srikrishna Powar, both Congressmen, have been asked to present themselves personally in the court of District Magistrate of Betul.

Bilaspur :—Eight Congressmen were arrested on various political charges.

In Tamil Nadu

Idupulapadu, May 2 :—Mr. Kakarala K. Rao, captain of Kisan Seva Dal, and drill-master of the Central Kisan School was arrested under D. I. A.

Trichinopoly, May 15 :—Mr. M. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar, Vice-president of S. I. Railway Labour Union, Golden Rock and secretary of the Trichinopoly Congress Committee, Mr. Dandapani, secretary of the taluk congress committee and five others were arrested today under D. I. A.

Vizagapatam, May 16 :—Mr. P. Syamasundara Rao, M. L. A., President of the Andhra Kisan Sabha has been served with a notice by the Madras Government under Rule 6 of the D. I. O. prohibiting him from acting in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order and directing him to reside in Ischhapuram, abstain from making public speeches and keep the D. M. of Vizagapatam informed of a change of his residence.

Coimbatore, June 14 :—Mr. C. P. Subbhiah, M. L. A. has been arrested under D. I. A.

Chicacole, May 14 :—Mr. J. Ramalingayya of Guntur district has been arrested under D. I. A.

Following home searches and alleged recovery of certain documents, Messrs T. C. Narayanan Nambiar and K. Vasudev, Socialist members of K. P. C. C. were arrested under Section 39 (1) of D. I. A.

Madura, June 12 :—Smt. K. P. Janaki Ammal, Vice-president, Madura Town Congress Committee was arrested under the D. I. A. at her residence in Kaluthai poly Agraharam.

In Kerala

Calicut, June 2 :—Mr. Mohammad Yusuf, a member of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, was arrested at Tirur under D. I. A.

Calicut, June 5 :—Six "Red Shirt" volunteers, who are said to be members of some local Labour Unions, were arrested under D. I. A.

Calicut, June 7 :—The Kerala Provincial Congress Committee Office at Chalapuram was searched.

Calicut, June 8 :—The Office of the Ernad Taluk Congress Committee at Ramanattukara and the houses of Messrs. P. M. Krishna Menon, Members, K. P. C. C., P. M. Madhava Menon were searched in connection with communist leaflets.

Calicut, June 13 :—Mr. T. Mohammad Yusuf has been sentenced to undergo one year's rigorous imprisonment on each of two counts, the sentence to run concurrently.

Calicut, June 24 :—The Calicut police have filed a case against Mr. E. M. S. Nambudripad, Joint Secretary of the All India Congress Socialist Party under Section 38 (1) and 38 (2) of the D. I. A. The charges are based on a foreword written by Mr. Nambudripad to a book named 'Jatindra Nath Das' published from Cochin.

The police have charged also Mr. P. Ramkutti Nair under Sections 39 (1) and 39 (6) of the D. I. A. for alleged possession of communist literature.

Calicut, July 3 :—Mr. Muhammad Abdul Rahman Khan, President of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee and Mr. Kunhiraman Nair, Captain of the Kerala Congress Volunteer Corps were arrested under D. I. R.

In Assam

Mr. Amiya Das Gupta, member of the Working Committee of the All India Students' Federation and Treasurer of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation, was served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules asking him to quit the province of Assam and to reside in Bengal.

Shillong, June 14 :—An externment order under the Defence of India Rules has been served jointly on Umesh Lal Singh and Sachindra Lal Singh of Tripura State by the Government of Assam.

Shillong June 14 :—The Government of Assam have decided, under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, all copies wherever found, of a handwritten Bengali leaflet entitled "Swadhinatar Awbhan" (call of Independence) and all other documents containing copies, reprints, translation, extracts from the leaflet, to be forfeited.

Sylhet, June 15 :—The Government have demanded a security of Rs. 1,000 from the *Naya Dunia*, the Leftist organ of the province of Assam, in connection with an article entitled "Council Assembly and the Kisan movement".

Shillong, June 19 :—An externment order has been served by the Assam Government on Mr. Abani Charan Sen of Tollygunge, Calcutta.

June 23 :—Mr. Abani Charan Sen, Organising Secretary of the Assam Railway

and Trading Co. Workers' Union at Dibrugarh (Assam) has been served with an order in Calcutta under the Defence of India Rules directing him no to enter the province of Assam.

In Andhra

Cuddalore, May 15 :—Mr. V. N. Kudwa, District Magistrate of S. Arcot, has issued warning notices, under D. I. A. to Messrs Aiyamperumal Pillai, Thulasingham and Ranganathan, all of Villupuram, Ramakrishna Aiyar Tirukoilur and S. A. Rahim of Kumbakonam for alleged anti-war speeches made by them.

Madras, May 17 :—An order has been served on Mr. P. Syamasundara Rao, M. L. A. President of the Andhra Kisan Sabha under D. I. A. directing him to reside in Ichchpur, abstain from making public speeches and to keep the District Magistrate, Vizagapatam, informed of every change of his residence.

Ellore, May 20 :—Mr. Th. Venkatachalapathi, of the West Godavary District Congress Committee was served with orders under D. I. O. asking him to leave Ellore within 24 hours and reside in Vendra, a Village in Bhimavaram Taluk, and also prohibiting him from making any public speeches during the currency of the order.

Madras, May 23 :—Mr. Ananda Rao Lakhanda, was arrested under D. I. A.

Trichur, May 25 :—Mr. K. K. Warrier, a labour leader of Trichur, Mr. M. A. George and Mr. Francis, author and printer respectively of a book entitled Yatheendas, have been arrested under D. I. A.

Ellore, May 24 :—Mr. T. V. Chalapathi, Manager of West Godavari District Congress Committee Office, has been served with an order by the local police requiring him under Rule, 27, D. I. A. to leave Ellore and reside in the village of Vendra, Bhimavaram taluk.

Tenali, June 1 :—Mr. Araveti Ramaiah and Mr. K. Subba Rao, Congress Socialist have been arrested under D. I. A.

Cocanada, June 10 :—Mr. P. Venkataswara Rao, and Mr. S. V. Ratnam, Socialist Leaders, were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 200 each in default to undergo imprisonment for six months under Indian Press Emergency Act.

Nellore, June 13 —Mr. Ravi Audiseshayya and Mr. K. Krishna Rao, Secretary of the Co-operative Central Bank, were arrested today under D. I. A.

In Utkal

12-6-40 :—An externment order under the Defence of India Rules was served on Mr. Balai Bose, a Bengal labour worker, directing him to leave the Orissa Province within 24 hours.

In Sindh

Karachi, May 23 :—Mr. Ahmed Khan Lasi, Secretary of the Lasbella Nationalist Party, has been arrested under the Defence of India Act for distributing anti-war leaflets.

Karachi, May 23 :—Mr. Mohamed Nasim Talvi, Editor of the "Baluchistan Jadad" who had been arrested under the Defence of India Act for printing some objectionable leaflet in his own press, was bound over by the City Magistrate, in a sum of Rs. 500 for 12 months.

In Gujarat

Ahmedabad May 8 :—Sardar Makhan Singh, General Secretary of the East African Trade Union, who recently came to India and has been associated for the last three months with the Mill Kamadar Union in Ahmedabad, was arrested under D. I. A.

Ahmedabad, May 20 :—Mr. Indulal Yagnik, the Acting General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha, was served with an order under the Defence of India Act today directing him to reside and remain within the limits of Ahmedabad district and take no part in any political communist, agrarian or labour movement or agitation.

Surat, June 27 :—Three kisan workers have been arrested under the Defence of India Act on the charge of making speeches and advising people not to subscribe to war loans.

The All India Congress Committee

Poona—27th. and 28th. July 1940

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Poona on July 27 and 28, 1940 in Congress House. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* presided. 188 members were present.

Before commencing the proceedings, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* made a statement explaining the two official resolutions as also the circumstances leading up to the A. I. C. C. meeting at Poona. A summary is given here :—

It was hardly four months and two weeks since they met at Ramgarh but during this short period the world had changed almost but of recognition. This change was not only in respect of outward form but it had almost brought about a revolution in ideas and beliefs. It would not be possible for us not to be affected by all that has happened and, therefore, it becomes our duty to review our own position and take stock of the situation with a view to seeking what changes we should make in our own attitude.

Two important decisions of the Congress Working Committee are to be placed before you. One of these is known as the Wardha Statement. Although there is nothing new in it, as it relates to the basic policy of the Indian National Congress, it becomes our duty to consider it as this House represents the Congress.

It was not at the Wardha meeting in June last that Mahatma Gandhi raised the question of non-violence for the first time. He had raised it two years ago. In September 1938 the All India Congress Committee met at Delhi. At this meeting of the Congress Working Committee Mahatma Gandhi raised the issue of extending the principle of non-violence which the Congress had followed in regard to its internal policy for the last twenty years to other spheres.

Mahatma Gandhi wanted the Congress at this stage to declare that a free India would eschew all violence and would have no army to defend the country against aggression. The Congress should thus depend entirely upon non-violence for the purpose of dealing with internal disorders and external aggression. Mahatma Gandhi felt that he had to give the message of non-violence to the world and if he could not persuade his own countrymen to accept it, it would be difficult for him to preach it to others. The Congress Working Committee felt itself unable to accept his position and explained its difficulties to Mahatma Gandhi. The issue however did not assume any serious proportion then as the Munich Agreement postponed the war.

The question was again raised by Mahatma Gandhi when war broke out in September last. In November last when Gandhiji went to interview the Viceroy he asked me and other members of the Working Committee to relieve him of the responsibility of guiding the Congress policy and leave him free to pursue in his own way the policy of non-violence. The Committee, however, once again persuaded Mahatma Gandhi to postpone decision. At Ramgarh Mahatma Gandhi raised this question for the third time. On this occasion Mahatma Gandhi also referred to other weakness in the Congress organisation and expressed a desire to be relieved of responsibility. This came as a shock to the Working Committee and if I had not practically forced Mahatma Gandhi to postpone decision of the issue once again, a crisis would have arisen as early as at Ramgarh.

You will thus see that this issue had been hanging fire for over two years and when we met in Wardha in June last Mahatma Gandhi wanted the Committee to make up its mind once for all, as the international situation had become delicate and he felt that a decision on such a vital issue could not be postponed any longer. Even then I tried to persuade Mahatma Gandhi once again to postpone the matter as I knew the dangers and the difficulties of a decision. There is not a soul in the Congress who is not anxious to go the whole length with Mahatma Gandhi, if he can help it ; but we cannot close our eyes to hard facts. We know that arms and ammunitions have not been able to save the freedom of France, Holland, Belgium and Norway but we also know that human

nature even after realising the futility of armed resistance is not prepared to give up force. We had not the courage to declare that we shall organise a State in this country without an armed force. If we did it would be wrong on our part. Mahatma Gandhi has to give the message of non-violence to the world and, therefore, it is his duty to propagate it but we have to consider our position as the representatives of the Indian Nation meeting in the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress is a political organisation pledged to win the political independence of the country. It is not an institution for organising world peace.

Honestly we cannot go as far as Mahatma Gandhi wants us to go. We admit that it is a weakness on our part but it is a weakness which we share with the entire humanity. Though we cannot go with Mahatma Gandhi the whole hog, we do not wish to stop him from pursuing his own path. Yet realising the loss that the Congress would suffer on being deprived of Mahatma Gandhi's guidance, I was tempted to approach him once agin to defer his decision on this issue. I had thrice succeeded in my attempt but this time, I failed because Mahatma Gandhi pointed out that it was no use postponing his decision on this vital issue for the moment was fast approaching when the Congress would have to take a final decision and therefore, it was better that each party decided to follow its own path. I placed the whole matter before the Working Committee and invited separately the opinion of each member. Most of us felt that we were not able to take up the grave responsibility of declaring that we would completely eschew violence when we had to deal with widespread internal disorder in this country or external aggression. But we all were quite clear in our minds that so far as the struggle for winning our independence was concerned non-violence would continue to occupy the same place in the Congress programme that it had occupied all these 20 years. We all felt that the slightest deviation in this respect will mean political suicide for the Congress.

Whatever success we have achieved in our struggle during all these years has been due to our unflinching faith in non-violence, and if we have not succeeded to the extent to which we ought to have succeeded, it is due to our inability to practise non-violence to the fuller extent. If we ever give up this idea, we shall be burying the Congress. I feel I must take you further in confidence and inform you that there are four members of the Working Committee, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose Mr. Kripalani and Mr. Shankerrao Deo who feel that they can go the whole length with Mahatma Gandhi. You already know about Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

There are people who think that by passing the Delhi resolution the Congress Working Committee has made a departure from past resolutions. I wish to emphasise that this is a wrong view. Even if we wished to take a new step we could not do so because we have behind us a series of resolutions and statements issued from time to time by the Congress Working Committee during the past few months. We cannot demolish all these. We have not the right to do so. We have not the power to do so. Changes in the international situation however are so serious that we cannot shut our eyes to them and proceed blindly. We have not abated our original demand in any way. We have demanded the unequivocal declaration of India's Independence. As a provisional measure we have asked for the establishment of a representative national government.

Although Mahatma Gandhi would not be responsible for the policy of the Congress any longer, his advice would always be available to the Working Committee and the Congress. Our relations will continue with him as long as he lives and I pray to God that he may be spared long to guide us. We must however realise that the nature of his guidance will not be the same as before and this adds greatly to our responsibility. We have a great objective to achieve ; we have an ideal before us which is sufficient to inspire any group of people. There may be ups and downs and difficulties may beset our path but we need not be disheartened or dis-spirited by these.

We have to solve every difficulty that presents itself to us and we have also to recognise the hard fact of Mahatma Gandhi's separation from us. We must bear it bravely. In this difficult hour, it is our duty to be united. I therefore appeal to you to sink all differences and to face bravely the trials that lie ahead of us. This is what the country demands from us and this is what the Congress expects us to do. If we fail in this hour of trial, the world will have a poor opinion of us ; but I am sure that we shall not fail.

Resolutios

The following resolutions as recommended by the Working Committee were then placed before the committee and passed :

WARDHA STATEMENT

The A. I. C. C. has considered the statement issued by the Working Committee from Wardha on June 21, 1940 and confirmed it. The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that as explained therein, while the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in the struggle for independence, it is unable, in the present circumstances, to declare that the principle should be extended to free India's national defence.

The A. I. C. C. desire to affirm that the Congress organisation should continue to be conducted on the principle of non-violence and all Congress volunteers are bound by their pledge to remain non-violent in the discharge of their duty and no Congress Volunteer Organisation can be formed or maintained except on that basis. Any other volunteer organisation for the purpose of self-defence with which Congressmen are associated must likewise adhere to non-violence.

DELHI RESOLUTION

The meeting of the All India Congress Committee confirms the Working Committee's Delhi resolution of July 7, 1940.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

The A. I. C. C. Office received notice of four non-official resolutions to be moved at the meeting. 3 of these resolutions were covered by the Official resolutions ; the remaining one was withdrawn by the mover.

The Working Committee Proceedings

Poona—25th to 27th July 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Poona from 25th. to 27th. July, 1940. The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (President), Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachariar, Jamnalal Bajaj, Bhulabhai Desai, Shankerrao Deo, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Asafali, and J. B. Kripalani.

Shris Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Narendra Dev, Achyut Patwardhan and Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit were present by special invitation.

The following resolutions were passed :—

CONDOLENCE

The Committee express their deep sorrow and indignation at the brutal murder of Hassaram S. Pamnani, M. L. A. Member of A. I. C. C. who was shot dead while he was engaged in the task of inquiring into the alleged murder of Assudamal, a Congressman of Sind, and offer their condolences to the family of the deceased.

This Committee also note with deep sorrow the circumstances under which Sardar Autar Singh, member, A. I. C. C. was fatally stabbed in Gujranwalla and offer their condolences to his family.

COMPULSORY LEVIES

The Working Committee have received reports from many parts of the country that compulsion is being applied on a considerable scale, on the part of subordinate officials for the purpose of realising contributions for war purposes. Collections ordered to be made by officials from peasants and wage-earners are bound to result in considerable harassment, coercion and distress. Compulsory levies are not only against the existing law of the land as well as the emergency laws but are also opposed to the declared policy of responsible officers of the Government. All compulsory levies and coercion in the collection of funds should be immediately stopped, and, where such compulsion is applied, people should refuse to submit to it,

DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The Working Committee have learnt with surprise the attempt made by some Congress members of the Orissa Legislative Assembly to form a ministry in

coalition with other groups against the declared policy and resolution of the Congress.

The Working Committee have considered the explanation given by Pandit Godavaris Misra and note that Sriyut Jadumani Mangaraj has not furnished any explanation in spite of notice given to him. In the opinion of the Working Committee the action taken by Pandit Godavaris Misra and Sriyut Jadumani Mangaraj is a gross act of indiscipline and deserving the highest condemnation. The Working Committee call upon them to resign their seats from the Legislative Assembly which they secured on behalf of the Congress, disqualify them from becoming members of the Congress for a period of three years and debar them from standing as candidates for election to any local body or legislature on behalf of the Congress for a like period and thereafter until further orders. In view of the emphatic denial by Sriyut Jagannath Das of any participation in the attempt to form a coalition ministry and his explanation no action against him is called for.

In view of the interview of Pt. Nilkantha Das published in the Press and other information received, Pt. Nilkantha Das is called upon to state what part, if any, he had in this attempt and to furnish such other explanation as he may wish to offer by the 10th. August, 1940 to the President.

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

The Working Committee adopted the two resolutions confirming the resolution passed at Wardha and Delhi to be placed before the A. I. C. C. (For text see p. 195).

THE NEXT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

The Committee authorised the President to decide finally the question of the venue of the next session of the Congress in consultation with the parties concerned.

BAGHELKHAND

In view of the fact that the Mahakoshal P. C. C. has approved of the proposed transfer of Baghelkhand from Mahakoshal to U. P., the Working Committee sanction this transfer.

Wardha—18th to 22nd August 1940

Resolutions

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from 18th to 23rd August, 1940. The members present were :

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (President), Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachariar, Jamnalal Bajaj, Bhulabhai Desai, Shankerrao Deo, Govindballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Syed Mahmud, Asafali, and J. B. Kripalani.

Shri Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Maulana Husain Ahmad were present by special invitation.

The minutes of the last three meetings of the Working Committee held respectively at Wardha, June 17-21 ; Delhi, July 3-7 and Poona July 25-27, 1940 were confirmed. The following resolutions were passed :

VICEREGAL DECLARATION

The Working Committee have read the statement issued by the Viceroy on the authority of the British Government on the 8th of August and the report of the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons explaining the Viceroy's statement. They note with deep regret that the British Government have rejected the friendly offer and practical suggestion contained in the Poona resolution of the A. I. C. C. on 28th July framed for a solution of the deadlock and to enable the Indian National Congress to withdraw its non-cooperation and to secure in the present crisis the patriotic cooperation of all the people of India in the governance of India and the organisation of national defence.

The Working Committee have read with deep pain and indignation the declarations and assumptions contained in the statements and speeches made on behalf of the British Government which seek to deny India her natural right of complete national freedom and reiterate the untenable claim that Britain should maintain herself in a dominant position in India in the discharge of the higher functions of the state. These claims render false and empty even their own

promise to recognise India at an early date, as a free and equal unit in the British Commonwealth. Such claims and recent events and developments in the world have confirmed the Committee's conviction that India cannot function within the orbit of an imperial power and must attain the status of a free and independent nation. This does not prevent close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace of the world.

The Working Committee are of opinion that the assertion contained in the statements made on behalf of the British Government that they will not part with power and responsibility in favour of the elected representatives of the people of India, and that therefore, the present autocratic and irresponsible system of government must continue so long as any group of people or the Princes, as distinguished from the people of the States or perhaps even foreign vested interests arise objections to any constitution framed by the elected representatives of the people of India, is a direct encouragement and incitement to civil discord and strife, and amounts to a fatal blow to all willingness to compromise and adjustment of claims.

The Committee regret that although the Congress has never thought in terms of coercing any minority, much less of asking the British Government to do so, the demand for a settlement of the constitution through a Constituent Assembly of duly elected representatives has been misrepresented as coercion and the issue of minorities has been made into an insuperable barrier to India's progress. The Congress has proposed that minority rights should be amply protected by agreement with elected representatives of the minorities concerned. The Working Committee therefore cannot but conclude that the attitude and assertions contained in these statements made on behalf of the British Government confirm the prevailing feeling that the British authority has been continually operating so as to create, maintain and aggravate differences in India's national life.

The Working Committee note with astonishment that the demand for the constitution of a Provisional National Government composed of persons commanding the confidence of the various elected groups in the present Central Legislature, formed under the 1919 Constitution of India, has been described by the Secretary of State for India as one that would raise the unsolved constitutional issue and prejudge it in favour of the majority and against the minorities. The Working Committee are of opinion that the rejection of this proposal unmistakably indicates that there is no willingness on the part of the British Government to part with any power and authority even for the immediate purpose of securing cooperation in war efforts. The British Government would gather together and carry on with such dissentient groups and individuals as oppose the wishes of the majority of the people of India and without any coordination with elected legislatures at the Centre or in the Provinces, rather than concede anything that would work towards the recognition of the rights of the people of India to rule themselves democratically.

For these reasons the Working Committee have come to the conclusion that the statements referred to are wholly opposed not only to the principle of democracy as acclaimed by the British Government in the War, but also to the best interests of India, and they cannot be a party to accepting the proposals contained in the statements or advising the country to accept them. The Working Committee consider that these declarations and offers not only fall far short of the Congress demand but would be impediments to the evolution of a free and united India.

The Working Committee call upon the people to condemn the attitude adopted by the British Government by means of public meetings and otherwise, as also through their elected representatives in the provincial legislatures.

STRUGGLE

The decision of the British Government to enforce their will in India in opposition to the will of the great majority of the people and regardless of consequences has produced a situation of the utmost gravity. The rejection of the Congress proposals is proof of the British Government's determination to continue to hold India by the sword. In order to compass this end they have been endeavouring to undermine the strength of the Congress by picking up and arresting hundreds of public workers, including some of the best workers of the Congress, under the Defence of India Act which has no popular sanction whatever. The desire of the Congress not to embarrass the British Government, at a time of peril for them, has been misunderstood and despised. They are imposing on the Congress a struggle to vindicate its position and to act for the preservation of the liberties and honour of the people. The Congress can have no thought but that

of the supreme good of the dumb and toiling millions of India and through them of the whole of submerged humanity,

In view of the gravity of the situation, the Working Committee have decided to convene a meeting of the All India Congress Committee on Sunday, September 15.

The Working Committee call upon all Congress organisations to carry on their activities with full vigour and, in particular, to explain the Congress position and recent developments to the public. Satyagraha Committees must see that those who have taken the pledge act in terms of this pledge and carry on the constructive and other activities of the Congress.

Volunteers

The Working Committee have considered the recent Ordinance of the Governor-General relating to volunteers. The Committee are not in a position to understand the real purpose underlying this Ordinance and consider it as too widely and vaguely worded and liable to abuse in its application. The time chosen for its promulgation and the terms thereof are such as to lend some justification to the interpretation that it has been issued to prevent and hamper the normal activities of Congress volunteers.

The Working Committee fully agree that private armies organised for furthering political or communal objectives by intimidation or force are objectionable and should not be permitted. But there is no analogy between such private armies and the training by drill, exercise and otherwise of volunteers for peaceful national service. Congress resolutions and instructions, issued in respect of its volunteers, make it clear that these volunteers are organised for the constructive activities of the Congress ; for promoting communal harmony ; for preserving order at its meetings, conferences, and the like ; for teaching discipline and raising physical standards of fitness ; and for the service of the people. Such volunteers are pledged to non-violence and they were never intended, nor are they expected to seek to enforce by intimidation or otherwise the political views of the Congress on others. They cannot be mistaken by dress or otherwise for the military or the police.

The Working Committee trust that the ordinance was not intended and will not be misused to suppress the lawful and peaceful work of such volunteers, or to interfere with their distinctive dress, drill, exercise and peaceful activities.

The Committee therefore direct that the normal activities of the Congress Seva Dal and other Congress volunteers should be carried on and that all such volunteers should continue the national service which they are privileged to perform.

Kerala Affairs

The Working Committee considered the situation created in Kerala by the election of two sets of Presidents and Secretaries by rival members of the P. C. C. The following resolution was passed :—

Considered references from the Kerala Province.

Inasmuch as rival organisations have grown up as a result of two meetings held for the purpose of filling up vacancies and as neither of them were in fact representative meetings, the Working Committee without going into the technical objections raised on either side, resolves that a fresh meeting of the General body of the Provincial Congress Committee be held at an early date after adequate notice is given to all concerned for the purpose of filling up the vacancies among office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya is authorised to convene the meeting, preside thereat and carry out this resolution, He is also authorised to place the new office-bearers in charge of the office. The Kerala Provincial Executive and the office are instructed to give every possible assistance to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

Enrolment of Primary Members

The Working Committee considered representations received from several Provincial Congress Committees requesting extension of time for the renewal of membership. The last date fixed in the Constitution for the renewal of membership is the 31st August. In view of special circumstances prevailing in several provinces the Working Committee extended the time for the renewal of membership upto 31st October, 1940.

Sjt. Dibakar Patnaik (Utkal)—Disciplinary Action

The following resolution was passed :

The Working Committee have noted that Sriyut Dibakar Patnaik sent a

telegram to Babu Rajendra Prasad informing him that he was supporting Pandit Godavaris Misra in his attempt to form a ministry in Orissa for which disciplinary action was taken by the Working Committee at their last meeting at Poona against Pandit Godavaris Misra. The said telegram was published in the Press. In spite of notice given to him, Sjt Dibakar Patnaik has offered no explanation. The Committee consider his conduct as condemnable as that of Sjt. Godavaris Misra and call upon him to resign his seat in the Legislative Assembly and disqualify him from becoming member of the Congress for a period of three years and debar him from standing as a candidate to any local body or legislature on behalf of the Congress for a like period and thereafter until further notice.

MEETINGS OF THE A. I. C. C. AND WORKING COMMITTEE

It was decided that the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Wardha on the 13th and 14th September and that of the A. I. C. C. be held on 15th September and subsequent dates at Bombay.

General Secretary's Circulars to P. C. Cs.

Circular No. 16—9th. August 1940 :—

I am sending you herewith a copy of the resolution entitled "Compulsory Levies" passed by the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Poona. It deals with the complaints that have been received by our and the provincial Offices about collections that are being forcibly and illegally made by local officials in different parts of the country, for war purposes. Such collections as the resolution points out are not only illegal but also against the declared policy of the Government. It is necessary that these facts be brought before the public. The resolution must therefore be translated in the language or languages of your province and be widely distributed, specially in rural areas where the law and the Government policy, in connection with war contributions, gifts and loans are not likely to be known and where the word of a petty local official, legal or illegal, is likely to carry weight and threats can be used with effect.

People must also be informed that officials using threats or compulsion are acting illegally and resistance to authority, in these matters is a citizen's duty. No Civil Liberties can be maintained if illegal exactions are quietly paid, for fear of consequences. If people are to enjoy their rights, they must be prepared to undergo the necessary suffering involved in the assertion of these rights.

You will also please report to this Office cases where threats and coercion have been resorted to by officials in the collection of funds for war purposes. Cases reported must be thoroughly inquired into and only such cases as can be established by unimpeachable evidence must be reported.

Circular No. 17—29th. Aug. '40 :—

I am sending you herewith copies of three resolutions passed by the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Wardha. You will please get these resolutions translated in the Provincial language and broadcast them in your province. You will also organize meetings to explain to the public the full implications of the resolutions and the circumstances that have obliged the Working Committee to pass them. Speakers selected to address meetings must strictly confine themselves to the subject matter of the resolutions and the circumstances that have called them forth.

You will also instruct all Satyagraha Committees under you to redouble their efforts to fulfil the constructive programme. Individual Satyagrahis must be reminded that they have to carry on the work for which they have pledged themselves. Above all you will put forth every effort to strengthen the Congress organisation.

The position about Congress volunteers remains as described in the resolution passed on the subject. The explanation given in the latest Government of India Communique on the subject, vague as it is, does not alter the situation.

Circular—21st. Aug. '40 :—

Article IV (*a*) of the Congress Constitution lays down that "A member of the Congress enrolled as per Article III shall continue to be a member of the Congress until he resigns or is expelled therefrom, provided he renews his application and pays on or before the 31st August of every subsequent year the annual membership of four annas and obtains a certificate of membership " However, representations from provinces were received at the A. I. C. C. Office to

extend the time for renewal of membership. The Working Committee have been pleased to extend the time for the renewal of membership to the 31st. October.

The Constitution does not provide any date for the completion of the enrolment of fresh members. They can be enrolled at any time but their right to vote at elections will be regulated by Article VII (*a*) which lays down that "No member shall be entitled to exercise his vote at any election unless he has been continuously on a Congress register for 12 months prior to the date of the election and only on production of a certificate of membership".

Viceroy-President Correspondence

The following correspondence in connection with the latest pronouncement of the British Government passed between Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President and His Excellency the Viceroy :

(1) Viceroy's letter to the Congress President, dated Ooty, 4th. Aug. '40 :—

You will be aware that I have in the last few weeks been in contact with various political leaders, including Mr. Gandhi, in regard to the Indian political situation. I have, I need not say, informed His Majesty's Government of the results of my discussions with the various leaders concerned ; and I am glad to say that I have in the result been authorised to make the statement of which I now enclose an advance copy. That statement will appear in the morning papers of Thursday, 8th. August, and I would ask that until its appearance it should be treated as for your entirely secret and personal information.

As you will see, I have been authorised to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. I have been authorised further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. I trust sincerely that the Indian National Congress will feel able to join with me in the Central Government and in the War Advisory Council : and I should welcome it if you could let me have a very early answer on that point, if possible not later than the 21st. of August.

I readily conceive that it might be convenient for you to discuss this matter further with me before you send me a formal reply on behalf of the Indian National Congress. I shall, as at present arranged, be in Poona from 6th. to 11th. August, and in Bombay from 11th. to 14th. August : and I hope to reach Delhi on my way back to Simla on 20th. August. I shall be very glad to see you and any friend whom you may care to bring with you at any of these places at any time convenient to you, should you desire to pursue the matter as I have suggested in conversation before sending me a more formal reply to this invitation. Perhaps you would be good enough to let me know whether you would see advantage in this, and if so what date and time would be convenient to you. I would only add that I am, as you will, I know, understand, anxious that effect should be given with as little delay as possible to the decisions of His Majesty's Government ; and that I am concerned to announce the personnel of the expanded Executive Council by the end of August, and of the War Advisory Council at the latest by about the middle of September, but in any event with as little delay after the announcement of the personnel of the expanded Executive Council as practicable.

(2) President's telegram in reply to Viceroy's letter, dated Calcutta 8 Aug. '40 :—

Thanks for Your Excellency's letter of August 4th and advance copy of declaration received last evening. I am thankful for invitation to see you. I would have readily availed of pleasure of meeting Your Excellency but when His Majesty's Government have already thought fit to announce a definite line of action may I ask how far there still remains a chance of usefulness of further discussion.

(3) Letter from the Assistant Secretary to the Governor of Bengal, conveying to the President the Viceroy's telegram dated Calcutta, 10th. Aug. '40 :—

I have been asked to send you the following telegram which we have received for you from His Excellency the Viceroy, to whom your Calcutta address is not known :

"Your telegram of 8th August. Policy of His Majesty's Government is set out in my statement and it is my hope that within its terms Indian National Congress will as indicated in my letter to you of 4th August feel able to join with me in the Central Government and in the War Advisory Council. As my

letter makes clear I should be very glad to see you with any friend whom you may care to bring with you should you desire to pursue the matter in conversation before sending me a more formal reply to my invitation and if you would telegraph to let me know as soon as possible date and place which you suggest. My own movements remain as described in my letter to you of 4th August.

(4) Congress President's telegram to the Viceroy in reply dated Calcutta, 10th. Aug. '40 :—

Thanks for your Excellency's telegram received through Government House. I do not find any meeting ground for Congress in the terms of the declaration of August 8th. Apart from other fundamental questions there is not even any suggestion for national government. Under the circumstances I am unable to find any scope for further discussion. Calling Working Committee 18th to consider and decide.

(5) Congress President's letter to the Viceroy confirming the above two telegrams dated Calcutta, 11th. Aug. '40 :—

I had received your Excellency's letter of August 4, on the evening of August 7. As it was necessary to call the Congress Working Committee as soon as possible and to consider any other thing which might be necessary before calling it, I thought it advisable to reply your Excellency's letter telegraphically. Accordingly I sent the following telegram :

(*Quoted above*)

I received your Excellency's second telegram through the Government House Calcutta (quoted above) on August 10, in reply to which I sent the following telegram on the same day :

(*Quoted above*)

I would assure you that it would always be a pleasure to me to pay a visit to Your Excellency. When I found that our discussion could not go beyond the terms laid down by the declaration of August 8, I felt that I could not find my way for further discussion.

(6) Congress President's letter to the Viceroy dated Wardha, 19th. Aug. '40 :—

As I informed your Excellency in my telegram from Calcutta of the 10th August, I convened a meeting of the Congress Working Committee for the 18th August to consider the statement made on behalf of the British Government. The Committee gave their careful consideration to this statement as well as to the amplification of it in the British Parliament.

The Working Committee will express their views in the course of the next few days dealing with this matter more fully, but meanwhile, I may inform you that the Committee have read the statements embodying the British Government's decisions and attitude in regard to India, with deep regret. These are totally at variance with the proposals last put forward by the Congress at Poona and with the objective of the Congress. The Working Committee are of opinion that they cannot associate themselves in any way with these proposals.

As I ventured to say in my telegram to you, I would have gladly availed myself of the opportunity to meet you and discuss the whole question. But your wire made it clear that the discussion is to take place within the rigid framework of your announcement which was wholly inadequate for the Congress purpose. Moreover, your letter had left it to me to decide whether I should see you before coming at a final decision. As I did not consider it necessary to trouble you about minor matters, I decided to forego the pleasure of meeting you.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know if you have any objection to my releasing our correspondence to the Press.

Burma-China Road

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, issued the following statement in regard to the closing of the Burma-China Road :

The decision of the British Government to close the Burma-China Road is a matter of the most serious significance for China, India, Burma and Britain. This road had been built at enormous sacrifice by China and already it had become one of the main arteries of traffic between China and the outer world. It had brought China and Burma and India nearer to one another and their contacts grew from

day to day. The people of India welcome this new relationship and their goodwill flowed out to the people of China struggling for their freedom against an aggressor nation. The closing of the Burma road means a severe restriction on these growing contacts and a flouting of Indian opinion. It is in complete conflict with the foreign policy which the people of India desire to pursue. It is a violation of international usage as well as of Sino-British treaties, and is evidently meant to hamper China in her struggle for freedom. It is clearly an encouragement of the aggresssor nation who for over three years has been carrying on an undeclared war on Chinese territory. It is support of a policy against which Great Britain claims to be fighting in Europe. Its greatest significance lies in this light it throws on British policy which claims to do one thing in Europe and follows an entirely different course in India and China. We must therefore wholly disapprove of the action of the British Government in closing the Burma-China Road.

Arrests and Convictions

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

Comilla, June 26 :—Prohibitory orders under the Defence of India Act were served on Manindra Kumar Chakraborty, Ananta De and three others directing them to personally report to the police station.

Comilla, June 30 :—Five local Congress and labour leaders, namely, Satya Brata Sen, Ananta De, Subodh Mukherjee, Manindra Chakrabarty, and Kandi Sen have been served with a notice by the District Magistrate of Tipperah, under the Defence of India Rules, placing certain restrictions on their movements and activities.

The notice directs these persons (1) to report in person to the police station on every Monday ; (2) not to take part in any subversive movement or indulge in any anti-war propaganda (3) not to converse, communicate, or associate with any school or college students ; (4) not to attend meetings of any kind and (5) to notify in person departure from one place to another to the police at least 24 hours before the time of departure and to report the time of arrival as well.

The notice will remain in force for six months.

These persons have further been forbidden to keep any connection (conversation, correspondence, association, etc.) with 38 others, mostly ex-detenus.

Calcutta, July 2 :—Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has been arrested at his Calcutta residence in Elgin Road under the Defence of India Rules.

July 25, 1940 :—Hemanta Kumar Bose, Secretary, North Calcutta District Congress Committee was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Pannalal Mitra was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Narendra Narayan Chakravarty, M, L. A. was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Barisal, July 5 :—Niranjan Sen, Kisan worker was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Act.

Dacca, July 5 :—Mohammed Ismail, Secretary Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union and member of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Chittagong, July 5 :—Promode Sen was arrested under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Kalara, July 7 :—Thakar Balwant Singh was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Act.

Mymensingh, July 9 :—Gopal Acharjee, Secretary, Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

July 10, 1940 :—Kalipada Bagchi was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

July 10, 1940 :—Deb Kumar Gupta, Manager and Secretary of *'Agrani'* a monthly magazine, Prafulla Roy, editor of the Magazine, and Bireswar Bhattacharjee were served with notices under the Defence of India Rules to quit within 48 hours the Municipal limits of Calcutta, 24 Parganas, Howrah, Midnapur and the Asansol subdivision of the district of Burdwan.

Jessore, July 8 :—Naresh Chandra Somaddar was arrested under Defence of India Act.

July 12, 1940 :—Orders under the Defence of India Rules have been passed on

the following persons (of Calcutta) directing them, except in so far as they may be permitted by the Governor, that they shall not at any time after the expiry of forty-eight hours from the service of the orders be in any place within the limits of Calcutta and its suburbs and the districts of 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hoogly, the Assansol Sub-divison of Burdwan District and the Sadar Sub-division of Midnapore district :

(1) Debendra Bijoy Sen Gupta, (2) Bireswar Bhattacharji, (3) Profulla Roy (4) Debkumar Gupta, (5) Amulya Chandra Sen Gupta (6) Sailaja Ranjan Mitra Mustafi, (7) Miss Kanak Das Gupta (8) Abani Mohan Chakrabarty, (9) Chandrama Prasad Singh, and (10) Nani Das Gupta.

Howarh, July 12, '40 :—Harendra Nath Ghosh was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

July 13, '40 :—Amar Bose, Ramkamal Dey, Fani Mazumdar, Biswanath Mukherjee and Aswini Ganguly were arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Comilla July 10 :—Manindra Kumar Chakrabarty, who was served with a notice under the Defence of India Act restricting certain activities and requiring his weekly attendance at the Kotwali Thana, was arrested by police for disobeying the order.

Comilla July 14 :—Subodh K. Mukherjee and Satyabrata Sen, ex-detenus, have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

An order under the Defence of India Rules was served on Mrs. Bimal Pratibha Devi directing her not to take part in public processions, assembly and meetings for a period of one year.

Comilla July 14 :—Ex-detenus Subodh K. R. Mukherjee and Satyabrata Sen have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Calcutta July 14 :—Sixteen labour organisers were taken into custody following simultaneous searches of their residences in Jute Mill areas in Belgharia, Alambazar, Panihati, Naihati, Hazinagar and Kanchrapara, all in 24 Parganas.

Calcutta, July 14 :—Kshirode Das Gupta, an ex Detenu and Secretary of the Barrackpore (24 Parganas) Branch of the Bengal Labour Party was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Madaripur, July 13 :—Makhan Lal Kar, a Kisan worker of Madaripur has been arrested under Section 38(5) of the Defence of India Act.

Calcutta, July 17 :—Mrs. Lila Roy and Mr. Robin Sen, a labour leader, were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Suri, July 17 :—Panna Lal Das-Gupta and Mani Ganguli have been served with notices of externment under Section 26 of Defence of India Act to leave the District of Birbhum within 48 hours. Kabiraj Bhupendra Narayan Sen, Batimal Lunait, Umassankar Kunee, congress workers of Bolepur and Haran Chandra Khangar of Dubrajpur have been served with notices under Section 26 of the Defence of India Act restricting their movements.

July 26, 1940 :—Devendra Nath Sukul, a member of the A. I. C. C. was served with an externment notice immediately after his release.

July 24, 1940 :—Dharambir Singha, labour organiser has been arrested at Kharagpore town under the Defence of India Rules.

Debendra Nath Das, President, Kharagpore Town Congress Committee and Secretary Midnapore District Kisan Sava has been served with an order directing him to quit Midnapore district within 72 hours from the service of the order.

Calcutta, July 26 :—Basanta Kumar Majumdar was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Calcutta, August 3 :—Two hundred and eighty-eight satyagrahis had been arrested upto July 2 in connection with the satyagraha movement for the removal of the Holwell Monument according to a statement made by the Home Minister Sir Nazimuddin.

Howrah, 12-8-40 :—Bholanath Das was arrested at his residence under the Defence of India Act.

12-8-40 :—Umesh Lal Singh has been served with an externment order under Defence of India Rules.

Barisal, Aug. 10 :—Sreemati Basana Bose, a 1st. Year student was arrested under Sec. 39(B) Defence of India Act, for alleged possession of objectionable literature.

Chittagong, Aug. 14 :—Shyama Charan Biswas who was served with a restriction order under the Defence of India Rules, has been arrested for alleged violation of the orders.

Mymensing, Aug. 17 :—Naresh Guha, Subodh Sen, and Amar Ganguly who were recently externed from the district of Dacca under the Defence of India Rules, are ordered by the District Magistrate of Mymensingh to leave the district also within 24 hours.

Burdwan, Aug. 17 :—Shib Prasad Dutt, a student worker has been served with an order under the Defence of India Act, directing him not to leave this town without previously informing the police, not to use cycle, not to mix with some twenty-five persons and to report himself to the Sardar Thana once a week.

Calcutta, Aug. 18 :—Sukumar Bhowal, who was residing in Dacca district after being externed from Bihar, has been served with an externment order under the Defence of India Rules directing him to leave Dacca District.

Mymensingh, Aug. 21 :—Nihar Ranjan Sirkar was arrested under Defence of India Act.

Mymensingh, Aug. 21 :—Niranjan Sen, Secretary, Gouripur Congress Committee has been arrested under the Defence of India Act, for it is understood, addressing an unauthorised meeting.

Faridpur, Aug. 24 :—Hari Das Banerji of Chaogaon, Kartick Das, Dhiren Biswas and Indu Das of Bandhabari, Kotalipara, Samar Singh, Amal Sanyal of Rajbari, Jatindra Sidhanta of Gouranadi, Barisal, and Nagen Gupta of Gopalganj were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Brahmanbaria, Aug. 23 :—Subodh Kumar Sen-Gupta and Naresh Chandra Guha, labour organisers have been served with notices under the Defence of India Rules, directing them to leave the district immediately.

In the United Provinces

Lucknow, July 13, 1940 :—Shiv Narain Kapoor and Jagdish Chandra Dixit were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Benares, July 10 :—Shishir Kumar Roy was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Muttra, July 12, 1940 :—Ramjidas Gupta, general secretary, District Congress Committee was arrested at the Congress office, under the Defence of India Act.

Fatehpur, July 14, 1940 :—Swami Nagnanond was arrested under the Defence of India Act for an alleged objectionable speech.

Orai July 15, 1940 :—Ramzan Ali Azad, a teacher in the Municipal school at Kalpi was arrested for an alleged speech under the Defence of India Rules.

Etawah, July 14 :—Nar Deva Shastri was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Jhansi, July 18, 1940 :—R. V. Dhulekar, M. L. A. whip of the Congress Assembly party in U. P. and Mr. Sukhnandan Vyas, editor of the *Jansangram*, a local vernacular weekly were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Allahabad, 19-7-1940 :—Mr. Saligram Jaiswal, general secretary of the Allahabad District Congress Committee was arrested under Section 38 of the Defence of India Act.

Agra, July 17 :—The police visited the Sainik Press and in compliance with the warrant issued by the District Magistrate of Agra seized all printing machines, materials and locked the Press. The Publication of the *'Daily Sainik'* has been temporarily suspended.

Lakhimpur Kheri, July 18, 1940 :—Chandra Bhal, secretary Mandal Congress Committee, Lakhimpur and Shanti Swarup were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Muzafferpur, July 18 :—Lalit Singh of village Mohanpur was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Basti, June 29, 1940 :—Krishna Chandra was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Bulandshahr, June 30, 1490 :—Banarsi Das of Gulathi, Chairman of the Thela Union, Gulauthi, was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Jhansi, June 30, 1940 :—Bhagwati Saroopanand Gautam was arrested under the Defence of India Act. It is alleged that he delivered a speech, in front of Saroj talkies, asking people not to see the Cinema that day, as the proceeds of the day were to be contributed to the war fund.

Benares, June 30, 1940 :—Shree Narayan Agrawal was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Pilibhit, June 30, 1940 :—Mr. Ram Murti, captain, District Congress Qaumi Seva Dal, Pilibhit was arrested under the Defence of India Act in village Jamanih where he was working in a camp.

Allahabad, June 30 :—Mahadev Narain Tandon of Agra, a graduate of the Allahabad University, was arrested under the Defence of India Act. Two others arrested under the same Act are Shrikrishna Das, a post-Graduate student and Ayodhya Prasad.

Aligarh, July 4, 1940 :—Atal Moksha, General Secretary of the Aligarh District Congress Committee and Nirottam Prasad Garg were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Sultanpur, July 4, 1940 :—Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

Shahjahanpur, July 3 :—Pandit Deo Narain Bharatiya, M. L. A was arrested at his residence and Bishambhar Dayal Avasthy and Shankar Lal have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Lucknow, July 7, 1940 :—Syed Athar Mehdi, president of the Congress Committee, Jarwal was arrested at Jarwal under the Defence of India Rule.

Basti, July 9, 1940 :—Pandit Ramsujagar Sharma, the former captain of Kaumi Sevadal was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Bulandshahr, July 7, 1940 :—Kishan Sarup Bhatnagar was arrested under the Defence of India Act at his village, Bairam Nagar.

Gonda :—Lal Behari Tandon, M. L. A. and Pandit Kamla Prasad were arrested under Defence of India Act.

Barabanki :—Jai Narain Srivastava, a member of the Council of U. P. Students' Federation was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Sitapur, 7-7-40 :—Pratap Narayan, Omkar Swaroop Brahamchari and Maulana Qasim Ali have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Benares, July 20 :—Ardhandhu Kumar Mitter, a political worker was arrested with another Bengali youth under the Defence of India Act.

Barabanki, July 20 :—Ram Gopal Sushil, President of District Satyagraha Committee was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Aligarh, 26-7-40 :—Siddique Ahmad was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Act. Siddique Ahmad is a member of the U. P. Province Congress Committee.

Altgarh, 27-7-40 :—Thakur Malkhan Singh, M. L. A. was arrested and interned, under Section 129 of the Defence of India Act.

Ballia :—Sheo Pujan Singh and Jang Bahadur Singh have been arrested under the Defence of India Act in village Sukhpura of the Billia tehsil.

Sultanpur, 28-7-40 :—Swami Lakhpat Das, was convicted and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100.

Bahraich, 28-7-40 :—Saiyed Athar Mehdi was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

Mainpuri :—Pulin Behari Banerji, who was being tried under the Defence of India Act, was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50.

Farrukhabad :—Ahmad Syed has been arrested at Farrukhabad under the Defence of India Rules.

Bara Banki :—Jugul Kishore was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Gorakhpur :—Pandit Ramchandra Sharma, a member of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee, has been arrested under Section 31 of the Defence of India Rules.

Mirzapur, July 30, 1940 :—Mohanlal Gupta was arrested on July 20, 1940.

Hardoi :—Swami Swarup Nand Saraswati was arrested under Sections 124A and 155A of the I. P. C.

Lucknow, July 31, 1940 :—Dev Narain Pandey was arrested under Section 38 (a) of the Defence of India Rules.

Meerut :—Choudhery Charan Singh, M. L. A. and general secretary of the district satyagraha committee, Meerut was arrested under the Defence of India Rules. Mahashya Pyarelal was arrested under the same Act. Ram Chandra Sharma, a member of the U. P. P. C. C. has been arrested under Section 38 of the Defence of India Rules for having delivered alleged prejudicial speech.

Barabanki :—Vais Karni Ali Hasan and Bhagwat Prasad were arested just after a meeting under the Defence of India Rules.

Azamgarh :—Sahadeo Ram, a member of U. P. C. C. and Secretary, Mandal Congress Committee, Bibipur (Azamgarh) was arrested on July 24 under the Defence of India Act.

Azamgarh, 4-8-40 :—Qamaruddin, Secretary, District Congress Committee, and Mr. Sahdeo Rama have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Hathras :—Madan Lal, Secretary of the Hathras Congress Committee, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Bulandshahar, 8-8-40 :—Chaudhti Amar Singh, Secretary of the District Congress Committee was arrested on August 4 under the Defence of India Act.

Lucknow, Aug. 12 :—Damodar Swaroop Seth, a member of the U. P. P. C. C. Council and the A. I. C. C. has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

Basti, 15-8-40 :—Thakur Haribans Singh, General Secretary of the Basti District Congress Committee, was arrested under Section 129 of Defence of India Act.

Hapur, 15-8-40 :—Puranchand was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Muttra :—Brij Kishore, a peon of the Congress Committee was arrested by the criminal intelligence department, while distributing notices against forcible realisation of subscription to the war fund.

Lucknow :—Babulal Verma and Mr. Sheo Gopal Mehrotra, were arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Cawnpore, Aug. 13 :—S. S. Yusuf, Arjun Arora, Aahok Kumar Bose and Haldhar Bajpai have been arrested under the Defence of India Ordinance Rules for behaving or acting in a manner prejudicial to the safety of the country and the effective prosecution of the war.

Allahabad, Aug. 12 :—Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, one of the Secretaries of the U. P. P. C. C. and Shah Abul Faiz were arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Bulandshahar, Aug. 16 :—Durga Pershad was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Meerut, Aug. 17 :—Ganapati Sharma, Secretary of the Pilakhwa Congress Committee, Pooran Chand of Hapur, D. Narsing, Ram Das Arora, Muni Rai and Deva Dutt of Sardhana were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Allahabad, Aug. 12 :—Kedarnath Gupta, B. D. Chowdhury and Rupnarain were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Debra Dun Aug. 15 :—Sahibzada Mohamud Muzaffar, a member of the Provincial Congress Seva Dal Board, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Benares, Aug. 20 :—Satishwar Chatterjee, Suresh Das Gupta, Krishna Swami Reddi, a student of Kashi Vidyapith and Chhangur Singh were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Farrukhabad, Aug. 20 :—Sir Krishna Dutta Paliwal, President of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee was arrested at Farrukhabad for defiance of an order served on him by the City Magistrate under Section 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting him from taking part in processions and delivering speeches at public meetings for a period of two months.

Azamgarh :—Raghunath Prasad Rai, a member of the A. I. C. C. was arrested.

Unao, 22-8-40 :—Balganga Dhar Tirpathi, Ram Nath Pathak, Bal Krishna Sharma and Baldeo Das have been arrested.

Cawnpore, 24-8-40 :—Balkrishna Sharma, General Secretary of the U. P. Congress Committee, was arrested under Section 38 of the Defence of India ordinance in connection with a speech delivered by him at a meeting held in Tilak Hall on August 21 to protest against the arrest of Mr. Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal, President of the U. P. P. C. C.

Sultanpur, 25-8-40 :—Ganpat Sahai a member of the A. I. C. C. was arrested under Rule 38 of the Defence of India Rules.

Unao, 26-8-40 :—Murli Dhar Sharma, President Unao District Congress Committee was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Gorakhpur, Aug. 24 :—Jagdish Pathak, a member of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee and a Socialist has been sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for 15 months under the Defence of India Rules on a charge of having made prejudicial speeches at two meetings in the city on April 9 and on May Day.

Lucknow, Aug. 24 :—The U. P. Government have served an order on the Editor of the "National Herald" under Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules. asking him to submit for scrutiny by the Secretary, Information Department, U. P. Government, all the headlines relating to the present war, which are proposed to be published in the paper.

Azamgarh, Aug. 28 :—Mr. Uma Shanker Misra, a member of the U. P. P. C. C. was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

In the Punjab

Jullundur, June 30 :—Bhai Tara Singh and Bhai Karamsingh Isarwal, two kisan workers were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Moga, June 30 :—Baba Arur Singh, M. L. A. (Punjab), Thakur Gobiod Singh, Mr. Khesarsingh and Sardar Ujjarrsingh were arrested under Section 26 of the India Defence Rules.

Sardar Hukam Singh was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Ambala, July 3 :—S. Gulzara, Singh, has been arrested under Rule 36 of the Defence of India Rules.

Lahore, July 2 :—Dr. Satyapal M. L. A. was served with a notice by the Punjab Government, under Section 26-F of the Defence of India Act, prohibiting him from attending any public meeting or procession and making any speech.

Lahore, July 9 :—Inder Singh has been arrested under the Defence of India Act, in a village in Amritsar District.

Lahore, July 14 :—The houses of Gurdial Singh, Hakin Ram Singh, Teja Singh Shafri and Sardar Pritam Singh were searched at Rackot.

Gujranwala, July 17 :—Labhsingh, Barrister-at-Law and ex-M. I. C., Ata Mohd. Advocate, Niranjandas and Doctors Mohansingh and Giani Lalsing have been arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Jullundur, July 20 :—Chaman Lal Nakodari has been arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Amritsar, July 20 :—Autar Singh was arrested in his village in Amritsar under the Defence of India Rules.

Amritsar, July 25 :—The police have arrested Harbansingh Dundala under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Act.

Jullundur July 25 :—Pandit Moolraj Sharma was arrested from the Satyagraha training camp under Defence of India Act for delivering an alleged objectionable speech at a public meeting held here.

Jullundur, July 22 :—Bhai Ramsingh is reported to have been arrested from his village Sahungra under the Defence of India Rules.

Lahore, Aug. 3 :—Baba Kharak Singh has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules for alleged objectionable speech.

Amritsar, Aug. 4 :—Bibi Raghubir Kaur, M. L. A. has been served with a notice by the Punjab Government directing her not to take part in any meetings or processions or deliver speeches.

Prof. Ratan Lal Bhatia was arrested under the Defence of India Rules for delivering alleged objectionable speeches.

Lahore, Aug. 12 :—Moulvi Abdul Gani, President of the City Congress Committee, Ludhiana, and member of the A. I. C. C. was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Lahore, Aug. 13 :—Four persons including Dr. Madan Gopal have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules in Hissar.

Lahore, Aug. 15 :—Naraindas, office secretary of the Multan Congress Committee has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules for reciting an alleged objectionable poem at a public meeting.

Amritsar, Aus. 21 :—Hakim Sikandar Khizer, President of the Local Congress Committee has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules for an alleged objectionable speech delivered at Multan.

In Bihar

Monghyr, June 27 :—Singheshwer Prasad was arrested under the Defence of India Rules for reading an objectionable poem in Hindi at a public meeting.

Patna, July 4 :—All copies of the pamphlet entitled "The Second World War' published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India have been declared forfeited, and its further publication prohibited by the Governor of Bihar.

Monghyr, July 5 :—Maulvi Abdul Qayum, a labour leader was arrested under Section 151, Cr. P. C. C.

Faridpur, July 6 :—Rasraj Ghosh, Satkori Ghosh and Pareh Ghosh have each been sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200, in default another three months, under the Defence of India Rules.

Chapra, July 10 :—Babu Ramdahin Pandey was sentenced for ten months and fine of Rs. 300 in default to undergo six months' further imprisonment.

Gaya, 11-7-40 :—Baba Sohan Singh and Dr. Bhag Singh were arrested.

Patna, 15-7-40 :—Jogendra Shukul was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Darbhanga 26-7-40 :—Kulanand Jha Kaddik has been sentenced to undergo one year's R. I. under the Defence of India Act by the Sadar S. D. O.

Patna, 19-7-40 :—The Govt. of Bihar have proscribed the following :—

Leaflets in Bengali entitled "Chatkal Mazdur Bulletin," Bengal periodical entitled "Bolshevic (International special issue March 1940), leaflet entitled Red Front publication entitled "Struggle for Communist Unity", leaflet in Bengali entitled "Communist Pantha", pamphlet in Bengali entitled "Narider Prati Communist Partyr Awabhan", book in English entitled "England My England" by Jack Lindsay, book in Urdu entitled "Bal e-Huma", pamphlet in English entitled "Ramgarh and After", Hindi cyclostyled leaflet entitled "May Day, 1940", leaflet in Mahrathi beginning and ending respectively with the words, "Dusare Samrajyashahi Yudha Jamini tabyat ghya", leaflet in Bengali entitled "Bolshevic', and periodical in Bengali entitled "Communist Bulletin."

Patna, 23-7-40 :—Bikshu Nagarjun, a prominent Kisan worker, while about to entrain for Dinapore with a large number of anti-war leaflets, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Daltonganj, 24-7-40 :—Bhagirathi Singh, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. Suren Banerjee, office Secretary of the District Kisan Samity, Birbhum, has been served with an externment order under the D. I. R. directing him to quit the district of Birbhum immediately.

26-7-40 :—Satya Narain Sharma was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Gaya, 29-7-40 :—Rambhajan Dutt was arrested in Nayamatpur Ashram under the Defence of India Act.

Patna, Aug. 8 :—Ram Bhujhawan Sharma and Kulanand Sharma were arrested in the Patna Collectorate camp under Defence of India Act.

12 8-40 :—Abani Sen, Secretary, Wire Products Co. Workers' Union, Jamshedpur, who was externed from the provinces of Behar and Assam, has been arrested.

Patna Aug. 17 :—The *Searchlight* has been served with a notice by the Local Government under the Defence of India Rules requiring the paper to submit for scrutiny to the special press adviser, Patna for a period of three months all references whether contained in the editorial or correspondence columns or in any statement, notice, news or comment regarding the conduct of British soldiers in Behar before being published.

Patna, Aug. 21 :—Naulakh Singh was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Patna, Aug. 23 :—Gangasaran Singh a member of the A. I. C. C. was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Patna, Aug. 27 :—Ram Lakhan Singh was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

In Madras

Vizagapatam, 4-7-40 :—B. Achutaram Sarma, H. Sivaramayya and V. Sivaramayya were arrested under the Defence of India Rules and the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act, 1931 on a charge of distributing unauthorised leaflets.

Cuddalore, 5-7-40 :—R. Jagannadhan, Vice-President of the Ranipet Labour Union, was arrested under Section 38(1) of Defence of India Act of 1939.

Madras 12-7-40 :—M. Natarajan, Secretary Madras Press Labour Union, Madras Pencil Factory Workers Union and Madras Tobacco Workers Union, has been served with an order under the Defence of India Rules directing him to abstain from making any public speeches until the order is cancelled.

Bhimavaram, 9-7-40 :—Darbha Sriramamurti, Secretary, Taluk Congress Committee was arrested under Section 18 of the Press Emergency Powers Act and the Defence of India Rules.

Madras, 14-7-40 :—The office of the Madras Congress Socialist Party in Broadway was searched by the special Branch of the City Police. The police arrested T. R. Subramaniam, an Executive member of the Party and General Secretary of the Tobacco Workers' Union under the Defence of India Rules.

Madras, 15-7-40 :—M. K. Pandurangam, Secretary of the Chingleput District Congress Committee and a member of the Chingleput District Board, and Mr. M. Venkatachala Mudaliar were arrested under Section 38(5) and 39(6) of the Defence of India Act.

Madras, 15-7-40 :—Krishna Kunthu was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Ellore, 16-7-40 :—Mr. Ganapati Satyanarayana was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Madura, July 17 :—V. Ramnathan has been served with an order interning him in his native village.

Madras :—Jeevanandam has been arrested under Sec. 129, I. A. of Defence of India Act.

Madras, July 17 :—V. M. Sabapathy was arrested under the Defence of India Rules. G. Chengalvarayan and S. Chengalvarayan, both members of the Madras Press Labour Union, were also arrested.

Madura, July 24 :—Krishnakunthu and Aiyaswami, Madura, who were charged under the Defence of India Act, were convicted to undergo rigorous imprisonment for one year on two counts, the sentences to run concurrently.

In the Central Provinces

Nagpur, July 11 :—Naganlal Bagdi and Shamlal were arrested under Rule 35(5) of the Defence of India Rules.

Wardha, July 12 :—V. S. Dandekar was arrested under Section 38 of the Defence of India Act on a warrant issued by the Nagpur police.

Nagpur, July 12 :—S. Y. Kulkarni, Vice-President of the Nagpur Textile Union was arrested immediately on his return from Poona under the Defence of India Rules.

Nagpur, July 20 :—Beharilal Patel, M. L. A. has been arrested under the Defence India Rules.

Nagpur, July 25 :—Ramsingh Gaur, member of the Nagpur Nagar Congress Committee and D. J. Paranjpye have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

In Assam

Sylhet, July 29 :—Satya Chatterjee was ordered by the Govt. of Assam to leave the province.

Sylhet, July 4 :—Chittaranjan Das, Asstt. Secretary, Sylhet D. C. C. and six others were arrested at Sylhet while attempting to hold a public meeting at Govinda Park.

Sylhet, July 21 :—Kirti Choudhury was served with an order of internment in his native village at Elimpur in the district of Sylhet.

Hariram Basak and Ananta Lal De, Labour organisers, have been served with notices, under the Defence of India Rules, by the Govt. of Assam to quit the province of Assam immediately.

The District Magistrate of 24 Parganas has served a notice on M. D. Sultan Khan and Sachin Halder directing them to show cause as to why action should not be taken against them under the Defence of India Rules.

In Delhi

Delhi, Thursday :—Maulana Hifzul Rehman, member of the A. I. C. C. and Working Committee of the Jamiat-Ul-Ulema-e-Hind, was arrested from the Jamiat office under the Defence of India Act.

Aug, 24 :—Lala Shanker Lal was arrested at Calcutta under the Defence of India Rules.

In the Frontier

Peshawar, July 4 :—The Frontier Government has demanded a security of Rs. 500 to be furnished by July 8, 1940 from the Editor, the printer and the publisher of the "Rikhtinh Khudaikhidmatgar".

Peshawar, July 17 :—Seven persons of various occupations were taken into custody by the Peshawar Police yesterday for alleged prejudicial activities.

Ramsaran Nagina, joint Secretary, Peshawar Congress Committee, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules as a sequal to his writing an alleged objectionable pamphlet.

In Sind

Sukkur, July 4 :—An order under the Foreigners Act was served on Fathraj Jethmal Purohit, a resident of Jodhpur State, directing him to remove himself from British India immediately.

Karachi, Aug 4 :—Under the Defence of India Rules, the C. I. D. searched the residence of Mohd. Amin Khoso, M. L. A. and seized some literature.

Karachi, Aug 4 :—Mangat Ram, Editor was arrested under the Defence Rules.

Karachi, Aug 22 :—Sachanand Pherumal was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

An order, directing Mr. Nur Mohammad Palizo not to enter Hyderabad district for an indefinite period, was issued by the Governor and was served on Mr. Palizo.

In Orissa

Puri, July 12 :—Jagannath Misra, President of the Ganjam District Congress Committee, has been sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 200 in default 6 months' imprisonment more.

Cuttack, July 13 :—The Cuttack Police carried out simultaneous searches in the office of the Sagar Soap Works, the house of Sj. Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi, the house of Sj. Purna Chandra Mohanty and that of Sj. Ananta Charan Patnaik.

Ananta Chandra Patnaik, Baidyanath Rath, Sarat Chandra Patnik, Bijoy Chandra Das, Purna Chandra Mohanty, Durga Charan Mohanty were arrested under Section 39 of the Defence of India Rules.

Bishnupur (Bankura), July 11 :—Biswanath Mukerjee was arrested under the Defence Rules.

Cuttack, Aug 3 :—Mr. Banamali Das, ex-Secretary of the Nilgiri Praja Mandal, has been arrested by the local Police here under Sections 38 and 39 of the Defence of India Rules.

Cuttack, Aug 24 :—Mr. Bhagaban Khemundu, a member of the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee from Potangi in the district of Koraput (partially excluded area) was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

In Kerala

Calicut, July 10 :—P. Narayanan Nair, Secretary, Kerala Provincial Congress Committee and a member of the A. I. C, C. was arrested at his residence in Cochin State under the Defence of India Rules.

Calicut, July 26 :—K. P. Gopalan, Member, A. I. C. C. and newly elected Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee was arrested under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules.

Tellicherry, Aug 3 :—M. C. Joseph, Headmaster of the Elementary School, Thondiyil, Vekkalam was convicted on August 1 on three counts under the Defence of India Act, Sections 34 (6) and 38 (5) on the charge that he carried on anti-British and pro-German propaganda by explaining a map of Europe on June 19 in his class room and reading and explaining some articles in the 'Mathrubhumi' in a tea shop adjoining to his school. He was sentenced to two years rigorous under the first count and one year rigorous each under the second and third counts.

Tellicherry, Aug 4 :—Kuniyil Krishnan of Kallai, a Congress Volunteer Officer was arrested under the Defence of India Rules 38 (5) read with 38 1-a, 34 (6-d and k) and 121 for an alleged prejudicial act in connection with the demonstration on July 21 to protest against the arrests of Congressmen in Malabar.

Calicut, Aug 11 :—Sadhu Ahamad Kutti, a member of the Malabar District Board and member of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for a period of 18 months under the Defence of India Rules.

Tellicherry, Aug 4 :—O. K. Krishnan, P. K. Madhavan, Secretary of the Town Congress Committee and two others have been arrested under Sec. 38 and 39 of the D. I. R. and also under Sec. 121, I. P. C. for alleged anti-war speeches.

In Bombay

14-7-40 :—S. S. Batliwalla was rearrested immediately on his coming out of the Alipore Central Jail, Calcutta and removed to the Hijli Detention Camp.

Bombay, July 18 :—S. G. Wakankar, was arrested by the police today at his residence in Girgaum under the Defence of India Rules

31-7-40 :—N. V. Phadke of the Servants of India Society, A. P. Godiwalla and Bandu Gokhale were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Aug. 12 :—Ali Bahadur Khan, Editor of Hilal and a Congress member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

In Maharashtra

Poona, July 3 :—S. M. Joshi, Madhao Limaye and Keshao Gorey were sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50 each in default to two months' more under the Defence of India Act.

Poona, July 17 :—V. V. Sathe was arrested under Rule 38 (5) of the Defence Rules.

Poona, Aug. 12 :—An order under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules

was served on S. K. Limaye requiring him to leave the limits of the Bombay Presidency within twenty-four hours.

Poona, Aug. 13 :—Rao Sahib Patwardhan was arrested in connection with a speech alleged to have been delivered by him in the Satyagraha Camp at Indoli in the Satara District, a fortnight ago.

Poona, Aug. 27 :—U. D. Chitale, member of the A. I. C. C. was sentenced by the City Magistrate under Section 124-A, I. P. C. and Rule 36-E of the Defence of India Rules to, 1 year's rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine, in default six month's rigorous imprisonment.

In Mahakoshal

Jubbulpore, July 29 :—Jai Narain Trivedy and Sobha Ram Verma, two Congress workers of Betul have been warned by the District Magistrate, Betul, not to deliver anti-war speeches or carry on propaganda against the Government.

Jubbulpore Aug. 23 :—Kamlakar Kulkarni, a labour worker of Jubbulpore has been warned by the District Magistrate of Jubbulpore, not to deliver inflammatory or anti-Government speeches. There other Congress workers of the Saugor District have received similar warnings from the District Magistrate of Saugor.

In Tamil Nadu

Madras, August 3:—V. S. Somasundaram was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Ramnad, August 3 :—Ulaganath Kone was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Negapatam, Aug. 4 :—Arputharaj was arrested under the D. I. Rules.

Ponani, Aug. 10 :—C. P. Krishnan Nair, who was arrested at Edapat under the D. I. A. has been convicted and sentenced to 2 years' R. I. and to pay a fine of Rs. 200, in default to undergo 6 months imprisonment.

Negapatam, Aug. 18 :—Vasudeva Naidu and K. P. Nataranjan were arrested under D. I. A.

Polachi, Aug. 19 :—K. Ramaswami Goundan, and S. Sambasivam of Karur have been arrested under D. I. R. on charges of making anti-war speeches.

Meltupalaiyam, Aug. 23 :—P. Ramaswami was arrested under D. I. A.

In Baluchistan

Quetta, July 20 :—Haji Fakir Mahomed, Vice-President of Loralia District Anjuman-e-Watan, was arrested for spreading false war rumours.

Quetta, July 13 :—Arbeb Abdul Qadir, President of the Quetta branch of Anjuman-i-Watan and son of Khan Bahadur Arbab Karam Khan, a former Minister of Kalat State has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules for delivering speech at Loralai.

The All India Congress Committee

Bombay—15th. and 16th. September, 1940

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held on September 15 and 16, 1940 in the East India Cotton Association hall, Bombay. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. 192 members were present.

MINUTES

The Minutes of the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Poona on July 27, 28 were confirmed.

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Before commencing the proceedings the president made a statement reviewing the course of events since the Poona meeting of the A. I. C. C. Following is the summary of his statement:

During the last six weeks after our last meeting at Poona in July, events have moved rapidly. Our country cannot remain unaffected by these events.

We must look at these events against the background of our own fight for our freedom. The decision we have arrived at today is the result of careful consideration and review of events that have taken place during the last twelve months. We had taken a certain decision at Delhi in the first week of July and confirmed it at Poona at the meeting of this body. We then thought that it would prove final but events during the last six weeks have proved otherwise.

As far as I am concerned the decision we took at Ramgarh in March last was in my mind, nearly three months earlier. Long before I was elected President of the Congress, I had come to the conclusion that the British Government had left no alternative for us but to take the next step. I had indicated this immediately after this election, and had also written to Mahatma Gandhi about the matter.

As days passed and events moved fast, new problems arose but at every stage I kept Mahatma Gandhi informed of my reactions. I did this because I was convinced that any struggle we may have to start will have to be led by Mahatma Gandhi. Till the end of June, I was of opinion that we should take a forward step without losing time. But a sudden turn in the war situation made me revise my opinion and we decided that we should give the British Government one more chance to revise their policy regarding India. This, naturally, led to the Delhi resolution as confirmed by the Poona meeting of the All India Congress Committee. At the time some members criticised us as being anxious to compromise with the British Government on the main issue and thus avoid trouble. But those friends have proved false prophets. This will be evident from the resolution which Pandit Jawaharlal will shortly move. It may be of interest to members to know that the very people, particularly Mr. Rajagopalachariar, who were responsible for the Poona decision were the first to scrap that decision. The offer Britain has made through the Viceroy is not worth looking at. These events made us decide to again request Mahatma Gandhi to assume the active leadership of the Congress. I am glad to inform you that he has agreed to do this as now there is no difference whatsoever between him and the Working Committee.

The Delhi resolution was a great obstacle in his way. The offer contained in it having been rejected there was no reason why he should not assume the leadership of the Congress.

I must take this opportunity to make it clear that there was nowhere any intention to discard non-violence; only we did not feel sure if we would be able to meet every internal and external emergency without resort to force. At the same time it was our desire to build the future of this country on the firm basis of non-violence and give the world a new ideal.

Now that Britain has rejected all the offers made by the Congress we have only one thing left to do and that is to non-co-operate in every way with the war effort.

Resolution

The following resolution as recommended by the Working Committee was then formally moved by Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Vallabhbhai Patel. They made no speeches leaving it to Mahatma Gandhi to explain to the Committee the implications of the resolution :—

ON SATYAGRAHA

"The All India Congress Committee has given its careful attention to the events that have taken place since its last meeting held in Poona on July 27, 1940 and to the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Wardha in August last. The Committee approves of and endorses these resolutions.

"In order to end the deadlock in India and to promote the national cause, in co-operation with the British people, the Working Committee, even at the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi's co-operation, made a proposal to the British Government in their Delhi resolution of July 7, which was subsequently approved by the A. I. C. C. at Poona. This proposal was rejected by the British Government in a manner which left no doubt that they had no intention to recognise India's independence, and would, if they could, continue to hold this country indefinitely in bondage for British exploitation. This decision of the British Government shows that they will impose their will upon India, and their recent policy has further shown that they will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion in condemnation of their associating India in the war against Germany, against the will of a vast body of the people of India, and of exploiting her national resources and men-power for this purpose.

"The A. I. C. C. cannot submit to a policy which is a denial of India's natural right to freedom, which suppresses the free expression of public opinion and which would lead to the degradation of her people and their continued enslavement. By following this policy the British Government have created an intolerable situation, and are imposing upon the Congress a struggle for the preservation of the honour and the elementary rights of the people. The Congress is pledged under Gandhiji's leadership to non-violence for the vindication of India's freedom. At this grave crisis in the movement for national freedom, the All India Congress Committee, therefore, requests him to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. The Delhi resolution, confirmed by the A. I. C. C. at Poona, which prevented him from so doing, no longer applies. It has lapsed.

"The A. I. C. C. sympathise with the British people as well as the people of all other countries involved in the War Congressmen cannot withhold their admiration for the bravery and endurance shown by the British nation in the face of danger and peril. They can have no ill-will against them, and the spirit of Satyagraha forbids the Congress from doing any thing with a view to embarrass them. But this self-imposed restraint cannot be taken to the extent of self-extinction. The Congress must insist on the fullest freedom to pursue its policy, based on non-violence. The Congress has, however, no desire at the present moment to extend non-violent resistance, should this become necessary, beyond what is required for the preservation of the liberties of the people.

"In view of certain misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the Congress policy of non-violence, the A. I. C. C. desire to state this afresh, and to make it clear that this policy continues, notwithstanding anything contained in previous resolutions which may have led to these misapprehensions. This Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India. The Committee is convinced, and recent world events have demonstrated, that complete world disarmament is necessary, and the establishment of a new and juster political and economic order, if the world is not to be destroy itself and revert to barbarism. A free India will therefore throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world. Such lead will inevitably depend on external factors and internal conditions, but the State would do its utmost to give effect to this policy of disarmament. Effective disarmament and the establishment of world peace by the ending of national wars, depend ultimately on the removal of the causes of wars and national conflicts. These causes must be rooted out by the ending of the domination of one country over another and the exploitation of one people or group by another. To that end India will peacefully labour, and it is with this objective in view that the people of India desire to attain the status of a free and independent nation. Such freedom will be the prelude to the close association with other countries within a comity of free nations for the peace and progress of the world".

GANDHIJI'S SPEECH

The President requested Gandhiji to address the meeting. The following is the summary in English of his speech delivered in Hindustani :—

I had requested the President to allow me to speak on this resolution before any discussion on it took place so that I may be able to give you my views on it. During the last 50 years I had often taken upon myself very grave responsibilities; but I feel that the present responsibility you have entrusted me with is the gravest. Naturally therefore I have to pause and think. I have to consider also how far I can feel confident. I do not know what will be the result. I also don't know if I will be able to reach the goal that I have in mind.

There are many things that make me fear, but there is no doubt in my mind about the path that I must follow. I have always worked with faith in my mission. Once I take up the responsibility, no fear can keep me back.

Let me compare myself to the captain of a ship. He may think as much as he likes before he starts on his voyage, but once he has set sail there is no retreat for him until the destination is reached and the task performed, no matter what the danger be.

At the same time, I must also remind you of my limitations. I am not the same person I was 20 years ago. I have not that strength and energy to undertake a tour of the country which I could in the past. The Congress also has changed during these years. There is new blood in it. Recently I asked the Working Committee to relieve me of the responsibility of guiding the Congress.

If I cannot carry you with me with your whole heart in the task before us it is better for both parties to part company and pursue our own respective paths. If that be the case, even today I would ask you to reject this resolution and I assure you that I will not be sorry if you do so nor will the Working Committee be sorry.

For the past 20 years we have been asking people to be completely non-violent. In 1920, when we started the first non-co-operation movement it was on the issue of Khilafat and the Punjab atrocities. There were friends then, who were surprised at not finding any mention of Swaraj. I had no objection to add that also. But I believed that if we could get the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs righted, we could also win our freedom.

The Congress offered to co-operate in war effort. It would have been easy for the Government to have accepted this offer of co-operation. To make this offer Congress had gone to the extent of abandoning the ideal of non-violence in respect of internal disorder and external aggression. But even this offer was rejected.

It will be wrong to judge the strength of the Congress by its registered membership. The Congress is not a Hindu organisation. There was nothing to prevent Muslims from capturing the Congress in the Punjab, Bengal and Sind. For the matter of that they could do so even in minority provinces. The doors of the Congress are open to every Indian who subscribes to the Congress ideal, who subscribes to the congress ideal of freedom for India, and works for it.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is here not because he has brought in a large contingent of Muslims but in his own right as an Indian, and you know what influence he commands not over the Working Committee alone but also over me. Then there are the Khan Brothers. What can be common between us except our intense desire to free our motherland from bondage and to serve its teeming millions ? The Muslims are in crores. But the Congress belongs to Parsees as much as to Muslims even though they are only a hundred thousand. It equally belongs to Harijans whom we Hindus in our folly regard as untouchables. I will ask every Hindu to quit the Congress if he is under the wrong impression that the Congress is a Hindu organization.

The Congress is a democratic organisation and those who accuse it of Fascist tendencies are totally wrong. As the Congress believes in non-violence, there can be no question of Fascism, Nazism or Imperialism. We believe that for doing work that we have before us we must be able to carry with us even the smallest minorities in this country. If we do not do this, it will be possible for that minority, however small it may be, to hamper our progress by following the same methods that the Congress has been following. The Congress does not want to rule by its majority. Its object is to serve the whole country. Its membership is regularly growing, and so is its strength. It is not because of its majority but because it pursues the clear path of truth and non-violence.

While considering this resolution, you must bear in mind the great responsibility that rests on you. I am the captain of the ship and like all captains I must have the complete confidence and trust of every member of the crew. Otherwise, the ship may be wrecked. In that case not only those on board will be drowned but the whole country will have to suffer on their account.

I may tell you that this time I am not anxious to go to jail. Of course, it is open to the government to lock me up any time they like, but for the present I have no idea of defying the law, unless I am compelled to do so.

You may be interested to know that the resolution before you have been drafted by me. Of course, Jawaharlal, the Congress draftsman, has touched it up. The resolution declares that we will follow non-violence not only for attaining our freedom but even after its attainment we will try as far as possible to run the Government by non-violent methods.

When the Congress takes up administration you must remember it is not only the Congress mind that works. The Parliament of this country that we visualize will be composed of all groups. We have already declared that we will have adult franchise. The resolution further declares that we cannot co-operate with the Government because we do not believe in violence.

I wish to make it clear that we do not wish ill to Britain. We do not want her to be defeated. But in her present struggle she cannot expect any help from the Congress. At the time when Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle, we do not want to embarrass the Government. A satyagrahi does not believe in taking advantage of the weakness of his opponent. Whatever we have to achieve we will achieve through our own strength and that is why we have said that we do not want to embarrass Britain.

The Congress claims for itself the freedom to protect civil liberty in this country. We must have the right to state freely what we feel about the war. How can the Government claim that India is with the British Government ? They have committed the greatest blunder by declaring that India is with them, without even consulting the autonomous provinces. When they did this, we realized the hollowness of so-called provincial autonomy. That was why the Congress Ministries resigned.

We have waited with patience for a year and I believe that thereby we have grown in strength. At least personally I have. Our last offer was the greatest concession that we could make. What we wanted was not power for the Congress but freedom for India. Instead, they have made the Viceroy master of 300 million people. Who can tolerate such a state of affairs ? Why this autocratic power to one man ? I have nothing personally against the Viceroy. He is my friend. But we must have complete freedom to say what we feel about the war. We must give expression to whatever is necessary to maintain our existence. We are not now asking for our freedom. How can we ask for freedom from people whose own freedom is at present in danger ?

I must say with great respect that I am not afraid either of Germany, Italy or Japan. A Satyagrahi knows no fear. I do not wish the defeat of British. I wish them well. I admire their courage but I must tell them that if I am so impotent as not to be able to protect myself the moment they leave this country, then I have no right to desire to be free.

It is a most barbarous manner in which the war is being carried on. We cannot be expected to join this carnage. I wish them all good. If my voice could reach them, I would tell them all, why they can not come together and live peacefully. After all, they all belong to the family of European nations.

This war is not for the conquest of India. As long as there is a single true Congressman in this country, he will continue to declare that this country belongs to Indians and it will always belong to Indians. If I have to face any aggressor I will court death as a true Satyagrahi with a smile on my face. I will bear no ill-will against the aggressor. When I read about the bombing of Saint Paul's it pains me as much as the bombing or destruction of a mosque or a Kashi temple. There is so much of tradition and art associated with Saint Paul's and I cannot understand the madness of Germans in trying to damage it.

I do not feel that even the fall of London or of England will mean the defeat of the British people. They have a vast Empire and they will try to defend it from distant parts like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. But Britain's difficulty cannot make India give up the path that it has to follow. I believe that India has a lesson to give to the whole world.

You have made me once more responsible for guiding the Congress. It may mean civil disobedience or non-co-operation, but for the present I cannot tell you what I will do. I am myself in the dark. Remember that you are accepting the leadership of a man who is himself groping in the dark. There are friends who suspect that there is room for a compromise in this resolution. I want to tell them plainly that there is enough room for a compromise in this. I will go to the Viceroy with this resolution and ask him if the present situation is not such as will lead to the extinction of the Congress. We must have the right to say what we feel about the war, provided we stick to our policy of non-violence. The Government can arrest those who preach violence. We do not want to keep silent in a manner which will mean our political suicide. India is not a small country. If it can attain freedom through non-violence, it will give a message to the world, and the nations of Europe which are now engaged in a most ruthless and barbarous war can learn a great lesson from our country. While admiring their courage and their genius for destruction we must tell them that they have taken leave of their senses. India has got something to teach them. I can tell Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Churchill that the right way is not to keep themselves engaged in this barbarous war of destruction but to use their knowledge and wisdom for human happiness and peace.

I cannot tell you what you will have to do. But I can tell you what you will not have to do. Today there is no question of mass civil disobedience. There may be—I am not sure—individual civil disobedience. I may also tell you that I am still thinking of something but I have not yet seen the light. If I see it, as I hope to do, I shall place it before you, but if I fail I will go to the Maulana Saheb if he is out of jail and admit my failure. If he is in jail I may meet him there even. I shall certainly render an account to you. I want you to pray to

God to give me sufficient strength and courage and also wisdom to bear the great responsibility that you are going to place on my shoulders.

The following is the full text of the speech delivered in English by Mahatma Gandhi :

I know that you have listened to me with the greatest patience. I am specially grateful to you today, for the simple reason that I have said many things which may have displeased you. It was never my intention to displease those whom I want to harness for the great work that lies before you and before me. I have to speak to you at length because I have to shoulder this burden. I have not come with a prepared speech at all. The thoughts will come as I proceed.

Let me begin with a thought which has been weighting with me for a considerable time. When the war broke out and I went to Simla to see the Viceroy, I issued a statement the next day, not in a representative but in my individual capacity. A friend has now reminded me how good it would have been if I had simply hung on to that statement, although I could not take the Congress with me ; and on the eve of my shouldering this responsibility, he prayed that I should be guided by God to take up that original position and retire. I have very great regard for him. I have not forgotten that statement, nor have I any regret or apology to offer. If such a thing occurs—and history often repeats itself—and I happen to go to another Viceroy, I should make the same statement.

Although I spoke only for myself, deep down in me there was the Congressman speaking. The Viceroy also did not send for me because I was M. K. Gandhi. M. K. Gandhi has absolutely no place in his books. The man who wields the sceptre can have no room for individuals. He sent for me because he thought I would represent the Congress view and I would be able to carry conviction to Congressmen. I withdrew from that position, not as an individual but as a Congressman, and because I failed to carry conviction even to a single Congressman.

Happily you have got on the Working Committee men with sterling honesty who had the courage to tell me that, although it was my statement, they did not feel like accepting it. They added that they had had bitter experience behind them and that therefore they would not be able to take that position. Thus you had the resolution that was passed by the Congress immediately after the war. And I agreed with the resolution as a representative, although I said to them that, if I could carry conviction, my original position was the best possible one to take up. If I had pressed the members of the Working Committee to accept my position they would have done so, but it would have been only mechanical. The statement was not made to deceive the Viceroy or, for the matter of that, a single soul. It came straight from the heart. It was not a theatrical display. It was the opening up of the secret recesses of the heart before the world, the Viceroy and the Congress. If these words of mine could not find an echo in their hearts they would have been of no use whatsoever to the Viceroy, to the great English nation or to India. That still remains my sentiment. If I could not convince the Congress of my attitude it would not carry us further. It would have been a wrong step to take, and hence it was not taken. With that background I approach this resolution.

I have made repeated statements that I would not be guilty of embarrassing the British people or the British Government when their very existence hangs in the balance, that I would not be true to my 'Satyagraha', would not be true to non-violence, would not be true to the truth which I hold dear if I did so, and therefore could not do so. That very man now stands before you to shoulder the burden of 'Satyagrah'. Why ? There comes a time when a man in his weakness mistakes vice for virtue, and virtue itself when taken away from its context and from the purpose for which it was dedicated becomes vice. I felt that if I did not go to the assistance of the Congress and take the helm even if it be in fear and trembling, I would be untrue to myself.

I feel that in taking the step that we are doing we are rendering a great service not only to the Congress but to the whole of India. And we are rendering a service not only to the whole of India. History will record—and Englishmen will be able to grasp this statement some day—that we rendered help to the English nation, and they will find that we were true to our salt and had the same bravery and fearlessness of which the Englishman is proud and for which he is renowned. I who claim to be a fast friend of the British people, will be guilty of unfriendly conduct if, under a false sense of modesty, or because people may think otherwise about me, or because Englishmen themselves will be angry with me, I do not issue a warning that the virtue of self-restraint now becomes vice, because it will kill the Congress organisation and it will kill the very spirit which is exercising this restraint.

When I say this, I am speaking not only for the Congress but for all who stand for national freedom, Muslims, Parsis, Christians and even those who are against the Congress so long as they represent the aspiration of India, namely, unadulterated Independence. I should be untrue to all of them, if at this time I said, "No embarrassment to the British". I must not repeat parrot-like "No embarrassment". Then that repetition would be just as useful for my salvation or for the guarding of my virtue as the repetition by a parrot of God's name which cannot bring him salvation, because it is only a mechanical and vocal effort without any intelligence behind it. Therefore, if I exercise that self-suppression at this critical moment in the history of the nation it would be useless. I should be perfectly untrue to myself if I hid myself in Sevagram and said, "No, I have told you 'No embarrassment".

The language of this resolution is in the main mine. I appealed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I used to be the Congress draftsman. Now he has taken my place. He saw it was inevitable, if we were to be true to non-violent resistance to the extent to which we wanted to go. And the Working Committee has accepted this phrasecology deliberately, well knowing its implications. The result is this : If we can get a declaration from the British Government that the Congress can carry on anti-war propaganda, and preach non-co-operation with the Government in their war effort, we will not have Civil Disobedience.

I do not want England to be defeated or humiliated. It hurts me to find St. Paul's Cathedral damaged. It hurts me as much as I would be hurt, if I heard that Kashi Vishvanath temple or the Juma Masjid was damaged. I would like to defend both the Kashi Vishvanath temple and Juma Masjid and even St. Paul's with my life, but would not take a single life for their defe nce. That is my fundamental difference with the British people. My sympathy is there with them nevertheless. Let there be no mistake on the part of Englishmen, Congressmen or others, whom my voice reaches, as to where my sympathy lies. It is not because I love the British nation and hate the German. I do not think that the Germans as a nation are any worse than the English or the Italians are any worse. We are all tarred with the same brush ; we are all members of the vast human family. I decline to draw any distinction. I cannot claim any superiority for Indians. We have the same virtues and the same vices. Humanity is not divided into water-tight compartments so that we cannot go from one room to another. They may occupy one thousand rooms, but they are all related to one another. I would not say, 'India should be all in all ; let the whole world perish'. That is not my message. India should be all in all consistently with the well-being of other nations of the world. I can keep India intact and its freedom also intact only if I have good-will towards the whole of the human family, not merely for the human family which inhabits this little spot of the earth called India. It is big enough compared to other smaller nations, but what is India in the wide world or in the Universe ?

Let there be no mistake as to what I am about. I want my individuality to remain unimpaired. If I lose it I would be of no service to India, much less to the British people, still less to humanity. My individual liberty is the same as the nation's, convertible with national liberty. I do not claim any greater liberty for myself. Hence my liberty is equal to the liberty of all of you and no greater. I feel that if my liberty is at stake yours is also at stake. I claim the liberty of going through the streets of Bombay and say that I shall have nothing to do with this war, because I do not believe in this war and in this fratricide that is going on in Europe. I admire the bravery. But what is the use of this bravery ? I deplore the foolishness and the crass ignorance. These people do not know what they are fighting for. That is how I look at this war that is going on across the seas. I cannot possibly take part in it. Nor do I want the Congress to do so.

The part that I would like to take is the part of peace-maker. If the British people in their wisdom had recognised the Independence not of the Congress but of all India and if other parties in India had also co-operated with us, we would have taken the honourable place of peace-makers between these nations. Such is my ambition. But today I know that it is a day-dream. But sometimes a man lives in his day-dreams. I live in mine and picture the world as full of good human beings—not goody goody human beings. In the Socialist's language there will be a new structure of Society, a new order of things. I am also aspiring after a new order of things that will astonish the world. If you try to dream these day-dreams you will also feel exalted as I do.

And now I come to our tin-pot Congress—tin-pot in the estimation of others,

not my own. If we do not take care the Congress will disappear, and if the Congress disappears the national spirit disappears. One after another Congressmen are being selected and jailed. It is not Satyagraha to watch people being taken away. It is much better for all of us to rush into the jaws of the opponent. After all, as the Maulana Saheb once said, India is a vast prison. Let us get out of this slave prison by breaking the prison bars. He said to the Sikhs at the time of the Nankana Sahab tragedy : "You may protect one Gurdwara ; but what about the vast Gurdwara that is India. We have to deliver it from bondage." Those words ring true even today in my ears. If this liberty of the nation or the movement for freedom is likely to be choked, then I say that the virtue of self-restraint is going to become a vice. That virtue of restraint cannot be carried to the extent of the extinction of the national spirit wherever it may reside whether among Congressmen or non-Congressmen.

I do not want to hurl Civil Disobedience or anything in the face of Government without making my meaning clear, the meaning I attach to the sum total of Government actions—actions beginning with the declaration of the Viceroy, the statement of the Secretary of State for India and the series of actions and the policy that the Government have pursued since. The sum total of all these has left an indelible impression on my mind that there is something wrong, some injustice being perpetrated against the whole nation and that the voice of freedom is about to be stifled. This is implied in the resolution, not in the exact language which I am using now but you will see the meaning clear as day-light.

In order completely to clarify our position, I propose to approach the Viceroy with a request that he will be good enough to see me, and I have no doubt that he will. I will place my difficulties before him ; I will place the Congress difficulties before him. I will approach him in your name. I will tell him that this is the position to which we have been reduced. We do not want to embarrass you and deflect you from your purpose in regard to war effort. We go our way, and you go yours, undeterred, the common ground being non-violence. If we carry the people with us, there will be no war effort on the part of our people. If, on the other hand, without your using any but moral pressure you find that the people help the war-effort, we can have no cause for grumbling. If you get assistance from the Princes, from the Zemindars, from anybody high or low, you can have it ; but let our voice also be heard. If you accept my proposal it will be eminently honourable, it will certainly be a feather in your cap. It will be honourable of you, although you are engaged in a life and death struggle that you have given us this liberty. It will be honourable of you that you take this great step, although you have limitless powers to choke our voice, and that you give us the fullest possible freedom, consistently with the observance of non-violence, to tell the people of India not to join the war effort.

Let the people use any reasoning they like for refusal to help the war-effort. My reasoning is the only one which will sit well on Congressmen's lips. But I do not expect all to restrict themselves to that reasoning. Those who have conscientious objections, as I have, will adopt my reasoning. Those who are tired of British imperialism will use that argument. There may be others who will have other arguments. All these should be covered under this freedom of speech, provided, however, that they all accept non-violence, provided also that what they say is said openly and not secretly. These are the implications of my generalship. If these do not satisfy you, you must reject this resolution summarily. So long as you can preach non-co-operation with war effort in men and money, there should be no Civil Disobedience. But if you have not that liberty there is no swaraj but perpetual bondage. I would like the British people and the Viceroy to be able to tell the world that they have given the leaders of the Indian people liberty to preach to their people what they like. The British can then say to the world ; "Judge us by our conduct. Here in India, we are playing the game."

I do not mind the British not responding to the Delhi resolution. They may say "At the present moment we cannot interfere with the management of affairs as they stand. Deliverance will come to you in its own time. At this critical juncture, do not worry us". I will understand that argument. I will sympathise with it. I will hold my hand so long as there is no fraud or falsity in what they say. It is impossible for them to give us freedom. If freedom has got to come it must be obtained by our own internal strength, by our closing our ranks, by unity between all sections of the community. It is made of much sterner stuff. It cannot descend from heaven, nor can it be given as a gift from one nation to another. I do not know whether I am representing the feelings of the members of the Working

Committee, because I have not discussed it with them. But you have to take me with all my limitations, with the workings of my mind.

The Viceroy may say, "You are a visionary". I may fail in my mission, but we will not quarrel. If he says he is helpless, I will not feel helpless. I will make good my position. I cannot sit still when I see Ram Manohar Lohia and Jai Prakash Narain in jail, than whom I do not know braver or straighter men. They have not preached violence but simply carried out the behests of the Ramgarh resolution. It was a point of honour with them.

I have restrained myself, and will restrain myself. I will not seek imprisonment. I do not want to offer Civil Disobedience. I will not place myself in peril. In this battle, I will not expose myself to imprisonment. But if the Government chooses, it will not be difficult to take me away. I will not be able to seal my lips or restrain my pen. It will be difficult for them to keep me in prison, not because India will rise in rebellion. India will be wrong if it does so. My own instinct is that they will not be able to keep me in jail.

I will place my argument before the Viceroy. I may fail in my mission. But I have never approached a mission in despair. I may have approached it with the consciousness that I may be faced with a blind wall. But I have often penetrated blind walls. I shall approach the Viceroy in the confidence and hope that he will understand the great reasonableness of the request of the Congress for full liberty to preach 'no-war' in India. Everyone should have perfect liberty to preach by pen and tongue ; "We cannot aid imperialism ; we cannot help spoliation."

I shall strain every nerve to avoid Satyagraha in your name. What shape it will take, when it comes, I do not know. But I know that there will be no mass civil disobedience, because mass civil disobedience is not required for this occasion. I have impenetrable darkness before me regarding the future course of action. I have no mysteries. I do not know how I shall lead you, what action I shall put before you. I hope that any action that we may take will be worthy of the Congress traditions and of the occasion.

I have often said that I do not know the Congress mind, as I have buried myself in Sevagram. It is because of the Congress difficulty that I have dragged myself to Bombay and immediately I am released from this duty you will find me in Sevagram. But I have got strength and resourcefulness enough to lead this battle, although I am buried in Sevagram. I shall do better and clearer, remaining in Sevagram than anywhere else, simply because I have built up there an atmosphere for my growth. With the march of time my body must decay but, I hope, not my wisdom. I seem to see things more clearly with the advance of age. It may be self-deception but there is no hypocrisy. Self-deception is good sometimes in that it helps one to remain cheerful and not to give way to despair. It will be, therefore, wrong of you to drag me from Sevagram ; and I promise that I shall give a good account of my stewardship.

There are many parties in the Congress. We are not all of the same opinion. There is indiscipline in the Congress. I know it is inevitable in a mass organisation, which is growing from day to day. If it is all indiscipline and no discipline the organisation is on the downward path. Let it not be said of you that you come to the Congress although you do not believe in non-violence. How can you possibly sign the Congress pledge with violence in your breasts. I want complete obedience to the policy of non-violence. While the policy lasts it is the same as though it was a creed for so long as it holds good it is as good as a creed. My creed holds me for life ; yours so long as you hold it. Resign from the Congress, and you are free from it. Let us be clear regarding the language we use and the thoughts we nurture. For what is language but the expression of your thought. Let your thought be accurate and truthful and you will hasten the advent of Swaraj even if the whole world is against you. You will have won Swaraj without having to spend nine million pounds a day or without burning a single home. If you are true to your policy I am sure without doing any of these things you will build up the majestic edifice of freedom.

Now for the violence party. Do not mix up the methods if you can help it. You have restrained yourselves for some years. Restrain yourselves for some more years. Ours is not a small battle. If you restrain yourselves you will lose nothing.

Freedom of speech and pen is the foundation of Swaraj. If the foundation stone is in danger, you have to exert the whole of your might in order to defend that single stone. May God help you.

After Gandhiji had finished followed a general discussion. At the end of the discussion Gandhiji again made the following speech in Hindustani :—

I am not yet your captain. I will be one when you have passed this resolution. You know that I am not even a member of the Congress. I am here only on sufferance of the Maulana Saheb and the Working Committee. Yesterday Maulana Saheb was good enough to permit me to address you. He said then that I had told you all I wanted to convey to you but I told him that the A. I. C. C. may pass the resolution and may appoint me its leader. I must, in that case, have the opportunity to know well those I am going to captain. I must know the opinions of my soldiers. Although today is my day of silence, I came here to watch the proceedings so that I may have an opportunity to understand you.

I cannot give you the definition of 'Swaraj'. I have not been able to find one. I want to know it from anyone who claims to have found a comprehensive and satisfactory definition of 'Swaraj', Though I cannot give you such a definition, I have coined many words for expressing my ideas, but I have not been able to do this in respect of Swaraj. However, I have given you in this resolution the basis of Swaraj. If you hold fast to it, your desire will be fulfilled. It is that the right of freedom of speech and civil liberty must be available to everyone.

That is the root and the foundation stone of Swaraj. You must, therefore, hold fast to it. If there is no right of free speech and civil liberty, then Swaraj is well-nigh impossible. If you had understood this simple fact, you would not have entered into such lengthy discussions. If we are able to secure the right of free speech either by compromise or, failing which, by fight, it will be good. We must have the right to say what we want to say. No one can thrive if there is no freedom of speech. Personal liberty, religious liberty, every other liberty is included in our conception of Swaraj. A free citizen must have the right to propagate what he thinks right provided he does not preach violence.

That is our present demand. This is not the time to ask for our independence. It is beyond the power of the British Government to confer it on us by merely saying that India is independent. India can become independent only if she can hold her own when the British go out. We must have inherent strength in us to resist any foreign aggressor. We must have the capacity to preserve our independence. How can the British people give us independence when their own independence is at stake ? Our demand is for freedom of speech, but simply because the British people are engaged in a war for their very existence they canot curtail our freedom. I have placed before you a concrete proposition. When you wage a fight, you have to do it for something concrete and tangible.

That is my way of the struggle. If you merely say that you are fighting for independence, there is no meaning. We must take up this clear issue, namely, that we are fighting to obtain the right to say what we like—liberty of speech. In the beginning I thought it was a small matter but I have pondered over it and have come to the conclusion that it is an issue of very great importance. If I can get this thing, I get the key to Swaraj.

I do not want you to pass this resolution to oblige me. It must be done of your free will. It is only then I will have the necessary sanction behind me. Today, by passing this resolution, you will all become soldiers of an army—an army of action. Everyone should strictly follow the orders of his general. We must base our fight on non-violence. We are going to fight the empire, which believes in violence. If we give up non-violence and resort to violence, we will perish.

All these years I have been trying to prepare you for this. But you are not ready. This is not my fault. However I can only fight with material at my disposal. The key to mass civil disobedience must be in my hands. I know when to start mass civil disobedience and I would ask you to leave the matter in my hands.

Of the six amendments moved two were withdrawn by the movers and the rest were voted upon and defeated by an overwhelming majority. The main resolution was then voted upon and passed, only seven members voting against it.

The Working Committee Proceedings
Bombay—13th. to 17th. September, 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Bombay from the 13th to 17th Sept. 1940. The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (President), Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajagopalachariar, Shankerrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chanda Ghosh, Syed Mahmood, Asafali and J. B. Kripalani.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Shris Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Dr. Khan Saheb, Harekrushna Mehtab and Vijayalaxmi Pandit were present by special invitation. Gandhiji was present throughout.

MINUTES

The Minutes of the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Wardha on August 18-23, 1940 were confirmed.

SATYAGRAHA

The resolution on 'Satyagraha' was passed by the Working Committee to be placed before the A. I. C. C. (For the text of the resolution see proceedings of the A. I. C. C.

ACCOUNTS

(*a*) *Budget* : The budget for the year 1939-40 was passed.

(*b*) Resolve that the additional estimate for the roofing of Swaraj Bhawan Hall amounting to Rs. 1,193 be sanctioned.

The following two resolutions were passed by the Committee :

SUSPENSION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

In view of the resolution just passed by the A. I. C. C. (given above) the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organisations to stop all Civil Disobedience individual or other pending definite instructions from Gandhiji. He regards this suspension as indispensable for his forthcoming interview with H. E. the Viceroy and as a test of the discipline of registered and unregistered Congressmen and all congress-minded men and women, and also as a short course of obedience to law before recourse to Civil Disobedience should it become necessary.

KERALA AFFAIRS

Dr. Subbarayan and Sjt. R. K. L. Nandkeolyar, Inspector, A. I. C. C. Office, are to inquire into the complaints of indiscipline etc. brought against K. P. C. C. and of its members, more especially the question as to how the recent ban on processions and meetings in that province came to be defied and whether the defiance was directly or indirectly countenanced by the Committee or its members and the disturbances that took place at the meetings on the 15th inst. They are also to report what action if any should be taken to ensure disciplined running of the Congress organisation in the Province. They should report to the Working Committee within a fortnight from the date hereof. The officials of the K. P. C. C. be requested to let Dr. Subbarayan and Sjt. Nandkeolyar have access to the office and records and produce such papers and witnesses as they may require and afford them all the necessary assistance.

ANJUMAN-I-WATAN, QUETTA (BALUCHISTAN)

The Committee considered letters received from the Office of Anjuman-i-Watan, Quetta, Baluchistan. The Anjuman-i-Watan expressed a desire to be converted into a Congress Committee and affiliated to the Indian National Congress. The Committee welcomed this desire of the Anjuman-i- Watan but decided that for the present, in view of the special circumstances prevailing in the country, only friendly contacts be established with them (Anjuman-i-Watan). The A. I. C. C. Circulars and bulletins may be sent to them and they be asked to send special delegates to the annual session of the Congress and the A. I. C. C. meetings.

LOCAL BOARDS

At the conference of the Secretaries and Presidents of the P. C. Cs and ex-Ministers held on September 17, 1940 in Bombay the question was raised as to what action should be taken against Congress members or Congress parties in local bodies who fail to carry out the Congress policy with regard to war. The Working Committee decided that the Provincial Congress Committees should, in the event of individuals and parties not carrying out the Congress policy about war, call upon them to resign from such bodies.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT BOARDS

In the same Conference (of Presidents and Secretaries and ex-Ministers) the question was also raised as to the action to be taken by Congress members of rural development Boards and other such mixed bodies composed of Congressmen and officials, on whom pressure was brought to help in realising contributions for war

fund etc. The Working Committee was of the opinion that those who could not follow the Congress policy with regard to war by remaining on these boards, should resign.

FUNDS CONNECTED WITH WAR EFFORT

The Working Committee decided that no contribution be made by Congressmen to any fund whatsoever connected with war.

VOLUNTEERS' BOARD

It was decided that in view of the A. I. C. C. resolution and the resolution of the Working Committee on the stopping of all civil disobedience, individual or other pending Gandhiji's instructions to the contrary, the Volunteers' Board should confine its work to the collecting of material with a view to suggest uniformity of rules, drill and uniform etc. for the guidance of all volunteer organisations throughout India. The Board will not issue any instructions to the P. C. Cs in connection with the volunteer organisation for the present.

ARTICLE X G (i)

Article X G (i) of the Congress Constitution lays down that "Each district shall be entitled to elect not more than one delegate for each lac of its population provided that for every delegate to be elected, there are not less than 500 primary members enrolled during the year." Interpreting this clause the Working Committee laid down that 500 primary members enrolled in a constituency during the year, even though not satisfying the condition laid down in Article VII (a) can entitle a constituency to send one delegate.

Clause (a) of Article VII lays down: No member shall be entitled to exercise his vote at any election unless he has been continuously on a Congress register for 12 months prior to the date of the election and only on production of a certificate of membership.

The Working Committee Proceedings

Wardha—11th. to 13th. October. 1940

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from the 11th to 13th Oct. 1940. The members present were Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (President), Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajagopalachariar, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Jamnalal Bajaj, Shankerrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Asafali and J. B, Kripalani.

Gandhiji was present throughout. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Harekrushna Mehtab and T. Prakasam were present by special invitation.

MINUTES

The Minutes of the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Bombay on September 13-17, 1940 were confirmed.

The following resolutions were passed:

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

The Working Committee met at Gandhiji's instance and listened to an account of his talks with the Viceroy and the plan of campaign in so far as he has been able to envisage it. The Working Committee approve of what he has done and repeat the instructions given to Congressmen and Congress Committees by the A. I. C. C. at its last meeting in Bombay that they would give him the fullest co-operation possible in all he may require or expect them to do.

WAZIRISTAN MISSION

The Working Committee have considered the report of Messrs. Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali. The Committee regret that the Government of India have prevented them from visiting Waziristan on a good-will mission from the people of India. The Committee further regret and are surprised at their being prevented from visiting even Bannu city which is part of the regularly administered Province. This action of the Government confirms the impression that the British authorities are not desirous of encouraging or permitting the development of friendly relations between the people of India and the trans-border peoples. The Committees are convinced that the policy so far followed by the Government on the Frontier is

wrong and harmful and has completely failed. The people of India will gladly develop friendly contracts with the trans-border tribes and thus put an end to a conflict which is harmful to both. Whilst unfortunately the mission has been unable to reach Waziristan and to explore the possibilities of rendering such aid in social and economic spheres as was possible, the Working Committee assures the Waziris and the other trans-border tribes that their effort in this direction will continue.

KERALA

The Working Committee considered the report presented by Dr. Subbaroyan and Shri R. K. L. Nandkeolyar upon the affairs of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee. In view of the circumstances reported, the Working Committee appoint—1. Shri R. K. L. Nandkeolyar, 2. Shri M. P. Govindan Menon, 3. Shri G. K. Govindan Nair to take charge of the Kerala P. C. C. and carry on the work of the province till further instructions. This Committee of three shall exercise all the function of the Kerala P. C. C.

INDIAN STATES

A sub-committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai and J. B. Kripalani was appointed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Wardha in April last 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. The Working Committee considered the following recommendations of the sub-committee and adopted them :

The general rule to be followed is to ensure, as far as possible that the delegates' seats allotted to a province, on account of the populations of the Indian States attached to the Province, should be reserved for the people of such States, and should not be allotted to others. In the event of a sufficient number of Congress members not being made in the States concerned or from these states, these seats, or such of them as may be found necessary will not be filled. For the purpose of this calculation, states members of the Congress will be either those who belong to a Congress Committee within the states, or those who while residing in or connected with the States concerned, join as primary members of a Congress Committee situated in a non-state area but adjoining the State. In order to distinguish the latter class of congress members, a separate register of States members should be kept in the adjoining Congress Committee situated outside the confines of the state.

Keeping the above principle in view, a P. C. C. may allot delegates for the States' peoples' seats, either to a Congress Committee where such exists in a State or to the adjoining districts adjoining the States, provided that such delegates' seats shall only be filled if there are a sufficient number of primary members in or from the states. In no event will such seats be allotted to areas where there are no states' peoples.

The above principle cannot be strictly or easily applied to small states and to states areas which are closely interwoven with non-state territories. Certain variations will have to be made in such cases, otherwise these small state areas may be completely disfranchised and neglected. Therefore in the final allotment of seats based on States population, this fact has to be borne in mind and provided for.

In accordance with the general rule laid down above and keeping in view the considerations mentioned, the P. C. Cs are called upon to allot States' delegates' seats in their areas and to send these recommendations to the A. I. C. C. Office for confirmation.

M. N. ROY'S APPEAL

Considered the appeal of Shri M. N. Roy from the disciplinary action taken against him by the Council of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee and resolved that the Working Committee fully approve of the decision and the grounds on which it is based ; but in view of the request of Shri M. N. Roy contained in his letter to the Secretary of the U. P. P. C. C. dated September 26, 1940, that he may be allowed to resign from the Congress, this Committee recommends to the Council of the U. P. P. C. C. to accept his resignation.

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS & SECRETARIES

A Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees and Congress Ex-Ministers was held in Bombay on September 17, 1940,

at the instance of the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The President in his opening remarks explained the situation as arising from the resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee on Satyagraha and the assumption of leadership by Gandhiji. He enjoined upon all Congress and Congress Committees strict obedience to the instructions issued by Gandhiji and the Working Committee from time to time. The Secretaries and Presidents then gave a brief account of the state of Congress organisation in their respective provinces and their special problems. The President and the General Secretary dealt with some of the points raised leaving the rest to be considered by Gandhiji and the Working Committee.

General Secretary's Circulars

Circular No. 18, Bombay, 19th. Sept. '40

I am sending you herewith copies of two resolutions passed by the last meetings of the all India Congress Committee and the Working Committee, held in Bombay. The A. I. C. C. resolution is to be read along with the two resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Wardha August last. These resolutions are given in the A. I. C. C. Bulletin No. 4.

You were personally present at the Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C. You know that the resolution adopted by that body was drafted by Gandhiji. He delivered two speeches in the A. I. C. C. meeting explaining and supporting the resolution. It can therefore be best understood in the light of these speeches reported in all the papers. An authoritative version of the speeches will be found in the next issue of the Harijan.

The first thing to be noted is that the Bombay resolution puts an end to the Delhi resolution of the Working Committee endorsed by the Poona meeting of the A.I.C.C. 'It no longer applies.' This has cleared the way for Gandhiji to resume the leadership of the Congress.

The next thing is the reaffirmation by the Congress of its basic policy of non-violence in spite of any misapprehension that might have been created by any previous resolution. The present resolution lays down that 'This Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also so far as this may be possible of application in a free India'. Translating it in terms of internal and international politics, the resolution declares that "a free India will therefore throw all her weight in favour of world disarmament and should herself be prepared to give a lead in this to the world. Such lead will inevitably depend upon external factors and internal conditions but the State would do its utmost to give effect to this policy of disarmament."

The resolution further describes how the latest offer of the Congress to co-operate honourably with the British Government in the prosecution of the war war rejected. It was rejected "in a manner which left no doubt that the British Government had no intention to recognize independence and would if they could, continue to hold this country indefinitely in bondage for British exploitation". Proceeding, the resolution says that the recent policy of the Government has further shown that they will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion in condemnation of their associating India in the War against Germany, against the will of the vast body of the people of India. Expression of free opinion when it is non-violent is the very breath of a nation's life. Submission to the suppression of such free opinion would spell ruin for the Congress and for the nation. Therefore in spite of our admiration for the brave resistance of the British people and our desire not to embarrass them at this critical juncture, we cannot carry our long and self-imposed restraint to the point of national extinction. The Congress therefore "must insist on the fullest freedom to pursue its policy." But this policy for the present will not go "beyond what is required for the preservation of the liberties of the people".

The present struggle is therefore confined to the issue of the *free expression of Indian opinion on the forcible participation of India in the War*. The issue is restricted but the right of free and non-violent expression of opinion as Gandhiji explained is the basic and essential condition of democratic freedom. Historically too all freedom struggles in the past were waged primarily over the issue of free expression of opinion.

Let nobody, opponent or friend, Congressman or non-Congressman, be deceived by the narrowing of the issue or by the restraint of language employed in the

resolution. The narrowness of issue is only apparent. The restraint is characteristic of Gandhiji's strength and determination. Let therefore all Congressmen keep ready for the time when the call is given by Gandhiji.

One thing more which though not mentioned in the resolution must be remembered by all Congressmen. This was mentioned by Gandhiji in his two historic speeches. It is that at the present juncture, for various reasons which Gandhiji explained, what is contemplated is individual as distinguished from mass civil disobedience. The method and manner of its organisation will be given by Gandhiji at the proper time. We must therefore wait in patience for his instructions. But it must not be forgotten that this individual civil disobedience will progressively embrace and include all active Congressmen in urban and rural areas.

To create the proper atmosphere for the working of the A. I. C. C. resolution the Working Committee passed the second resolution attached herewith which suspends all civil disobedience 'individual or other pending definite instructions from Gandhiji'.

Both the resolutions must be translated in the provincial language or languages as the case may be. Meetings are to be organised to explain to the public the full implications of the resolutions passed. These meetings must be addressed by select speakers and the speech must be confined to the matter of the resolutions. There should be no all provincial Days or processions or hartals. In no case must the explanation of the resolution be made an occasion to develop anti-recruitment and anti-war contribution propaganda. As Gandhiji explained this restraint is necessary for the forthcoming interview between him and the Viceroy. He approaches the interview with his usual optimism and faith in human nature. It behoves us to show the same faith. By doing so we shall lighten the heavy burden that rests upon the Leader.

The period of preparation must be utilised in intensifying the constructive programme. As the Gandhi Jayanti is near at hand Congressmen and Congress organisations must help the A. I. Spinners' Association in its effort towards the popularisation and disposal of Khadi. The extent to which this is done will be a fair indication of our preparedness for the coming struggle if unfortunately it is imposed upon us.

Circular No. 19—Allahabad—15th. Oct. '40 :—

The Constitution requires that for the purpose of Congress elections, the province be divided into fixed territorial constituencies. You must have divided your province last year in such constituencies. Complaints having been received about the unfair distribution of the delegates seats in the Indian States attached to the provinces the Working Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to look into the matter and make its recommendations. The Sub-Committee's recommendations were placed before the last meeting of the Working Committee and accepted by them. The recommendations are sent herewith. You will please take in hand immediately the rearranging of the Indian States' seats according to these recommendations.

The rearranging of the Indian States' seats may necessitate the reshuffling of the constituencies throughout the province. Where this is necessary it may be done. Also last year complaints were received that the distribution of constituencies in several provinces had not been fair. You will please, therefore, if necessary, redistribute the province in fixed constituencies and send us a rough map of your province making the new constituencies. This map with the constituencies marked should be pasted on the notice board in your office and objections to the arrangements made invited. Such objections should be forwarded to us with your explanation, if any.

This work of fixing the constituencies must be done as early as possible and the necessary report sent to the A. I. C. C. Office.

Circular No. 20—Allahabad—19th. Oct. '40 :—

I am sending you herewith copy of the statement issued by Gandhiji on the eve of starting the present Civil Disobedience Movement. It is necessary that this statement be translated in the provincial languages and distributed broadcast. All its implications must be explained for the guidance of Congressmen and the public.

A few things on which Gandhiji lays emphasis are to be particularly noted. He wants the ordinary everyday work of the Congress to go on. Special emphasis is to be laid on the constructive programme. According to him there is a close and

organic connection between the constructive programme and the Civil Disobedience movement. They are the two facets of the one non-violent fight. He believes that those who are faithfully carrying out the constructive programme are not only rendering help to Civil Resistance but in a way are participating in it. No one who has not worked the constructive programme including spinning and khadi will be regarded as qualified to be a Civil Resister. The constructive programme must therefore be pushed forward with enthusiasm and vigour.

The last date for the enrolment of primary members is approaching. Reports from various provinces show that this time there has been for various reasons, a little slackness in the work of enrolling members. During the days that remain every effort should be made to increase the congress membership.

The other thing to be specially noted is that so far as war resistance goes it is confined to particular individual or individuals, selected by Gandhiji from time to time. The rest of the army are not required to break the law. They may not, unless called upon, exercise for the time being their undoubted right to advise the public against direct or indirect participation in the present war effort. This is the self-restraint that we have to impose upon ourselves for the progressive working and the ultimate success of the movement which will have started before this letter reaches you. This restraint however does not include opposition to illegal and forcible participation in the war effort. It is the right, nay the duty of every citizen to refuse and advise refusal of all illegal demands. Indeed the Government have admitted this right.

You will please keep the head office informed through periodical reports about the progress of constructive and other work in your province.

I am also sending you herewifh a copy of Shri Vinoba Bhave's statement that he made on the eve of his offering himself for Satyagraha. This also may be translated in the Provincial language and distributed.

Circular No. 21—Allahabad—21st. Oct. '40 :—

You know Shri Vinoba commenced Satyagraha on the morning of the 17th by delivering an anti-war speech in the village of Paunar where he resides. Paunar is about 5 miles from Wardha. The meeting was therefore attended not only by the villagers, but also the members of the various national institutions at Wardha. Among those present were Shris Kishorilal Mashroowala, Jamnalal Bajaj and Mahadeo Desai.

One of the possibilities open to the authorities to stop Satyagraha, was to declare the meeting at Paunar illegal. If this was done Gandhiji's instuctions were Shri Vinoba would ask such of the audience as were not prepared to break the law and court imprisonment to withdraw from the meeting. After their withdrawal he would address the prohibited meeting. This would naturally turn individual into collective civil disobedience. For such an emergency Gandhiji had made provision. In his first statement he said: "In spite of all attempt to confine Civil Disobedience to individuals and for the moment to one only, they (the Government) can precipitate a crisis by making it a crime to listen to him (Shri Vinoba) or read anything written by him."

However neither was the meeting prohibited nor was Shri Vinoba arrested. Instead the press throughout India was warned against giving publicity to Vinoba's speeches or announcing his activities and programme. It is believed that this will leave him isolated. No reports of his first or his subsequent speeches have, therefore, been reported in the papers. The cryptic notices of his activities wired out by the news agencies are misleading. One such message says that Shri Vinoba emphasised the constructive programme as if that was the main burden of his speeches. At Paunar he spoke for full one hour. The constructive programme was mentioned only at the end. Almost the whole of his speech was devoted to the theme of non-participation by India in the present war. He emphasised equally the two points of view of the out and out believers in non-violence and those who object to this war on the ground that it is an imperialist war in which India has been dragged without her consent.

I would, therefore, request you to warn Congressmen and the public against drawing any adverse conclusions about the progress of Satyagraha from the reports appearing in the daily press.

Gandhiji is devising ways and means to counter this move of the Government. It is hoped that soon it would be possible to send you correct reports of what is happening. Till then you will advise Congressmen to carry on the usual work of the Congress, emphasising the constructive programme, in the belief that our

Leader will leave no stone unturned to spread the movement he has inaugurated after much prayerful waiting and deliberation.

From Paunar Shri Vinoba has been moving from village to village on foot addressing previously arranged meetings. The authorities are kept informed about his programme and movements. The latest report is that he has been arrested today at 4 A.M. and brought to Wardha. His trial begins at 11 A.M. today.

The next step will be decided upon by Gandhiji soon. You may learn of it before this reaches you.

Gandhi-Viceroy Interviews and Correspondence

In his speeches at the Bombay meeting of the All India Congress Committee, Gandhiji expressed his intention of seeking an interview with the Viceroy with a view to discussing the situation covered by the resolution on 'Satyagraha'. Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy on the 18th Sep. asking for an interview. The Viceroy in his reply expressed his readiness to meet Gandhiji. An interview was fixed for September 27. The interview lasted for three and a half hours. There was a second interview on September 30. The outcome of two interviews is embodied in the following correspondence that passed between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy.

VICEROY'S LETTER—SIMLA—30TH. SEPT. '40

I think it will be convenient if I record very briefly in writing the origin of the talks we have had on the 27th and 30th September and their outcome.

As you will remember, you wrote to me on the 18th September to ask that I should grant you an interview, and you explained in your letter that you were anxious to discuss the situation covered by the recent resolution of the All India Congress Committee not only in your capacity as guide of the Congress but as personal friend. I was, I need not say, most ready to talk things over with you, and we have now had the advantage of two conversations.

In the course of these conversations the situation has been exhaustively discussed, with particular reference to the question of free speech in time of war. On that matter, while professing yourself most anxious to avoid in any way embarrassing His Majesty's Government in the prosecution of the war, you made it clear to me that you regarded it as essential that the Indian National Congress and other members of the public should be in a position to give full expression to their views in relation to war effort provided only that such expression was fully non-violent. I indicated to you the nature of the special treatment laid down by law in the United Kingdom for dealing with conscientious objectors, which I may broadly describe as an arrangement under which, while the conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of endeavouring to persuade others, whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort. You made it clear to me that you would not regard treatment of that nature as adequate in the conditions of India, and that you regarded it as essential that in india, where in your judgment conditions were wholly different from those existing in Great Britain, the Indian objector, either to all war as such, or to the participation of India in the present war, should be untrammelled in the expression of his views. It emerged further from our conversation that while you would not yourself preach to workers engaged on war work at the actual works, in the endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment, you would regard it as essential that it should be open to Congressmen and non-Congressmen alike to deliver addresses and otherwise to call upon people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way which would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

I listened with the utmost care and attention to your argument, and our examination of the situation has been full and close. I felt bound, however, in the outcome to make it clear to you that action such as you suggest would certainly amount not only to the inhibition of India's war affort, but to that embarrassment of Great Britain in the prosecution of the war which the Congress state that they are anxious to avoid; and that would clearly not be possible in the interests of India herself, more particularly at this most critical juncture in the war, to acquiesce in the interference with war effort which would be involved in freedom of speech so wide as that for which you had asked.

GANDHIJI'S REPLY

I have your letter of even date.

It fairly sets forth the Congress position as I placed it before you. It is a matter of deep regret to me that the Government have not been able to appreciate the Congress position, meant just to satisfy the bare requirements of the people, whether Congressmen or others, who felt a conscientious objection to helping a war to which they were never invited and which they regard, so far as they are concerned, as one for saving the imperialism of which India is the greatest victim. Their objection is just as conscientious as mine as a war resister. I cannot claim greater freedom for my conscience than for that of those I have named.

As I made it plain in the course of our talks, the Congress is as much opposed to victory for Nazism as any Britisher can be. But their objection cannot be carried to the extent of their participation in the war. And since you and the Secretary of State for India have declared that the whole of India is voluntarily helping the war effort, it becomes necessary to make clear that the vast majority of the people of India are not interested in it. They make no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy that rules India. Had His Majesty's Government recognised the freedom required in the special condition of India, they would have justified the claim that they were receiving from India only such effort as they could voluntarily. The war party and the no-war party would have been placed on an equal footing so far as each worked fully non-violently.

As to the last paragraph of your letter, I wish to remind you that it was never contemplated to carry non-embarrassment to the point of self-extinction or, in other words stopping all national activities which were designed to make India peace-minded and show that India's participation could not benefit anyone, not excluding Great Britain. Indeed, I hold that if India were left free to make her choice, which freedom of speech implied, India would probably have turned the scales in favour of Britain and true liberty by the moral prestige which Britain would have then gained.

I must, therefore, repeat that the Congress does still want to refrain from embarrassing the British Government in their war effort. But it is impossible for the Congress to make of the policy a fetish by denying its creed at this critical period in the history of mankind. If the Congress had to die, it should do so in the act of proclaiming its faith. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on the single issue of freedom of speech. But I shall hug the hope that it will be possible for the Government to work out their policy in the spirit of the Congress position.

I should like to touch upon the other points I raised in our talks. But for fear of burdening this reply, I refrain. I shall hope to make a public statement on them as early as I can.

In conclusion, let me thank you publicly for the great courtesy and patience with which you listened to my very long statement and argument. And though our ways seem to diverge for the moment, our personal friendship will, as you have kindly said at the time of saying farewell, bear the strain of divergence.

As arranged, I am handing our correspondence to the press for publication.

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENTS—1ST.—2ND. OCT. '40

Mahatma Gandhi issued the following statements :

Satyagrahis will not be impatient with me and argue with me or with themselves and say 'When will you give the word ? You have had your interview with the Viceroy. You have got what many of us had told you would get'. Your telling me this or that mattered little. The attempt was worth making. I had told you that even if I did not get what I wanted from the Viceroy I would bring from Simla added strength for myself. Who knows that to have added strength is not better than weak success ? But my wisdom will be tested by the manner in which I use the strength.

The Maulana Saheb has called the Working Committee for the eleventh instant. I hope I shall be ready then with my plan of action. But whatever it is, it will be good only if it carried with it the united will of all Congressmen if not the whole nation. Then the visible action even of one man will be enough for the purpose intended. Meanwhile, please remember that there is to be no civil disobedience, direct or indirect. Any breach of this will weaken the cause because it will unnerve your general who is susceptible to the slightest indiscipline. A general in action has no strength but what is given to him by his people.

2ND. STATEMENT—3RD. OCT. '40

It is my firm conviction that British statesmen have failed to do the right thing when it was easy to do it. If India is wholly in favour of participation in the war, they could have easily disregarded any hostile propaganda. But the determination to gag free expression of opinion, provided it was not in the least tainted with violence, shatters Britain's claim that India's participation is voluntary. Had the Congress proposal been accepted, such aid as Britain would have got from India would have been an asset of inestimable value, The non-violent party would have played an effective part for honourable peace when the proper time for it was in sight, as it must be some day.

I have been shown the Times' comment on the breach. I accept the compliment about my resourcefulness. But great as I believe it to be, I own that it has its limitations. There must be willingness on the other side. I regret to have to say I wholly missed it at the interview. The Viceroy was all courtesy but he was unbending and believed in the correctness of his judgment and as usual had no faith in that of nationalist India. The Britisher is showing extraordinary bravery on the battle-field in a marvellous manner. But he lacks bravery to take risks in the moral domain. I often wonder whether the latter has any place in the British politics.

3RD. STATEMENT—5TH. OCT. '40

In the correspondence between H. E. the Victory and myself announcing the breakdown in the talks, I have said in my letter that I would make a public statement covering matters not referred to in my letter.

Before I do so I think it is necessary for my purpose to say a few words regarding Lord Linlithgow. He is straight in his talk and always deliberate and economical in his language. He is never equivocal, never leaves you in doubt as to his meaning. He conveys the most unpalatable decisions with a calmness and courtesy which for the moment make you think that you have heard no harsh or hard decision. He listens to your argument with a patience and attention I have never known any other Viceroy of high functionary to show in an equal measure. He is never ruffled and never discourteous.

With all this however, he is not to be easily moved from his position. He meets you with his decision on the matter under discussion already made. He takes care not to let you think that it is so. But there is no doubt about it that his decision is unchangeable. He is not receptive. He has amazing confidence in the correctness of his judgment. He does not believe in a gentleman's or any other agreement. I have always felt that after the Gandhi-Irwin pact, British satraps decided that there should be no more pacts. Whatever they wanted to do, they should do independently. It shows either a high sense of justice or boundless self-assurance. I think it is the latter. He and I have become friends never to be parted, be the differences between us as great as they can be.

Holding such an opinion about the Viceroy it pains me to have to relate what I must of my impression of the talks which have ended in a divergence which, in my opinion, was wholly avoidable, Acceptance of my proposal would have been no less beneficial to England than to India.

I went to Simla in the capacity of a representative and as a friend. As a friend, I presented him with my doubts as to certain acts of the British Government. To have them dissolved was necessary to enable me to determine my mental attitude which to me is more than any visible act. I felt that the putting up by the Viceroy and the then Secretary of State of want of agreement by the Congress with the princes, the Muslim League and even the scheduled classes as a barrier to the British recognition of India's right to freedom was more than unjust to the Congress and the Indian people.

I told the Viceroy that these three represented class or communal interests, whereas the Congress represented no particular class. It was a purely national organisation striving to represent India as a whole. And therefore, the Congress had always maintained that it would abide by the verdict of a national assembly elected on the basis of the broadest franchise. It had further declared its intention to abide by the vote of the separate Muslim electorate so far as special Muslim rights were concerned. Therefore it was wrong to speak as if Muslim rights needed special safe-guards as against the Congress. The same thing applied to the Sikhs.

The princes of the present day were a creation of the British Government to subserve the British interest. As against the plea that the British were bound by

special treaty obligations I contended that the Congress did not ask the British Government to disregard them. Only they could not be used to bar Indian progress and it was wholly wrong to expect the Congress to produce an agreement with them. The princes were not like other parties free to conclude any agreement with the Congress even if they wished. Moreover the treaties, if they oblige the British Government to protect the princes, equally compel them to protect the rights of the people. But it has been abundantly proved that the British had rarely interfered with the princes purely on behalf of the people. If they had been as careful of the peoples' rights, as they were bound by treaties to be, the peoples' condition would not have been as miserable as it is today. Had they been true to the treaties of their own making, the people of the States in India should be more advanced than those of British India. I cited some telling illustration of this neglect of duty.

The introduction of the scheduled classes in the controversy has made the unreality of the case of the British Government doubly unreal. They know that these are the special care of the Congress and that the Congress is infinitely more capable of guiding their interests than the British Government. Moreover the scheduled classes are divided into as many castes as the caste Hindu society. No single schedule class member could possibly and truthfully represent the innumerable castes among them.

I had sought the interview with the Viceroy to see if my interpretation of the British argument had any flaw. I failed to get any satisfaction on the points raised. The Viceroy would not be drawn into a discussion. I can have no grievance about this disinclination to enter into any argument. He had every right to rely upon the fact that was a matter of high policy not admitting of argument.

There is a certain cold reserve about the British official world which gives them their strength and isolation from surroundings and facts. They do not want to be too frank. They politely refuse to enter into an embarrassing argument. They leave you to draw what in inferences you like while they continue to maintain their inflexible attitude. I suppose that is what is meant by the steel frame. For me this side of the British policy has been the least attractive. I had hoped against the warning of friends that I must be able to break through this steel wall of reserve and get at the naked truth. But the imperialist Britisher is firmly fixed in his saddle. Nevertheless I will not accept defeat.

I must strive to have the truth admitted by the British people that the bar to India's freedom lies not in the Congress or any other party's inability to produce an agreement which is in its nature impossible, but that it undoubtedly lies in the British disinclination to do the obviously right thing.

The unreality of the British reasons for refusal to treat India as a free country was not my only grouse. I drew the Viceroy's attention to certain irregularities in the prosecution of the war policy.

There was agreement between us that there should be no compulsion as to war contribution. He has promised to examine all cases of hardship and all other difficulties.

My purpose was to leave no ground for misunderstanding and to fight, if there was to be a fight, only on well-defined issues and without bitterness. I want to enter upon the fight with the hope that its very fairness will compel the recognition that India deserves better treatment, not merely from the British but from all the nations on the earth.

Lest it might be said that the Congress fights because it has failed to get power, I told his Excellency the Viceroy in the plainest words possible that the Congress had no desire to mount to power at the expense of a sigle national interest. It seeks no power save for the whole nation.

He will therefore, have no opposition from the Congress if he forms a cabinet composed of representatives of different parties. The Congress would be content to be in opposition so far as the war effort is concerned and so long as the Government machinery has to subserve imperialist ends.

The immediate issue is not independence. The immediate issue is the right to exist, that is, the right of self-expression which, broadly put, means free speech. This the Congress wants not merely for itself but for all, the only restraint being complete observance of non-violence. I hold that the condition answers all the difficulties by whomsoever raised.

4TH. STATEMENT

I have had three days' discussion with the Working Committee. During it, I unfolded my plan of civil disobedience in so far as I was able to envisage it.

Although I have sole charge of the campaign, I could not think of taking the first step without consultation with the members of the Working Committee. In non-violent action one has to carry the co-workers with one, through the mind and the heart. There is no other way to enforce discipline or obedience to instructions. I must admit that it was not plain sailing for me. There was stubborn dissent from two members. I tried hard to carry conviction to them but I fear I failed. They will, however, yield to obedience so far as it is possible for them for the sake of discipline. The difference of opinion solely centred round the quantity of civil disobedience and the restrictions with which it was hedged.

I disclose this part of the discussion to show that my plan will fall short of the expectations of those whom the dissenters represent. I would simply say to them : Wait patiently and see what happens. Carry out instructions to the best of your ability. Do nothing to thwart the plan. If your reason rebels against it you will serve the cause by seceding and educating the people along your own lines. That would be straight, brave and stimulating in that the people will learn to appraise the value of different methods. You will cause confusion by preaching from the Congress platform anything contrary to the official programme, especially when the whole organisation becomes like an army. It matters little whether one person offers civil disobedience or many. The rest have to render such support as they may be called upon to do.

The plan is simply this. Direct action will be commenced by Sri Vinoba Bhave and for the time being confined to him only. And since it is to be confined to individual civil disobedience and that too of him only, it will be so conducted by him as to exclude others directly or indirectly. But since it is concerned with freedom of speech, the public will be involved to an extent. It is open to them either to listen to him or not. But much will depend upon what the Government wish to do. In spite of all attempt to confine civil disobedience to individuals and for the moment to one only, they can precipitate a crisis by making it a crime to listen to him or read anything written by him. But I think and believe that they do not want to invite any trouble though they hold themselves in readiness to cope with every trouble that may face them.

I have discussed with Shri Vinoba various plans so as to avoid all unnecessary friction or risks. The idea is to make all action as strictly non-violent as is humanly possible. One man's violence, veiled or open, cannot go beyond a certain limit, but within that limit it would be effective. One man's non-violent action would be despised and ridiculed by the non-believer in it. In truth while the effect of a given violent action can be reduced to mathematical terms, that of non-violent action defies all calculation and has been known to falsify many that have been hazarded. How far I shall be able to present an example of unadulterated non-violence remains to be seen.

Who is Vinoba Bhave and why has he been selected ?

He is an under-graduate having left college after my return to India in 1916. He is a Sanskrit scholar. He joined the Ashram almost at its inception. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And practically at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before, he walked into it without notice. I had forgotten that he was due to arrive that day. He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialised as very few have. He believes in universal spinning being the central activity which will remove the poverty in the villages and put life into their deadness. Being a born teacher, he has been of the utmost assistance to Asha Devi in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts.

Shri Vinoba has produced a text book taking spinning as the handicraft. It is original in conception. He has made scoffers realise that spinning is the handicraft par excellence which lends itself to being effectively used for basic education. He has revolutionised takli spinning and drawn out its hitherto unknown possibilities. For perfect spinning probably he has no rival in all India.

He has abolished every trace of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity with the same passion that I have. In order to know the best mind of Islam he gave one year to the study of the Quran in the original. He therefore learnt Arabic. He found the study necessary for cultivating a living contact with the Muslims living in his neighbourhood.

He has an army of disciples and workers who would rise to any sacrifice at his bidding. He is responsible for producing a young man who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers. Though an utter stranger to medicine, this worker has by singular devotion mastered the method of treatment of lepers and is now running several clinics for their care. Hundreds owe their cure to his labours. He has now published a hand book in Marathi for the treatment of lepers. Vinoba was for years the director of the Mahila Ashram in Wardha. His devotion to the cause of Daridranarayan took him first to a village near Wardha and now he has gone still further and lives in Paunar, five miles from Wardha from where he has established contact with villagers through the disciples he has trained.

He believes in the necessity of the political independence of India. He is an accurate student of History. But he believes that real independence of the villagers is impossible without the constructive progarmme of which 'khadi' is the centre. He believes that 'Charkha' is the most suitable outward symbol of non-violence which has become an integral part of his life. He has taken an active part in the previous Satyagraha campaigns. He has never been in the limelight on the political platform. With many co-workers, he believes that silent constructive work with civil disobedience in the background is far more effective than the already heavily crowded political platform. And he thoroughly believes that non-violent resistance is impossible without a heart-belief in and practice of constructive work.

Vinoba is an out and out war resister. But he respects equally with his own the conscience of those who whilst not being out and out war resisters have yet strong conscientious objection to participation in the present war. Though Vinoba represents both the types, I may want to select another who will represent only one type, namely, conscientious objection to participation in the present war.

It was necessary to introduce Vinoba at length to the public in order to justify my choice. This will perhaps be the last civil disobedience struggle which I shall have conducted. Naturally I would want it to be as flawless as it can be. Moreover, the Congress has declared that it will avoid all avoidable embarrassment to the Government consistently with its own existence. For that reason too, I had to strive to produce the highest quality irrespective of quantity.

But Vinoba must fail as I must if we do not represent the Congress, let alone the whole nation. And we shall certainly not represent either if they do not give us full-hearted co-operation which is ceaseless prosecution of the constructive programme. It is not vocal co-operation that is required. It is co-operation in work that is needed. The signs of such co-operation will be phenomenal progress in spinning, complete disapperance of untouchability and increasing sense of justice in every walk of life. Unless rock bottom justice and equity pervade society, surely there is no non-violent atmosphere. Above all, there should be no civil disobedience but what is sanctioned by me. This is a peremptory obligation binding on every Congressman. If it is disregarded, there is no co-operation.

The representative character belonging to Vinoba and me is then challenged. and I can say with confidence that if the full-hearted co-operation I want is forthcoming, not only will the issue of freedom of speech be decided in our favour but we shall have gone very near independence. Let those who will, take me at my word. They will have lost nothing and will find that they had had contributed greatly to the movement of freedom through truthful and non-violent means.

Let me repeat the issue. On the surface, it is incredibly narrow—the right to preach against war as war or participation in the present war. Both are matters of conscience for those who hold either view. Both are substantial rights. Their exercise can do no harm to the British if their pretension that to all intents and purposes India is an independent country is at all true. If India is very much a dependency in fact, as it is in law, whatever the British get from India can never be regarded as voluntary, it must be regarded as impressed. This battle of life and death cannot be won by impressed levies however large. They may win if they have the moral backing of an India truly regarded as free.

Non-violent Congress cannot wish ill to Britain. Nor can it help her through arms, since it seeks to gain her own freedom, not through arms but through unadulterated non-violence. And the Congress vanishes if, at the crucial moment, it suppresses itself for fear of consequences or otherwise by ceasing to preach non-violence through non-violent means. So when we probe the issue deep enough we discover that it is a matter of life and death for us. If we vindicate that

right all is well with us. If we do not, all is lost. We cannot then win Swaraj through non-violent means.

I know that India has not one mind. There is a part of India that is war minded and will learn the art of war through helping the British. The Congress has no desire therefore to surround ammunition factories or barracks and prevent people from doing what they like. We want to tell the people of India that if they will win Swaraj through non-violent means, they may not co-operate militarily with Britain in the prosecution of the war.

This right of preaching against participation in the war is being denied to us and we have to fight against the denial. Therefore while that right will be exercised only by those whom I may select for the purpose all the other activities of the Congress will continue as before unless the Government interfere with them.

A question has been asked why, if I attach so much importance to quality, I do not offer civil resistance myself. I have already said that unlike as on previous occasions I do not wish to do so for the very good reason that my imprisonment is likely to cause greater embarrassment to the authorities than anything else the Congress can do. I want also to remain outside to cope with any contingency that may arise. My going to jail may be interpreted as a general invitation to all Congressmen to follow suit. They will not easily distinguish between my act and speech. Lastly I do not know how things will shape. I myself do not know the next step. I do not know the Government plan. I am a man of faith. My reliance is solely on God. One step is enough for me. The next He will make clear to me when the time for it comes. And who knows that I shall not be an instrument for bringing about peace not only between Britain and India but also between the warring nations of the earth. This last wish will not be taken for vanity by those who believe that my faith is not a sham but a reality greater than the fact that I am penning these lines.

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 the United Provinces

Lucknow, Aug. 28 :—Ajit Kumar Ghosh and H. K. Dutt have been arrested under the defence of India Rules.

Deoband, Aug. 29 :—Thakur Mukand Singh, Vaid, has been arrested under the Defence of India Act, Rule 38, for an alleged objectionable speech.

Gorakhpur, Aug. 29 :—Ram Prasad, Acting Secretary of the Gorakhpur Dist. Congress Committee has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules for delivering an alleged objectionable speech.

Allahabad, Aug. 29 :—Mohammad Zakaria arrested sometime back under the Defence of India Rules died on August 28 at the Colvin Hospital where he was operated upon for appendicitis.

Cawnpore, Aug. 30 :—Ram Singh, Captain of the City Congress Volunteer Corps, was arrested at Tilak Hall for breach of the Government order issued under Rules 58 of the defence of India Rules.

Bara Banki :—Ram Gopal Sushil, Jai Narain Srivastava and Jugul Kishore were sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment, each under the Defence of India Rules.

Lakhimpur :—Ram Autar Sharma has been sentenced to 15 months' rigorous imprisonment under the Defence of India Rules. Jumna Prasad and Mangali Lal have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Moradabad :—Girish Behari Mathur was arrested on August 28, under the Defence of India Rules.

Saharanpur :—Ajit Prasad Jain, M.L.A. was arrested on August 27 in the court compound under a warrant issued under the Defence of India Act.

Agra :—Siaram and Dip Chand of village Chulhaolion, who were charged with alleged distribution of a leaflet containing the resolution of the executive council of the U. P. C. C. defining the attitude of Congressmen vis-a-vis the involuntary collection of war funds, were sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment each by the sub-divisional magistrate of Etmadpur.

Naini Tal :—Saraf Athar Ali and Dr. Aginhotri have been interned under Section 129 of Defence of India Rules in the Naini Tal jail.

Allahabad, Aug. 31 :—Jagdish Prasad, Asstt. Camp Director of the Quami Seva Dal Instructors' Training Camp and Ram Dulare were arrested under Section

58 of the Defence of India Rules. Pandit Keshava Dev Malviya, Secretary of the U. P. Congress Committee and the Camp Director of the Quami Seva Dal Instructors' Training Camp was arrested later at his residence on the same charge.

Lucknow, Sept. 1 :—Charan Singh was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Banda :—Chanda Bhooshan Singh Chaudhary, General Secretary of the District Satyagraha Committee of Banda was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Benares, Sept. 5 :—Ramesh Chandra Sinha was arrested.

Almora :—Hari Dat Kandpal, the Secretary of the District Congress Committee, Sardar Mohan Singh and Bhudar Singh and Ishwari Dutt have been arrested at Ranikhet for wearing uniform and drilling under Section 58 of the Defence of India Act.

Allahabad :—Shiva Balak, Ram Dwedi, Gubardhan Singh, Om Prakash, Hanuman Prasad Misra and Kallo Singh of the Qaumi Seva Dal Instructors' Camp were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Basti :—Hiralal, Uska Sagar, Jhenno Ram Harijan and Jagdish Prasad were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Dehra Dun, Sep. 4 :—Somendra Mohan Mukerji has been arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Almora :—Krishna Chandra Joshi has been arrested under the Defence of India Act for an alleged objectionable speech which he delivered at Lohaghat, district Almora.

Jhansi :—Nityanand, Secretary of the Jhansi District Congress Committee died in Jail as a result of illness.

Bhowali, 9-9-40 :—Motiram Pandey has been served with a notice by the sub-divisional magistrate of Naini Tal, to show cause why action should not be taken against him under Section 38 of Defence of India Rules, for the speeches, alleged to have been delivered by him in public meetings.

Mirzapur, 9-9-40 :—Ram Autar and Manikchand Vishwakarma, of Benares were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

The local police searched the houses of Rajachandra Agrawal and Chandrika Prasad Srivastava.

Bareilly, Sept. 8 :—A boy of 15 was sentenced to ten stripes under Section 34(*d*) of Defence of India Rules.

It is reported that the District Magistrate himself administered the stripes to the young boy.

Cawnpore, 10-9-40 :—Ten volunteers were arrested under Rule 58 of the Defence of India Act.

Cawnpore, 10-9-40 :—Thakur Nahar Singh was arrested under Section 38 of the Defence of India Rules.

Ram Dularey, Joint Secretary of the District Congress Committee has been arrested at his residence, Rampore, for delivering an alleged objectionable speech.

Rameshwar Dayal has been arrested under Section 56 of the Defence of India Act.

Lakhimpur, 40-9-40 :—Oudh Beharilal and two others have been arrested under under the Defence of India Act.

Banda, 10-9-40 :—Chandra Bhushan Singh Choudhry was arrested under the Defence of India Act for delivering alleged offensive speech on the arrest of Pandit Paliwal.

Azamgarh, 10-9-40 :—Raghunath Rai Sharma and Uma Shankar Misra have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Bulandshahar, 11-9-40 :—Saligram, Nidhi Lal Garg and Tikha Singh have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Meerut :—The City Magistrate convicted Abdul Aziz a young boy under the Defence of India Act and sentenced him to one year's rigorous imprisonment for pasting anti-war leaflets on walls.

Mirzapur, 13-9-40 :—Brijbhushan Misra, the editor, printer and publisher of a local Hindi weekly, *Gramvasi* was arrested on September 4 under the Defence of India Rules for an alleged objectionable editorial published in the issue of May 13 and for an alleged objectionable speech delivered by him.

Cawnpore, 13-9-40 :—Pandit Balkrishna Sharma, General Secretary of U. P. C. C. was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment under Section 38 (5) of the Defence of India Rules.

Cawnpore, 15-9-40 :—Seven Congress Quami Sevadal Volunteers were arrested

under Rule 58 of the Defence of India Rules, for drilling in the Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi Park. They are Chunnilal (Jathadar), Masrilal Tripathi, Ramswaroop Misra, Gobardhandas, Shyamdev Singh, Rajaram Prasad and Ramcharan Avasthi.

Aligarh :—Malkan Singh, president of the District Congress Committee, Aligarh was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

Naini Tal, 16-9-40 :—Five volunteers, namely Debi Lal Sah, Shibgiri, Shankerlal Varma, Shiblal Varma and Dhan Singh, were arrested here while parading on the flats in pursuance of their normal activities.

Cawnpore :—Seven volunteers of the Sadar Bazar Ward Congress Committee were arrested by the police under Rule 58 of the Defence of India Rules.

Ranikhet :—Seven volunteers have been arrested under Section 58 of the Defence of India Act.

Azamgarh, 16-9-40 :—Chit Bahal Singh and Chandra Bali Singh, were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Cawnpore 16-9-40 :—Raja Ram Shastri was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

Cawnpore :—Seven Congress volunteers belonging to Hatia ward were arrested for defiance of Government order under Section 58 of the Defence of India Rules, banning drill of a military nature by non-official organisation.

Sultanpur, 19-9-40 :—Swami Narain Deo, Prag Prasad and Ram Lakhan, were arrested under Rule 38 of the Defence of India Rules.

Shitla Prasad and Jhagru, volunteers, were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Bareilly :—Thakur Chandra Pal Singh, Ram Saran, Ram Swarup and Gulzari Lal were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Lakhimpur-Kheri :—Raj Bahadur, Sant Kumar and Sheo Sahai of Karampur Kaima have been arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Azamgarh, 21-9-40 :—Govindraj Rai and Alakh Nath Rai, two instructors in the Azamgarh Congress Qaumi Seva Dal camp, were arrested while drilling.

Sheonath Giri, another instructor was arrested.

Ballia, 21-9-40 :—Rama Lachhan Tiwari, inspector of the Congress offices of the Benares division, has been arrested under Rules 34 and 38 of the Defence of India Rules.

Rama Nath Rai has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Jhansi, 21-9-40 :—Kunj Beharilal, member of the Provincial Congress Committee, was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules (detention for unlimited period).

Bijnor, 22-9-40 :—Bhara Bhushan, divisional organising inspector of the Meerut Congress Committee, was arrested under Sections 29 and 126 of the Defence of India Act on a warrant from Meerut.

Jhansi, 20 9-40 :—Gangadhar Joshi, President of the City Congress Committee has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules for making an alleged objectionable speech.

Muzaffarnagar, 23-9-40 :—Gopi Chand has been arrested under the Defence of India Act, for having delivered a speech of an alleged objectionable nature.

Ballia :—Viswanath Prasad 'Mardana' member of the Ballia District Congress Committee, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Moradabad, Sept. 22 :—Ramkirit, Secretary of the City Congress Committee was arrested under Rule 38 of the Defence of India Rules.

Sept, 23 :—Maulana Abusaeed Bazmi, M.A., M.L.C., editor Medina, and General Secretary of the States' Peoples' Conference of Bhopal, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Lucknow, Sept. 22 :—Gangadhar Joshi, President of Jhansi Congress was arrested under the Defence of India Rules for making alleged objectionable speeches.

Bansgopal, member of the Congress Committee was also arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Balrampur :—The homes of Balbhadra Nath Misra, secretary, Shridutt Ganj Mandal Congress Committee, Gonda, and Tameshwer Prasad, vice-president, Halka Congress Committee were searched by the police.

Lucknow :—Kishorilal Agarwala was arrested under Section 38 of the Defence of India Rules.

In Tamil Nadu

Madura, Aug. 24 :—K. P. Srinivasan was arrested under the Defence of India Act for alleged objectionable speeches delivered by him recently in Virudungar limits.

Virudhunagar, Aug. 26 :—M. N. Adinarayanan was arrested by the Virudhunagar police.

Dindigul, Aug. 26 :—P. Sambasiva Gupta, President, Mr. Sellam, Secretary and Pailvan and Govindarajulu members of the local Jawahar Youth League were each sentenced to undergo one year's rigorous imprisonment.

Tellicherry, Aug. 27 :—T. C. Narayanan Nambiar, President of the Narath and Kannadiparamba Village Congress Committee, member of the K. P. C. C. and Secretary of the Malabar Aided Elementary School Teachers' Union, was convicted by Mr. J. L. Wood, I.C.S., Joint Magistrate, under the Defence of India Rules 39 (6) read with 39 (1b) and 34 (7) and sentenced to R. I. for 18 months.

Erode, Aug. 27 :—M. Sitarama Singh was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Madura, Aug. 28 :—The police have charged Mr. S. V. Sangiah, under the Defence of India Act for alleged tom-tomming false rumours about the war situation, which were likely to create panic.

Erode, Sept. 6 :—Srimati Pankajammal was sentenced under Rule 38 (5) of the Defence of India Rules for one year's rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine and in default to an additional four months' rigorous imprisonment.

Bhimavaram, Sep. 6 :—D. Sriramamurthi, secretary, of the Bhimavaram Taluk Congress Committee, and two others have been sentenced to nine months' rigorous imprisonment with a fine of Rs. 100 each in default to undergo additional one month's rigorous imprisonment, under the Defence of India Act.

Theni, Sept. 9 :—The Periakulam Police have arrested Sangiah, member, Periakulam Town Congress Committee, S. Valivittan and M. Perumal Pilai, Congress workers under the Defence of India Act on a charge of posting anti-war and anti-British notices on walls.

Coimbatore, Sep. 8 :—Govindan, Masthiannan and Rangaswami who were charged by the Mettupalayam Police for alleged possession of anti-war leaflets and distributing the same last month at Mettupalayam were sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment each under the Defence of India Act.

Chingleput, Sep, 9 :—D. Ramalinga Reddiar, M. L. A., was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Trichinopoly, Sep. 9 :—Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Trichy, convicted Srimathi Janaki of Madura and her husband Guruswami under the Defence of India Act and sentenced them to one year's R. I. each.

Madura, Sept. 11 :—Notice under Section 26, Defence of India Act, issued by the Local Government, was served on Mr. U. Muthuramalinga Thevar, M. L. A. at Kamuthi, restricting his residence to Madura till further orders.

N. P. Ramiah, Secretary of the Golden Rock branch of the South Indian Railway Union, and member, Trichy District Satyagraha Committee was sentenced to two years' R. I. under the Defence of India Act, and six months' R. I. under Press Emergency Powers Act.

Erode, Sept. 10 :—M. Sitaram Singh was convicted for being in possession of unauthorised leaflets and prejudicial reports and sentenced to one years' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine and in default to another period of four months' rigorous imprisonment.

Ramnad, Sept. 10 :—Durai Reddi, President of the Trade Union Congress, Virudhunagar was arrested under the Defence of India Act in connection with a spech.

Coimbatore, Sept. 12 :—Venkataswami, a Congress volunteer, was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Coimbatore, under the Defence of India Act far alleged distribution of anti-war leaflets at Mettupalayam.

Tuticorin, Sept. 12 :—V, Sankaranarayana Pillai, Secretary of the Tuticorin Town Congress Committee and Secretary of the local Labour Union, was served with an order under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules directing him to proceed to Tenkasi within 24 hours and to reside in and not to leave Tenkasi. He is asked to abstain from making public speeches till the order is cancelled and to keep the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly informed of his actual place of residence in Tenkasi and every change thereof.

Madura, Sep. 14 :—U. Muthuramalinga Thevar, M. L. A. who left Madura on Sept. 12, in contravention of the order directing him not to leave Madura, was arrested at Tiruppuvanam station.

Sivaganga, Sept. 16 :—P. Unanikrishnan, Secretary, Town Satyagraha Committee, Karaikudi, has been arrested under Section 38 (5) of the Defence of India Rules for the offence of having made an anti-war speech at Kunnakkudi.

Negapatam, Sept. 17 :—K. Syed Mujafullah, President, Town Congress Committee, Negapatam, K. Lakshmana Naidu, Municipal Councillor, Negapatam, S. Mahadevan and D. Sivagnanam Pillai, Secretary, Spinners' Association were arrested by the Velipalayam Police under the Defence of India Act for delivering speeches at a Congress meeting held at Negapatam on 3rd September, 1940.

Tirupattur, (N. A.), Sept. 18 :—The Sub-Inspector of Police, Tirupattur, served a notice, under the Defence of India Act, on S. R. Krishnan of Salem asking him to return to his native place Salem within 24 hours, not to address meetings and not to leave Salem until further order.

Cocanada, Sept. 19 :—R. Satyanarayana and M. Jaganmohana Rao, were arrested. It is alleged that they were found in possession of some unauthorised leaflets, which were seized.

Tirupur, Sept. 19 :—J. Simon Paul, Assistant Secretary of the Tirupur Town Congress Committee has been directed under the Defence of India Rules to abstain from making any public speeches till the cancellation of the order.

Kumbakonam, Sep. 21 :—M. Nagarajan has been arrested by the Negapatam police under the Defence of India Rules in connection with a speech.

In Bengal

A notice under the Defence of India Act, Sec. 2 was served on Rati Kanta Sarkar, Vice-President, Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress and Assistant Secretary, North Calcutta Congress restraining him from making any speech at, or otherwise taking part in any public procession, meeting or assembly for one year.

Ratish Mullick, a Khadi worker, and Sanchiram Patowari have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules at Noakhali on charges of possessing alleged objectionable literature and other documents.

An English booklet entitled, "The Road to Freedom" published by Mr. V. B. Karnik has been proscribed by the Government of Bengal under the Defence of India Rules.

Calcutta, Aug. 28 :—Mrs. Rama Pakira and Mrs. Amiya Ghosh, were arrested under the Defence of India Rules following searches of their residences.

Ashutosh Das was served with an order under the Defence of India Act, Rule 26 restraining him from delivering any speech at or participating in any public meeting or procession for a period of one year.

Kalipada Bagchi who was detained in the Presidency Jail under the Defence of India Act and was released recently, has been served with a notice under Section 46 of the India Defence Rules directing him not to join any procession or deliver speeches in any meeting within a year.

Noakhali, Sept. 4 :—Makhan Lal Sen Sarma, President of the Feni Congress Committee (Noakhali) has been arrested following simultaneous searches by the police of a number of houses in the town.

Notices under the Defence of India Rules have been served by the District Magistrate of Noakhali upon Mani Gopal Chakravarty, Secretary of the Ramgunge Congress Committee, and Motilal Majumdar, warning them against alleged Communistic activities. Chakravarty has further been asked not to mix with school students and other young men.

Calcutta, Sep. 6 :—Mukund Lal Sarkar, Office Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc, was served with an order directing him under the Defence of India Rules, not to deliver any speech at or otherwise take part in any public procession, meeting or assembly for a period of one year.

For violating an order issued under the Defence of India Rules by the District Magistrate of Khula, asking him to leave the district immediately, Kshirode Das Gupta, Secretary of the Barrackpore Labour Party, has been arrested.

Calcutta, Sept. 8 :—Abdul Momin, organising Secretary of the Provincial Kisan Sabha and Dharani Goswami were re-arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Calcutta, Sept. 8:—Several Congress workers in the town of Mymensingh have been ordered under the Defence of India Rules not to convene, attend, address, or in any way participate in any public procession, or meeting within the limits of the district for a period of six months.

Benoy Krishna Choudhry has been served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules, by the District Magistrate of Burdwan directing him to leave the district immediately.

Barisal, Sept. 8 :—An order of externment under the Defence of India Rules was served on Narendra Prasad Roy.

A restraint notice under the Defence of India Rules was served on Satyendra

Nath Das Gupta requiring him not to go beyoud the limits of the Barisal Municipality and to report himself twice weekly at the Kotwali.

Burdwan, Sept. 9 :—Binoy Krishna Choudhury has been served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules, by the district magistrate of Burdwan, directing him to leave the district immediately.

Dacca, Sept. 9 :—Jatindra Nath Chakravorty, an M. A. student of the Dacca University has been served with an order under the Defence of India Rules to leave the limits of the district of Dacca within 24 hours. This order will remain in force for six months.

Dacca, Sept. 9 :—Hariganga Basack has been served with an order under the Defence of India Rules directing him to live within the limits of his Dacca residence for a period of six months. He shall have to attend the Thana once a week.

Jessore, Sept. 10 :—Satya Bose, a Congress worker, has been served with an order under the Defence of India Rules, externing him from the district of Jessore for a period of six months.

Roby Sen and Narendranath Das were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Dacca, Sept. 10 :—Chandranath Saha was arrested under the Defence of India Rules while he was distributing anti-war posters.

Narayanaganj, Sept. 11 :—Subodh Chandra Charayya, President, Narayanaganj Scavengers' Union was home interned requiring daily attendance at the thana.

In exercise of the power conferred by Sub-rule (1) of Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor has directed that, except in so far as they may be permitted by the Governor, the undermentioned persons shall not at any time after the expiry of forty-eight hours from service of the order be in any place within the limits of Calcutta and its subarbs and the districts of the 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly, the Asansol Sub-division of the Burdwan district and the Sardar Sub-division of the Midnapore district. 1. Samar Sen Gupta of Calcutta. 2. Kumud Sarkar of Calcutta. 3. Satyaranjan Chatterjee of district Bakarganje, and 4. Birendra Kumar Bhattacharji of Calcutta.

Jessore, Sept. 10 :—Externment order under Defence of India Act has been served on Satyendra Kumar Basu by the District Magistrate, Jessore to leave the jurisdiction of Jessore Disitrict within 24 hours.

Under the Defence of India Rules the Governor has proscribed the leaflet in Bengali entitled Sarkar-er-Juddhe Chanda Deo Na (Do not pay subscription for the Government's War) published by the Bengal Committee, Branch of the Communist Party of India, and the leaflet in English entitled "An appeal to the Students of Bengal" issued by the Forward Bloc.

Bepin Behari Chakravarty who was released from the Alipur Central Jail after serving out his full term of imprisonment in connection wlth an objectionable speech, was served with an order under the Defence of India Rules at the jail gate directing him not to deliver any speech at or otherwise take part in any procession, meeting or assembly for a period of one year.

Dacca, Sept. 11 :—Orders under the Defence of India Rules have been served on Rabindia Kumar Bose, President of the District Students' Federation, Makhan Lal Dutta, Shashi Kumar Ghosh, Taraprasad Chakravarty, Umaprasad Chakravarty, Swadesh Ranjan Nag, Chiranjib Misra, Durgesh Bhattacharya, Kedarnath Mitra, Tarini Bhusan shome, ex-detenue, Charu Chandra Ray, ex-detenue, Nitya Sen and Phanindra Guha interning them at their respective homes for six months. They were further directed to report themselves to their respective police stations daily.

Tangail, Sept. 13 :—Dasarathi Chowdhury. vice-president of the Tangail Congress Committee, has been served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting him from convening, attending and addressing or in any way taking part in any public meeting or procession within the limits of the district for a period of six months.

Calcutta Sept. 13 :—Protab Singh has been served with a notice under the Defence Rules by the Commissioner of Police, directing him not to deliver any speech at or otherwise take part in any public meeting, procession or assembly for a period of one year. A similar order has been served on Abdur Rahim, a member of the Kidderpore Dock Mazdoor Union.

Dacca, Sept. 14 :—Mrityunjaya Ray has been served an order under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting him from carrying on correspondence with a number of persons. Roy is already under orders of home internment.

Calcutta, Sept 14 :—Robi Sen and Narendra Nath Das were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Dacca, Sept. 15 :—The police searched a large number of houses and arrested the following:

Dr. Saralkumar Sen Gupta, Rabindra Kumar Bose, President the district Student's Federation; Taraprasad Chakravarty, Umaprosad Chakravarty; Tarani Bhusan Shome; Chiranjib Misra; Susilkumar Ghose; Durgesh Bhattacharya; Makhanlal Dutt; Swadeshranjan Nag and Charuchandra Roy.

Calcutta, Sept. 15 :—Prof. Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has been served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules directing him not to take part in political activities for a period of six months.

Jeypore, Sept. 16 :—Lambodar Singh was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Feni, Sept. 16 :—Pratul Kumar Choudhury has been arrested under Defence Rules.

Searches and arrests were made under the Defence of India Rules in Calcutta, Howrah, Belghurria and Dacca. Persons who were taken into custody included the following:

1. Pratul Chandra Ganguli, 2. Jnan Chandra Majumdar, 3. Sripati Nandi, 4. Ranjit Sarkar, 5. Rakhal Ghosh, 6. Prabhat Chakrabarti, 7. Biren Chatterjee, 8. Sarat Chakrabarti, 9. Hari Kumar Roy Chowdhury, 10. Kshitish Bhownick, 11. Dwijen Roy, 12. Dhiren Mookerjee, 13. Debabrata Roy, 14. Tridib Choudhury, 15. Dinesh Ch. Ghatak, 16. Nalini Kar, 17. Ramprasad Mookerjee, 18. Charu Chakrabarti, 19. Rabindra Nath Bhattacharjee, 20. Pulin Behary Paul, 21. Saral Kumar Sen-Gupta, 22. Rabindra Kumar Bose, 23. Taraprasad Chakravarty, 24. Umaprasad Chakravarty, 25. Tarani Bhusan Shome. 26. Chiranjib Mishra, 27. Susil Kumar Ghose, 28. Durgesh Bhattacharyya, 29. Makhanlal Dutt, 30. Swadeshranjan Nag and 31. Charu Chandra Roy.

Madaripur, Sept. 10 :—Panchanan Chakravarty, President of the Sub-Divisional Congress Committee, Madaripur was served with an order by the district magistrate, Faridpur under the Defence of India Rules directing him not to participate in dissemination of news or propagation of opinions and not to make any speech in any public procession, meeting or assembly for the duration of the war and for a period of six months thereafter. His movements have also been restricted within the Municipal area of Madaripur.

Narayanganj, Sept. 12 :—Sital Chandra De has been required under an order of the Defence of India Rules not to go outside the limits of the area of the Panchdona Union Board, and not to attend meetings and processions. He has been asked to attend the thana once a week,

Berhampore, Sept. 16 :—Mihir Kumar Mookherjee and Nani Gopal Bhattacharjee were arrested under the Defence Act.

Dacca, Sept. 16 :—Ananta Kumar Dey was arrested at Dacca under the Defence of India Rules.

Balurghat, Sept. 16 :—Nripati Bhusan Chatterjee was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Comilla, Sept. 18 :—The Houses of Messrs. Jamini Pal, Biswa Sen, Dhiresh Ghosh and others were searched and they were arrested under Section 129 of the India Defence Act.

Suri, Sept. 18 :—Bastimal Lunait was arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Act.

Rammoy De of Midnapore, and Biren Biswas of Khulna, student leaders have been served with notices under the Defence of India Rules, directing them to leave the city of Calcutta.

Culcutta, Sept. 22 :—Bankim Mukerji, M.L.A. was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 in default six months' more, under the Defence of India Rules.

Dacca, Sept. 22 :—Sudhir Kumar Kushari, Secretary, Dacca Northbrook Hall Library was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Tangail, Sept. 23 :—Dhirendra Nath Ghose has been arrested by the local police under Rule 129 of Defence of India Rules and kept in custody.

Dinajpur :—Nirpati Ranjan Chatterjee and Pratap Chandra Mojumder were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Dacca :—Amal Chandra Roy a student of the Dacca university was served with a home internment order under the Defence of India Rules restricting his movements within the four walls of his house at Sough Maisundi. He will have to attend the thana once a week. This order will be in force for six months.

Rangpur :—Susil Chandra Dev has been arrested under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Replying to a question in Bengal Assembly the Home Minister stated that 451 persons were arrested under the Defence of India Rules, 66 have been restricted in their movement, and 328 have been subjected to other restrictive orders; 38 meetings and 5 processions were banned. Ten orders have been issued on newspapers under the Defence Rules. 317 persons were serving sentences of imprisonment for offences against Defence Rules. No action has been taken against any person participating in the Khaksar movement in Bengal.

In the Punjab

Amritsar, Sept. 1 :—Three Congressmen, Mohindralal, Hansraj Sehgal and Omprakash, have been arrested under the Defence of India Act for alleged objectionable speeches delivered by them at Congress meetings.

Amritsar, Sept. 2 :—Gaini Tara Singh, president of the Lahore Cantonment Congress Committee was arrested under the Defence of India Act for delivering alleged objectionable speeches and reciting alleged prejudicial poems at Congress meetings.

Amritsar, Sept. 4 :—The Police have arrested Kartar Singh, secretary of the Ward Congress Committee, under the Defence of India Rules for alleged objectionable speeches.

Amritsar, Sept. 5 :—Babu Khariksingh has been sentenced to one and half year's rigorous inprisonment.

Lahore, Sept. 6 :—Sodhi Pindi Das was arrested from the Bradlaugh Hall under the Defence of India Act.

Pandit Gian Chand was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Amritsar, Sept. 6 :—The local police arrested Sardar Dalipsingh Tapiala, President of the Ajnala Congress Committee under the Defence of India Rules for an alleged objectionable speech in the Court compound.

Amritsar, Sept. 6 :—Baba Jawahar Singh Burj was convicted and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment under Rule 38 of the Defence of India Rules on a charge of delivering an objectionable speech.

Ludhiana, Sept. 7 :—Ghulam Mohammad, Secretary of the City Congress Committee has been arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Jullundur, Sept. 8 :—The residence of Pandit Saligram Parashar was raided by the police and searched.

Four workers, namely Sardar Thakur Singh, Babu Jawala Singh, Bhai Bakhshish Singh and Dalip Singh, were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Lahore, Sept. 9 :—Sardar Gopal Singh, a member of the Punjab Congress Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. was arrested under Section 38 of the Defence of India Act for delivering alleged objectionable speeches.

Dr. Krishna, general secretary of the Karnal District Congress Committee was arrested under Sections 43/38 of the Defence of India Act in connection with alleged objectionable speeches.

Amritsar, Sept. 11 :—Mubariksagar, a member of the A. I. C. C. has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Lahore, Sept. 11 :—Hafiz Salamat Ullah, a Congress worker, has been awarded one year's hard labour by a Khanewal Magistrate under the Defence of India Act on a charge of reciting an objectionable poem at a public meeting.

Sialkot, Sept. 15 :—Four Congress workers namely, Vidyasagar, Kundanlal, Madanlal and Harichand were arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Amritsar, Sept. 16 :—Sant Amarsingh was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Lahore :—Rajbans Singh was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Rajwant Singh has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

In Behar

Patna, Sept. 8 :—Dhalu Sharma and two others were arrested under the Defence of India Rules for crying anti-war slogans before the local police station.

Gaya, Sept. 9 :—A big posse of police force searched the Niamatpur Ashram, Gaya, in presence of the Additional Superintendent of Police, Gaya. The whole Ashram and Niamatpur village were cordoned by the police. After a thorough search nothing objectionable was found.

Sept. 11 :—Abul Hayat Chand was sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 20.

Gorakhnath Singh was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50.

Gaya, Sept. 10 :—Vijneshwar Misra has been arrested under the Defence Rules.

Patna, Sept. 16 :—Shyamnandan Singh, M.L.A. was arrested at Naubatpore, Patna District, under the Defence of India Rules.

Patna, Sept. 13 :—Rajendra Pandey has been sentenced under the Defence of India Rules to two years' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 50.

Patna, Sept. 18 :—Ramchander Sharma, Secretary of the Patna District Forward Bloc and a member of the Provincial Kisan Council, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Mazaffarpur, Sept. 18 :—Jugal Kishore Khanna has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Manghyr, Sept. 18 :—Eight persons have been arrested here under the Defence of India Rules following simultaneous searches of their residences in the town.

In Sind

Karachi, Sept. 1 :—Maqbool Hussain, a Congress worker, was arrested under the Defence of India Act for delivering an alleged anti-war speech.

Karachi, Sept. 3 :—Hashu Kewalramani and Tahilramani, President and Secretary respectively, of the Karachi Students' Union were arrested on Sept. 3 morning under the Defence of India Rules.

Karachi, Sept. 11 :—Shahnawaz, an advocate and Kassim, printer of the Sind Muslim press were arrested under the Defence of India Rules for having printed and published certain anti-war literature.

Karachi, Sept. 18 :—Mohomed Amin Khoso, member of the Sind Assembly, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

Quetta, Sept. 20 :—Arbab Abdul Qadir, President of the Quetta Branch of the Anjumane Watan, has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under the Defence of India Rules on a charge of delivering an objectionable speech at Loralai.

Karachi, Sept. 20 :—Under the Defence of India Rules, the Sind Government has proscribed an Urdu poster, entitled 'Political Situation of the Islamic world', purported to have been issued by Jamia Milia, Delhi.

In Mahakoshal

Jubbulpore, Sept. 22 :—Gur Prasad Jaiswal and Banshidhar Chaoraskya, President and Secretary respectively of the Mandal Congress Committee, Pachmarhi, in the Hoshangabad district of the Jubbulpore Division have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

In Delhi

New Delhi, Sept. 11 :—Krishna Nair of the Naroal Gandhi Ashram and Shatrughan Sharma were arrested by the local police under the Defence of India Rules in connection with alleged objectionable speeches delivered by them.

New Delhi, Sep. 11 :—Srimati Brijarani, a Congress worker, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules in connection with a speech she delivered at a ladies' camp in Bassipur village.

New Delhi, Sep. 18 :—Maulana Hifzul Rahman, a member of the Jamiat-Ul-Ulema Hind Working Committee and a member of the All India Congress Committee was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment.

In Assam

Silchar, Aug. 12 :—Sukumar Nandi, Bhani Nandi, workers of the Sylhet-Cacher Mazdoor Union and Gopendra Roy, Asstt. Secretary of the Cachar District Congress Committee, were arrested in connection with the recent labour unrest in the Allenpur Tea Garden, where the garden authorities have declared a lockout following labour strike there.

Shillong, Sept. 20 :—A leaflet in Assamese entitled Communist Bulletin of the Assam Branch of the Communist Party in India and all other documents containing copies, reprints or translations of or extracts from the said leaflet have been declared to be forfeited by the Governor.

Sylhet, Sept. 22 :—Chittaranjan Das, an Asstt. Secretery of the Sylhet District Congress Committee, has been arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

In Gujarat

Ahmedabad, Aug. 19 :—Hariprasad Desai and Ranchhod Patel were arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Ahmedabad, Aug. 30 :—Indulal Yagnik was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment under Section 26 (6) of the Defence of India Rules on a charge of committing a breach of the order of the Govt. of Bombay prohibiting him, among other things, from not contributing to the press.

In Andhra

Guntur, Sept. 6 :—Madabhusi Venkatchari was arrested.

Guntur, Sept. 22 :—The Deputy Magistrate, Guntur, has served orders under Sec. 144, Cr. P. C. on the City Congress Socialist Party, the City United Congress Party, the City Students' Union and the Press Workers' Union prohibiting them from holding meetings within five miles radius of Guntur for a period of one month.

The District Superintendent of Police served a notice on Subba Rao, Ramasubbiah, Narasimhamurthy and Sriramulu prohibiting them from taking out any procession and holding any meeting in connection with "Detenue Allowance Day".

In Nagpur

Nagpur, Sept. 3 :—Shrihari Bhise has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under the Defence of India Rules for making an alleged objectionable speech at Umred.

In N. W. F. P.

Peshawar, Sept. 20 :—Ram Saran Nagina, Office Secretary of the Peshawar Congress Committee, has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. He was arrested under the Defence of India Rules for the publication of alleged objectionable literature.

In Karnatak

Bhai Tendulkar and Bhai Shetye V. G. have been arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Two Weeklies 'Congress' and 'Gofan' have been asked to furnish securities of Rs. 2000 each.

Rambhau Nisal has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50.

Shri Vasant Tulpule has been sentenced for two years and a fine of Rs. 200.

In Bombay

Bombay, Sept. 17 :—P. G. Savant and Vithoba Padam, two labour workers, were arrested under the Defence of India Rules in connection with certain speeches they made in the labour area recently.

Bombay, Sept. 21 :—The Government of Bombay has demanded securities of Rs. 1,000 each under Sections 3 (3) and 7 (3) of the India Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, from Mr. Vyankatesh Pradyumnacharya Varkhedkar, keeper of the Sur Bharati Mudranalaya, Pandharpur (Sholapur) and Pandurang Tukaram Utpat, publisher of the Marathi newspaper "Gophan" of Pandharpur, for printing and publishing matter of the nature described in Clause (*b*) of Section (1) of that Act. All copies of the issue, dated the 19th August, 1940 of the 'Gophan' newspaper publishing the offending article have also been declared to be forfeited under Section 19.

Bombay, Sept. 12 :—Raoji Bhai Patel was arrested in Bombay on his arrival from Aden.

The All India Muslim League

The Working Committee Proceedings

Bombay—31st. Aug. to 2nd. Sept. 1940

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League commenced its three day session at Bombay on the **31st. August 1940** and concluded on the **2nd. September** after passing a number of resolutions one of which permitted such Mussalmans as thought they could serve any useful purpose by merely associating themselves with war committees to do so. The following is the full text of the resolutions :—

1. VICEROY'S DECLARATION

The working committee of the All-India Muslim League have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the statement issued by his Excellency the Viceroy on the 8th of August, 1940, and the authoritative amplification and clarification of it by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, on behalf of his Majesty's Government in the course of the India debate in the House of Commons on the 14th of August, 1940. The committee consider that these pronouncements constitute a considerable progressive advance towards the approach of the point of view and the position taken up by the All-India Muslim League on behalf of the Muslim India regarding the problem of the future constitution of India, and the committee also note with satisfaction that his Majesty's Government have, on the whole, practically met the demand of the Muslim League for a clear assurance to the effect that no future constitution, interim or final, should be adopted by the British Government without their approval and consent.

2. UNITY OF NATIONAL LIFE

The working committee place on record that some of the observations made in the statement of his Excellency the Viceroy and also in the speech of the Secretary of State for India, with regard to the theory of unity of national life which does not exist, are historically inaccurate and self-contradictory. Such observations are calculated to raise apprehensions in the minds of the Mussalmans of India, and therefore, the committee deem it necessary to reaffirm and make the position clear once more that the committee stand by the Lahore resolution and the basic principles underlying the terms thereof, proposing the division of India and the creation of independent states in the north-western and eastern zones of India where the Muslims are in a majority, and the committee declare their determination, firm resolve and faith that the partition of India is the only solution of the most difficult and complex problem of India's future constitution and are glad to state that the vital importance and the true aspect of this question are being fully realised by the British Parliament ; and that his Majesty's Government are now fully apprised and siezed of the realities of the situation.

The Muslim League again makes its position clear that the Muslims of India are a nation by themselves and will exercise their right to self-determination and that they alone are the final judges and arbiters of their own future destiny.

3. VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The working committee appreciate that his Majesty's Government have conceded the principle urged upon them by the Muslim League that in order to secure genuine and full support of Muslim India and such other parties as are and have been ready and willing to undertake the responsibility and are prepared to make every contribution to the intensification of the war efforts and for the defence of India with a view to meet any external danger or aggression and to maintain internal security and peace they should forthwith associate the representatives of the Muslim League with authority and power as partners in the central and provincial Governments and establish a War Council which will include the Indian princes and thus secure their cooperation also.

The committee, therefore, are glad that his Majesty's Government provisionally and during the prosecution of the war have decided upon the expansion of the Executive Council of the Governor General and the establishment of a War Advisory Council on an all-India basis, although they regret that his Majesty's Government have declared that they at this stage do not contemplate non-official advisors in the provinces which are at present administered by the Governors under

section 93 of the Government of India Act. The committee, however, find that the specific offer now made as embodied in the letter of the Viceroy dated Aug. 14 purporting to give effect and implement that principle of cooperation with authority in Government as partners is most unsatisfactory and does not meet the requirements nor the spirit indicated in the resolution of this committee of June 16 which was communicated by the president to the Viceroy by his letter of that date nor does it meet the memorandum that was submitted to his Excellency by the president on July 1.

In these circumstances the committee find it very difficult to deal with this offer for the following reasons : (1) Neither the president nor the committee were consulted as to the number of the proposed increase of additional members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. (2) The committee are not yet aware of the manner in which the entire Executive Council will be reconstituted. (3) The committee have no information as to which are the other parties with whom the Muslim League will be called upon to work. (4) The committee understand that the president has not been informed as to what portfolios will be assigned to everyone of these additional members. The committee are merely asked without any further knowledge or information, except that the total number of members of the expanded Executive Council will be in the neighbourhood of 11, to send a panel of four out of which two will be selected for appointment as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council. (5) The committee have considered the system of panel suggested and they are of the opinion that it is open to many objections, is not desirable and does not commend itself to them. (6) As regards the proposed War Advisory Council the committee do not know its constitution, composition and functions beyond the information that it will probably consist of about 20 members and the committee are asked to submit a panel out of which four will be nominated by the Viceroy. In these circumstances the committee consider the offer unsatisfactory and request the Viceroy to reconsider the matter and hereby authorise the president to seek further information and clarification.

4. Muslim League's Condolence Resolution

The working committee of the All-India Muslim League passed a condolence resolution touching on the death of Mr. Ashiq Warsi of Gaya and adjourned its session for a brief period as a mark of respect to the deceased.

5. Disciplinary Action

The working committee of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution appointing a committee with Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan to examine the cases of those members of the council of the All-India Muslim League who joined the war committees in contravention of the League resolution and take such disciplinary action as appropriate. The following is the text of the resolution :—

The working committee hereby appoints a committee consisting of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, to examine the cases of those members of the council of the All-India Muslim League who have acted in contravention of the resolution of the working committee of June 16, 1940 regarding the war committee and empower the committee to take such disciplinary action against such members as it may consider appropriate.

6. Association with War Committees

The resolution of the working committee at Bombay on June 16, 1940, requesting the Mussalmans generally and in particular the members of the Muslim League not to serve on the war committees and to await further instructions from the president pending the result of the negotiations with the Viceroy was not a decision that adopted the policy of non-cooperation with the Government as has wrongly been represented by the enemies of the Muslim League but on the contrary was intended to urge upon the Government a line of action and policy which they should adopt to secure more effective cooperation in the prosecution of the war. Two very vital points were raised for which the committee have been pressing the Government, namely, (1) that no constitution either interim or final would be adopted by his Majesty's Government without the approval and consent of Muslim India and (2) that in order to secure the wholehearted support of the Mussalmans, it was imperative that within the framework of the present constitution Muslim India leadership should be associated as a partner in the realm of the central and provincial Governments forthwith.

As a result of the negotiations the working committee are glad to state that the first point has now been practically met by the statement of his Excellency the Viceroy of Aug. 8, 1940, and the amplification and clarification of that statement by Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, in the course of his speech on Aug. 14, 1940, in Parliament, and the committee note with satisfaction that the Government have accepted the principle of the second point that was urged upon them, namely 'cooperation with authority and power' in the Governments in order to prosecute the war successfully.

In view of these circumstances the working committee leave those Mussalmans who think that they can serve any useful purpose by merely associating themselves with the war committees free to do so.

The committee are of opinion that the Government should, in fact and not merely in principle, take without delay the Muslim leadership into their complete confidence and associate them as equal partners in charge of the reins of the Government in the centre and in the provinces in order to secure a genuine and wholehearted cooperation of Muslim India in the prosecution of the war successfully.

7. VOLUNTEER ORGANISATIONS

The working committee have carefully considered the notification of the Government of India of Aug. 16, 1940 together with the explanatory communique issued by the Government of India on Aug. 24 with regard to the volunteer organisations. The Muslim National guard corps were started over two years ago and the aims and objects of the organisation are defined in resolution No. 4 of the working committee passed on June 17, 1940, which runs as follows :

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.

Recently instructions were given to the provincial Leagues to strengthen the Muslim national guard corps and to give them such training as would enable them to discharge their duty of maintaining peace, tranquility and order in the country worthy of the best traditions of Islam and to assist at and control the meetings of the Muslim League and generally for the purpose of social service and uplift. The committee therefore are of opinion that the ban imposed by the Government is not intended to prohibit or restrict such legitimate activities. In these circumstances the committee direct the various provincial leagues to exert every nerve to start, organise, and strengthen the Muslim national guards and the committee trust that their activities will be carried on within the limits of the law.

8. DELHI PROVINCIAL LEAGUE DISSOLVED

The committee after hearing the president of the Delhi provincial Muslim League and the hon. secretary of the All-India Muslim League are of opinion that on account of the deadlock created by a section the activities of the Delhi provincial Muslim League have been seriously affected and therefore the best course in the interest of the Musalmans of Delhi would be to dissolve the present provincial Muslim League of Delhi and they hereby do so and empower the hon. secretary of the All-India Muslim League to make arrangements for holding fresh elections to the provincial League and all its branches under his direction and control.

The Working Committee Proceedings

New Delhi—28th. September 1940

REJECTION OF VICEROY'S OFFER

The next meeting of the Working Committee commenced in New Delhi on the **28th. September 1940** with Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* presiding. There was a record attendance, only three members being absent, namely, Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Nawab of Mamdot and Begum Mohammed Ali, the former two being ill. At the outset, Mr. Jinnah reported to the meeting the result of his interview with the Viceroy on September 24.

The Sub-Committee, which was entrusted with the drafting of the resolution, took nearly two hours to finish its labours and presented the draft resolution to the Working Committee soon after 5 p.m. The Working Committee discussed the draft for three hours. The sub-committee consisted of Mr. Jinnah, Sir

Sikander Hyat Khan, Chaudhuri Khaliquzaman, Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquatali Khan.

It will be recalled that at its meeting in Bombay on September 2 the Working Committee of the League authorized Mr. Jinnah, to seek further information and clarification on the following six specific points :—

(1) The number of additional members it was proposed to appoint to the Executive Council of the Governor-General. (2) The manner in which the entire Executive Council will be reconstituted. The other parties with whom the Moslem League will be called upon to work. (4) The portfolios to be assigned to every one of these additional members. (5) The undesirability of the panel system for nomination of additional members to the Executive Council. (6) The functions, constitution and composition of the War Advisory Council.

The following was the text of the resolution :—

"The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League at their meeting at Bombay on September 2 last, after considering the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated August 14 last and addressed to the President, containing a specific offer in regard to the proposed expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council, requested His Excellency to reconsider the matter and authorized the President to seek further information and clarification, particularly on the points set out in the resolutions, before the Committee could deal with the offer.

"As a result of the communication of these resolutions to the Viceroy, His Excellency invited the President to meet him on September 24 and, after a full and free discussion of the points arising out of those resolutions. His Excellency was pleased to send a formal reply, dated September 25. After giving their most earnest and careful consideration to the whole matter, the Committee, notwithstanding their desire from the very beginning to help in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India, regret that they are unable to accept the present offer for the following reasons :—

"That the inclusion of only two representatives of the Moslem League in the proposed expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council—of which neither the total strength nor the number of additional members has so far been definitely determined—does not give any real and substantial share in the authority of the Government at the Centre ;

"That no indication has been given as to what would be the position of the Moslem League representation in the event of any other party deciding at a latter stage to assist in the prosecution of the war and the Government agreeing to associate it with the Executive Council—a situation which might involve a substantial modification and re-shuffling of the executive.

"That, so far, the Government do not propose to appoint non-official advisors in those provinces which are being administered by the Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. The Committee feel that without the association of the Moslem League representatives in the administration of those provinces, it would not be possible to secure real and effective co-operation of the Mussalmans.

"That the proposed War Advisory Council is yet in its embryo form and no information is available as to its constitution, composition and functions, except that it will probably consist of about 20 members and that the question of setting it up will be considered after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete ; and

That out of the various points raised in the resolution of the Committee of September 2, only one relating to a panel, has been satisfactorily met."

The League Council Proceedings

New Delhi—29th. September 1940

The session of the Council of the All-India Muslim League attracted a record attendance and was representative of all parts of India. The Arabic College hall, New Delhi where the session was held on the 29th. Sept., was literally packed to suffocation ; and besides the members of the working committee, there were present the Nawab of Chhatari, Mr. Suhrawardy, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Mr. Abdul Haye, Sir Ziauddin, Sir Raza Ali, the Raja of Pirpur, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Ghulam Bhik Narang, Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan and Mir Amjad Ali.

At the outset Sir Ziauddin suggested to the president that he should tell the house what had passed between him and the Viceroy and give a general background to the resolution to enable the members to cast their votes correctly. Mr. Jinnah said that he would willingly place the full correspondence that had passed between him and the Viceroy before the council to enable members to appraise correcly the situation. He then made the following statement :—

MR. JINNAH'S STATEMENT

'The British Government appear to have no intention to part with power. In making the present offer. they were trifling with 90 millions of Muslims who are a nation. The long-drawn negotiations which the Viceroy has been carrying on with the various parties lead to only one conclusion, namely, that the British still wish to continue the relationship of master and servant. We will not submit to this position'.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Mussalmans were fully alive to the dangers created by the war and in their own interest, they were anxious to render all possible assistance to the Government in the prosecution of the war. At the same time they were convinced that in order that their assistance might be of real value and be effective the Muslim League must be placed in the position of authority in the Government both at the centre and in the provinces.

After referring to his correspondence with the Viceroy, which he said would be released to the press today. Mr. Jinnah said that after prolonged negotiations the Government had accepted the principle that they were willing to associate the League representative in the Government at the centre but not in the Congress provinces. Then again the Viceroy had not been able to tell him finally what would be the constitution, composition and function of the war advisory board beyond that its membership would be in the neighbourhood of 20 of which five would be Mussalmans.

Procceeding, Mr. Jinnah said, 'The Viceroy's offer, when boiled down comes to this, that two seats on the Governor-General's Executive Council will be allotted to the nominees of the Muslim League out of a number we do not know yet. In his first letter to me, the Viceroy had indicated that the number of members on the expanded Executive Council would be in the neighbourhood of 11. The word 'neighbourhood' by itself was an elastic one. In the latest letter to me, the Viceroy says that the number is not yet determined and even the elastic term 'neighbourhood' has disappeared. Then again we do not know who are the other parties who have been invited to send in their nominees for inclusion in the Viceroy's Council. If we wanted| obs for two of our men, we could have straightaway nominated our representatives. It would have been very happy. But would it have been a real share in power even at the centre ? No. The offer is a travesty of giving us a real share in authority. Furthermore, even if we knew what other parties were coming in there was another very vital question requiring solution. Supposing some party which kept itself out for the present subsequently decided to come in and we would be happy if they did so. It was then probable that the personnel of the Executive Council may further be increased and the Executive be reshuffled. What would then be the position of the Muslim League ? I referred this matter to the Viceroy in my last interview with him on Sept. 24. I then urged that in the event of any party now refusing cooperation subsequently came in it should only be allowed to do so in agreement with the parties already represented on the Council. I had no satisfactory reply from the Viceroy. This is the whole story of negotiations. I may reiterate that all along I had not forgotten that we are also in danger, that we are vitally concerned, that our fate is linked with that of the British. This is why I pitched my demands at the lowest limit, but I could not go lower.'

Mr. Jinnah added that the position of the Muslim League considerably differed from those of the other parties. In its case the question of non-cooperation did not arise for the present. It was essential for them to give all support for intensifying the war effort in the defence of India. It was in their interest. But while they had the desire to help there were certain fundamental requisites, which required fulfilment in order to secure the wholehearted cooperation of the Mussalmans.

Earlier in has speech, Mr. Jinnah referred to the demand of the League that the Constitution of 1935 should be examined *de novo* and said that demand had practically been met by the British Government as was evident from the statements of the Viceroy and of Mr. Amery. That however was a matter for the future. In the immediate present, the Mussalmans of India were prepared to shed the last

drop of their blood and part with their last penny to assist Great Britain in the present war. In short, they were prepared to sink or swim with Great Britain. It was, however, a contract.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan : Without prejudice ?

Mr. Jinnah : 'Yes, without prejudice to the future problems of the Indian constitution and to the major and fundamental issues."

Replying to a question as to what the Muslim League did to implement the Lahore resolution on Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah referred to a recent statement of Dr. Moonje made in Bombay in which he was reported to have been told by the Viceroy that the Pakistan scheme could not be ruled out at the time when the future constitution for India was being considered. Mr. Jinnah also referred to his memorandum of July 1, in which he had demanded from the Viceroy that no declaration should be made on behalf of his Majesty's Government which was likely to militate against the basic principles incorporated in the Lahore resolution.

Replying to Sir Raza Ali, Mr. Jinnah explained that in his interview with the Viceroy he had clarified the position of the Muslim League *vis-a-vis* the other parties. He had told the Viceroy that the Muslim representation should be equal to that of the Hindus, if the Congress came in ; otherwise they should have the majority of additional seats as it was obvious that in that case the main burden and the responsibilities will be borne by the Mussalmans.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, though in favour of the resolution, sought to move an amendment to the working committees resolution as he said that the ground specified for the rejection of the Viceroy's offer were not adequate. Mr. Jinnah said that the Moulana or any other speaker could specify any further grounds in support of the resolution, but it was not open to the house to move amendments to the working committee's resolution. They were to accept it or reject it as a whole. He, however, pointed out that under the present circumstances rejection of the resolution would be tantamount to a vote of no confidence in the working committee.

Mr. *Hasan Isphahani* moved that the resolution of the working committee be adopted. The motion was seconded by Jamal Mian and was carried without any dissent.

Other Resolutions

The council adopted condolence resolutions on the deaths of Khan Bahadur Ahmed Yarkhan Daulatana and Mr. Ashiq Warsi, both of whom were members of the council.

On the requisition received from Bengal the council authorized the president and the secretary to fix a date for an all-India protest against foreign aggression on Islamic lands including Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

The council also passed a resolution regretting the detention without trial of Prof. Abdul Sattar Khairi of Aligarh. It requested the Government of India to reconsider his case and authorized the Muslim League party in the Central Legislature to pursue the matter.

The council also decided to organise a red crescent movement along with the national guards for rendering medical help to the victims of aggression in the Islamic lands.

The council authorized the president to decide the date and the venue for the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League.

The resolution tabled by Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, that the Mussalmans should give wholehearted support in the war effort was withdrawn.

The meeting then adjourned *sine die*.

The Jinnah-Viceroy Correspondence

Mr. Jinnah's Letters to Viceroy

In this connection we give below the full text of the correspondence referred to in Mr. Jinnah's statement stated above :—

Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated New Delhi, February 6, 1940 :—

"I am herewith sending a copy of the Working Committee resolution passed on February 3, 1940, regarding the correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself for your consideration :—

'The Working Committee 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 resolutions of the Working Committee dated September 18 and October 22, 1939, and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India' ".

SCOPE OF CONSTITUTIONAL ENQUIRY

Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated New Delhi, February 24, 1940 :—

"I placed the whole correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself, ending with your letter dated December 23, 1939, before the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on February 3, 1940.

"The Working Committee, after very careful consideration, passed a resolution, a copy of the text of which I have already sent to Your Excellency with a covering letter dated February 6. As was desired by Your Excellency in our conversation on the 6th instant I now beg to state briefly the views of the Working Committee which are as follows :—

"The Working Committee appreciate the clarification made by Your Excellency regarding the first point and are glad to note that the declaration made by Your Excellency, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, on October 18, 1939, does not exclude the examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

"As regards the second point, the Working Committee do not feel satisfied as the request made for a definite assurance has not been met namely that no declaration should, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enforced by His Majesty's Government or enacted by Parliament without the approval and consent of the Mussalmans of India. We recognise Your Excellency's assurance when you state 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 under-rated' ; but, I regret to say, this does not meet the point raised by the Muslim League, because it still leaves the position of the ninety million Mussalmans of India only in the region of consultation and counsel and vests the final decision in the hands of Great Britain to determine the fate and future of Muslim India. We regret that we cannot accept this position.

PALESTINE POLICY

"As the policy for Palestine, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League wish to impress upon His Majesty's Government that a solution should be found to the satisfaction of the Arabs. The Committee are glad to note, as Your Excellency states, that His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and they continue to be fully alive to that issue. But the eyes of the Muslim world are watching the situation keenly and a definite solution should be found without delay.

"With regard to the use of Indian troops against any Muslim Power or country, the Committee feel that Your Excellency has misunderstood the position. When we asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim Power or country, it was not intended that they shall not be used for defence of the country in case of an attack on or aggression against India. While we thank Your Excellency for informing us that every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government, at the instance of the Government of India, to insure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected, we feel that further clarification of the position is necessary.

"It is required of the Muslim League to give assurance of whole-hearted cooperation and active support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war. The Committee are of opinion that before doing that they must feel confident that the future of the Mussalmans of India is not left in the region of uncertainty or doubtful possibility. Consequently, we do not consider it unreasonable, on our part to ask for a definite assurance that no commitments will be made with regard to the future constitution of India or any interim settlement with any other party without our approval and consent. If His Majesty's Government are prepared to treat with the leadership of the Mussalmans as a responsible body, then they must be trusted, especially where the question of determining their own future is concerned.

"We are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over-anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire to unjustly harm any community. The issues that have been raised by us are due to apprehensions that the British Government may be stampeded by other powerful organisations in the country into adopting a course or agreeing to a settlement in the matter of India's constitution which may prove not only highly detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans but may be disastrous for them.

"As regards Palestine and the use of Indian troops, our demands as explained by me above cannot in any way prejudice the interests of any other community. It is not possible in a letter of this kind to state fully the various reasons and details but, if Your Excellency so desires, I shall be very glad to place the views of the Committee before you in fuller details at an early date, whenever Your Excellency finds it convenient."

H. E. the Viceroy's letter dated New Delhi, February 28, 1940 :—

"Dear Mr. Jinnah,

"I write to acknowledge with many thanks your letter of February 24, in which you have been good enough to inform me of the views of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. It shall, I need not say, have my careful attention."

His Majesty's Government Consulted

Letter from Mr. Jinnah, dated New Delhi, April 8, 1940 :—

"This is just to inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning by the Frontier Mail.

"After Your Excellency's letter of February 28, acknowledging my letter of February 24, in which the views of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League were placed for your consideration, Your Excellency was good enough to grant me an interview on March 13. In the course of the interview Your Excellency intimated to me that you were in communication with His Majesty's Government with regard to the subject-matter of the letters. I was expecting to get an early reply from Your Excellency. I hope that you will now communicate to me your final answer as soon as possible to my Bombay address—Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay."

H. E. the Viceroy's letter dated New Delhi, April 10, 1940 :—

"I am much obliged for your letter of April 8. I am not yet in a position to let you have a final answer to your letter of February 24. But I hope to do so before very long."

Use of Indian Troops

H. E. the Viceroy's letter to Mr. Jinnah dated Banbassa, April 19, 1940 :—

"I was glad to gather from your letter of February 24 that my letter to you of December 23 had removed some of the doubts which had been felt by the All-India Muslim League. I do not read your letter as indicating that the Working Committee of the League expect anything further from me in regard to the first and third of your points—the scope of the re-examination of the constitutional position to follow war, and policy in Palestine.

"You ask, however, for further clarification of the position in regard to the use of Indian troops against Muslim Powers or countries, while explaining, as I note and appreciate, that you had no intention of attempting to circumscribe their use in defending India against attack or aggression. I presume that you do not expect a guarantee, which it would obviously be impossible to give, binding us in future contingencies which no one can foresee. But you need have no fear that if at any time such a contingency arose the consideration underlying your suggestion would be overlooked. Fortunately, however, so far as the present situation is concerned, His Majesty's Government are in friendly and sympathetic relations with all Muslim Powers, to some of whom, indeed, they are bound by alliance, while with the rest they are on terms of most cordial friendship.

Secretary of State's Speech Recalled

"You represent that your second point was not felt by the Working Committee to be adequately met by the terms of my letter. You have no doubt noticed the passage in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Lords on April 18 in which he used these words :

"But that does not mean that the future constitution of India is to be a constitution dictated by the Government and Parliament of this country against the wishes of the Indian people. The undertaking given by His Majesty's Govern-

ment to examine the constitutional field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India connotes not dictation but negotiation. Admittedly a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential if the vision of a united India which has inspired the labours of so many Indians and Englishmen is to become a reality, for I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, 80 million Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India, a form of constitution, under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly.'

"This statement, I am sure you will agree, has removed any possible doubts on this point."

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated Matheran, May 18, 1940 :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of April 19, 1940, and I thank you for it. I hope you will excuse me for the delay in replying to it before now, as I was uncertain as to what course I should adopt in the matter especially as the appointment of the personnel of the Working Committee was pending ; but I now beg to inform you that I propose to place the matter before the Working Committee constituted for the ensuing year for their consideration and will communicate their views to Your Excellency as soon as possible."

H. E. the Viceroy's letter dated Simla May 22, 1940 :—

"Thank you very much for your letter of May 18. I note your intention to place my letter of April 19 before the Working Committee for their consideration and to let me have their views as soon as possible."

League Executive's Attitude

CLARIFICATION OF ISSUES SOUGHT

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated Bombay June 17, 1940 :—

"I am enclosing herewith a copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee on June 16, at its sitting in Bombay, and if you desire to discuss it further or require my presence, I shall be glad to meet you."

Proceedings of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League held on June 15, 16 and 17, 1940 at Bombay :—

Resolution : "The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim 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 assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, on May 27, 1940 :

"Upto 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 Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government, pending their consideration with regard to the assurances 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 connection without our approval and consent.

"Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the large 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 law.

" '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 waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

" With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is upto the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership. There are many ways of doing so—and, as confident friends seek our whole-hearted co-operation, and we shall not fail.'

" '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.

DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY

" '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 organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee in 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 requirement of the situation. The Committee, therefore, authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts 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 province-wise between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in 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 danger that is facing the country, the real purpose will not be served by the Mussalmans and others merely joining the proposed Provincial and District War Committees with their present scope and functions."

SIMLA INTERVIEW

H. E. Viceroy's letter to Mr. Jinnah dated Simla, June 20, 1940 :—

"Many thanks for your letter of June 17 and for the resolution enclosed passed by the Working committee of the All-India Muslin League on June 16. I shall be very glad to have a talk with you and I suggest, if that is convenient for you, we might do so on the morning of Thursday, June 27, Perhaps you would be kind enough to let me know whether the date suits you, when I will suggest a time."

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated Bombay, June 22, 1940 :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of June 20, 1940, and I shall be arriving at Simla on the morning of Thursday June 27, as desired by Your Excellency.

"I may suggest that any time in the afternoon may be fixed provided it is convenient to you."

Letter to Mr. Jinnah dated June 30, 1940, Simla :—

"His Excellency mentioned that in your recent conversation with him you had touched on the possibility of a War Advisory Committee at the Centre in connection with any expansion of the Governor-General's Council but he did not discuss this in any detail with you. His Excellency asks me to say that if there are any further details which you would like to let him have as to what you have in mind, His Excellency would be very glad to have them—Yours sincerely, (Sd.) G. J. Laithwaite."

MR. JINNAH'S "TENTATIVE PROPOSAL"

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated Simla, June 1, 1940 :—

"As desired by His Excellency, I am enclosing herewith a rough note of the points I discussed with him on June 27, 1940, in the course of my interview :—

"Note : That no pronouncement or statement should be made by His Majesty's Government which would in any way militate against the basic and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore resolution of division of India and creating Muslim States in the north-west and eastern zones ; and it may be stated that that ideal now has become the universal faith of Muslim India.

"That His Majesty's Government must give a definite and categorical assurance to the Mussalmans of India that no interim or final scheme of constitution would be adopted by the British Government without the previous approval of Muslim India. In view of the rapid developments in Europe and the grave danger that is facing India it is fully realised that every thing should be done that is possible to intensify war efforts and mobilise all the resources of India for her defence for the purpose of maintaining internal security, peace and tranquility, and to ward off external aggression. But this can only be achieved provided the British Government are ready and willing to associate the Muslim leadership as equal partners in the Government both at the Centre and in all the provinces. In other words, Muslim India leadership must be fully trusted as equals and have equal share in the authority and control of the Governments, Central and Provincial.

Provisionally and during the period of the war, the following steps should be taken to comply with the formula, namely, co-operation with the Government with equal share in the authority of the Government :—

"(a) That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged, within the framework of the present constitutional existing law, the additional number to be settled by further discussions but it being understood that the Muslim representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in otherwise they should have the majority of the additional members as it is obvious that the main burden and the responsibility will be borne by the Mussalmans in that case.

"(b) In the provinces where Section 93 of the Act has to operate, Non-Official Advisers should be appointed, the number to be fixed after further discussion, and the majority of the Non-Official Advisers should be the representatives of Mussalmans ; and where the provinces can be run by a combination of parties or 'coalition', naturally it would be for the parties concerned to adjust matters by agreement among themselves.

"(d) There should be a War Council consisting of not less than 15 members, including the President, to be presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy. I don't like the expression 'War Consultative Committee.' This Council should regularly meet to deal with, and review the general situation as it may develop from time to time, and advise the Government with regard to matters in connection with the prosecution of the war generally, and in particular, the fullest development of defence possible and of finance and to make a thorough economic and industrial drive. On this body it will not be difficult to secure the presentation and full operation of the Indian Princes, and as far as I can judge they would have no difficulty in joining it. It is through this body that the association of the Princes can be secured. Here again the representation of the Muslim India must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority.

"Finally, the representatives of the Mussalmans on the proposed War Council and the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the additional Non-Official Advisers of the Governors, should be chosen by the Muslim League."

Non-Official Advisers for Provinces

VICEROY ON MR. JINNAH'S PROPOSAL

H. E. the Viceroy's letter to Mr. Jinnah dated Simla, July 6, 1940 :—

"I am much obliged for the private and personal memorandum headed 'Tentative Proposal' which you were kind enough to send me in your letter to my Private Secretary on July 1. I note the points taken in Paragraph 1 of that memorandum, and in the first sentence of Paragraph 2, both of which you emphasised in our recent conversation. I welcome also the amplification, as putting me in fuller possession of your mind, of that conversation represented by the balance of your letter. But certain of the points taken suggest there may be some slight misapprehension, which you will, I think, agree that it would be desirable that I should clear without delay.

"As regards my expansion of the Executive Council, this would, as you rightly observe in your memorandum, be within the existing constitutional scheme. In other words, any Council so expanded would co-operate as a whole and as a single Government of India. It is not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportions between the important parties. As you yourself indicated in the course of our conversation, there are parties other than either Congress or the Muslim League who may fairly claim to be considered for inclusion, and there is a very definite limit of numbers to any possible expansion. At the same time I readily accept the importance, in the event of any expansion, of securing adequate representation of Muslim interests, and that is a point which I would bear in mind.

"There is, however, as you will see from my explanation, no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section. Responsibility will be that of the Governor-General-in-Council as a whole. Again, it will be clear that under existing law and practice it must remain with the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Governor-General, to decide upon such names as we may submit to His Majesty the King for inclusion in the Governor-General's Executive Council, and such persons cannot be the nominees of political parties, however important ; though it may, of course, be assumed that both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General would, in all cases, do their utmost to select persons from the various sections of the community.

"I need not remind you that under law the whole responsibility for Government in Section 93 provinces vests exclusively in the Governor, although a Governor can, of course, take advantage of the assistance of any advisers he may appoint. Whether, and if so at what point, and in what strength, Non-Official Advisers from political parties should be appointed in provinces under Section 93 administration, in the event of an expansion of the Governor-General's Council, would clearly call for consideration in the light of circumstances of each province. You will, I think, agree with me also that the importance of the community from which Advisers are drawn in a particular province has a direct bearing.

Your idea for a War Council is, in my view, well worthwhile considering, though details would have to be worked out. Here again there are, of course, many parties to be considered other than the Muslim League or the Congress.

Constitutionally Impossible

"As regards Section III of your memorandum, I ought, I think, to make it clear that it would be constitutionally impossible for the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to any expanded Executive Council or as Non-Official Advisers to rest with the Muslim League. But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestions you may put forward would not receive full consideration.

"Let me, in conclusion, thank you again for your very clear and valuable memorandum. I realise, of course, fully that it is not merely private and personal, but that, in your own words, it embodies a tentative proposal. I am sure that you will agree with me that it is well that there should be no misunderstanding on the important points on which I have touched above."

Mr. Jinnah's Plea

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated Bombay, July 17, 1940 :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of July 6, 1940 and thank you for it.

"I am glad that you have noted the points contained in paragraph 1 of my memorandum, and also the first sentence in Paragraph 2. I may point out that after the first sentence in Paragraph 2, the second sentence beginning 'In view of the rapid developments.....' should have been marked Paragraph 3, and Paragraph 3 should have been marked Paragraph 4.

"As regards the constitutional and legal position that you have been good enough to point out to me in connection with the expansion of the Executive Council, and also with regard to the appointment of Advisers to the Governor, and the position of the Governor, working under Section 93 (administration) I fully appreciate it. I am glad that the idea of constituting a War Council, in your opinion, is well worthwhile considering. No doubt the details would have to be worked out. But I do not think there is anything in my memorandum which cannot be given effect to by way of convention and if the Secretary of State and yourself meet us in the spirit of trust and co-operation, the legal and constitutional formalities can be met and complied with. What is required is the spirit of complete understanding.

"I am, however, grateful to you for your assurance in Paragraph 5 of your letter with regard to the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to the Executive Council, or as Non-official Advisers which ran as follows : 'But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestion you may put forward would not receive full consideration.' On may part I hope that I shall meet you in every reasonable way possible.

"In conclusion, I should like to impress upon you that the Muslim public is very anxious to know what has been the result. The Congress propaganda is going on vigorously with its work whereas I have not yet given any idea of negotiations or the talk I had with you to the public. I wonder whether you will agree that I should place before the public at least my memorandum mhich I had sent you, with the corrections that I have already pointed out, which are merely a matter of arrangement of paragraphs."

"Most Convenient Method"

H. F. the Viceroy's letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated Simla, July 24, 1940 :—

"Thank you very much for your letter of July 17 in reply to mine of July 6. I note and have read with interest what you say in it.

"I appreciate the importance to you of the point taken in the last paragraph of your letter. I should, of course, see no objection whatever to your informing

your Committee confidentially of what passed between us at our conversation. (I may, incidentally, remark that I asked Mr. Gandhi, after my talk with him, to regard our conversation as confidential, but told him that I had no objection to his informing the Congress Working Committee in confidence of what had passed during it—a course which he has, I gather, adopted). I cannot help feeling though that must be a point for your consideration in the first instance, that to give publicity to your private and personal memorandum of your 'tentative proposal' might give rise to some misunderstanding as to the position in relation to the considerations mentioned in my letter to you of July 6. But I am naturally anxious to give you any assistance I can ; though I venture to think that the suggestion I have made might prove the most convenient method of dealing with the position.

Mr. Jinnah's letter to the Viceroy dated Bombay, Augst 2, 1940 :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of July 24, 1940, regarding the publication of my tentative proposals placed before you. Obviously I am awaiting your reply.

"So far as the Working Committee is concerned they have already got a fairly good idea of the points that were discussed between us. But the importance of the point is, I am glad you appreciate it. that how long do you expect me to wait and not give any idea to the general Muslim public, as to what are these proposals.

"My stating to the press as to what were the suggestions that were made on behalf of the Muslim League to you and through Your Excellency to His Majesty's Government cannot prejudice anybody or give rise to any misunderstanding with regard to your position."

VICEROY'S OFFER

H. E. the Viceroy's letter to Mr. Jinnah dated, en route to Poona August 5, 1940:—

"I have had the advantage of recent discussion with you in regard to the general political situation in India, and I have reported our conversations on that matter to His Majesty's Government, with whom also I have been in consultation as to the desirability of some further statement designed to remove misunderstandings and further to clarify their intentions in the constitutional field. I am glad to say that I have now been authorised to make the statement of which I enclose a copy. It will be published in the morning papers of Thursday. August 8, and I would ask you to treat it as entirely secret and for your personal information until then.

"As you will see, His Majesty's Government have authorised me to invite certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council and they have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. I trust sincerely that you and the organisation of which you are the President, will be prepared to join with me in the Central Government and in the War Advisory Council ; and I would greatly appreciate it if you are able to let me have a reply on August 21 at the latest. I would hope to have an opportunity of conversation with you in Bombay on August 13 and I suggest that this would be a convenient opportunity to clear the ground for your formal reply. I would only add that I am anxious that the names of the members of the expanded Executive Council should appear not later than the end of August and those of the War Advisory Council by the middle of September at the latest, and if possible earlier than that date."

VICEROY CLARIFIES POSITION

Letter from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated August 14, 1940 :—

"I think it may be convenient for you to have in writing the information on the points below which I gave you in our conversation to-day. I informed you in that conversation first that my statement clearly safeguarded the Moslem position in relation to future constitutional development; secondly, that I equally provided a basis on which the Muslims could, if they so desired, co-operate at the Centre. As I explained to you in our earlier conversation I cannot yet take up the issue of the provinces, but I do not contemplate non-official Advisers, at any rate, at this stage.

"2. You asked me the probable strength of the expanded Executive Council. I cannot, for reasons which you will appreciate, yet indicate a precise figure, but the total strength of the Council will be likely to be in the neighbourhood of eleven.

If, as I trust, the Muslim League are prepared to accept my invitation, I would like you to let me have a panel of names, say, four, with a view to my selecting two from it for appointment to my Council. As I have already made clear to you, Sir Zafrulla Khan, if he remains in my Council, will not count against this figure. It is clearly impossible until the discussions on which I am at present engaged are complete, to indicate precisely what would be the parties represented in the expanded Council.

PANEL OF NAMES

"3. The strength and composition of the War Advisory Council can clearly only be fixed after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete. Here, too, I should be grateful if you would be good enough to let me have a panel of names for my consideration on the assumption that there would probably be, say, five Muslim League representatives out of a total of something in the neighbourhood of twenty.

"4. As you will appreciate, I am very anxious to take very early decisions in these matters and to reach finality as regards the personnel of the expanded Executive Council and of Advisory Council at as early a date as possible, and I hope that you will be able to assist me by letting me have very early reply.

"5. There is of course no objection whatever to your communicating the information above to your colleagues confidentially, but I should be grateful if any publicity could be avoided for the present."

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, August 24, 1940 :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of August 14, 1940, and beg to inform Your Excellency that I will place the whole matter before the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League which has been called to meet at Bombay on August 31 and will communicate their views to you as soon as possible."

Mr. Jinnah's letter, dated Bombay, September 5, 1940 :—

"In continualion of my letter of August 24, 1940, I beg to enclose herewith the resolutions of the Working Committee of September 22 in reply to your letter of August 14, 1940.

"Hoping that it will receive Your Excellency's most careful consideration."

CHOICE OF EXECUHIVE COUNCILLORS

H. E. the Viceroy's letter dated Simla, September 25, 1940 :—

"I duly received the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Muslim League passed at their meeting in Bombay on September 2 which you were good enough to send me in your letter of September 5, and I have now had the advantage of a full and free discussion of the points arising out of those Resolutions with you.

"2. I have, I think, made the general position perfectly clear in the course of our conversation and it is unnecessary for me to enter into further detail about it here. As regards certain specific matters I would, however, put on record that I explained to you the constitutional reasons which make it essential that the choice of members of the Governor-General's Executive Council must rest exclusively with the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, with whom it must rest to tender advice in this matter to His Majesty. I appreciate, however, the difficulties which you made it clear to me confronted you in connection with the formulation of the panel which I had earlier suggested to you in the light of our discussion. I am content that the selection of representatives, while resting with the Governor-General, should be based in the case of the Muslim League (and should they so desire of the other parties to be represented in my Council) not on a panel formally submitted, but on confidential discussion between the Leader of the Party concerned and myself.

"3. I have also indicated the impracticability of a final decision as to the total strength of the expanded Council or as to the allocation of portfolios (a matter which must of course rest entirely with the Governor-General) until the replies of all those who may be invited to serve have been received. But I have made clear to you (as I have also to the leaders of the other parties whom I have recently seen) my attitude on both those issues.

LORD LINLITHGOW'S PLEA

"4. The general position of His Majesty's Government had been made clear in my statement of August 8 and in the Secretary of State's speech in the House

of Commons on August 15. It is that His Majesty's Government regard the expansion of my Council and the constitution of a War Advisory Council as steps of the first importance in terms of the association of Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government and of the constitutional machinery of the Government of India, pending the post-war investigations, the machinery for which has been indicated in my statement and in Mr. Amery's speech. His Majesty's Government sincerely trust that the Muslim League, like the other parties and interests which they have invited to join the expanded Council and to participate in the War advisory Council, will respond to that invitation. Their collaboration in both those bodies will, of course, be entirely without prejudice to the consideration and decision after the conclusion of the war, and on the basis already indicated in my statement of the main constitutional issue. But His Majesty's Government trust and anticipate that they and the other parties who are represented in the expanded Council and the War Advisory Council will welcome the opportunity offered to them of influencing the course of public affairs in the immensely important period which lies ahead, and, in so doing, will in the working throughout the period of the war of those bodies, find a basis for that general co-operation, with full regard to the interests of all concerned, on which the post-war constitution foreshadowed in my statement and in the Secretary of State's speech can be built."

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO RELEASE CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated New Delhi, September 26, 1940 :—

"I am in receipt of your letter of September 25, 1940, in reply to the resolution of tne Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on September 2 which was despatched to you with my covering letter of September 5.

"I shall place the matter before the Committee on September 28 and let you have the reply as soon as possible.

"May I now inform you that I propose to release to the Press the correspondence and the memorandum submitted by me to Your Excellency on July 1, and I hope you will have no objection to my doing so, as I think the public are entitled to know and understand the matter in its true perspective."

"AN IMPRACTICABLE" SUGGESTION

H. E. the Viceroy's letter dated Simla, September 25, 1940 :—

"You asked me yesterday to let you have a formal reply, before you left for Delhi, to the resolutions which you were kind enough to send me earlier this month, and I accordingly send you a formal letter herewith. I have given the most careful consideration since we parted last night as to whether I could devise any form of words such as you mentioned to me which would meet the purpose which you had in view. I warned you, as you will remember, that I anticipated the greatest difficulty in doing so, and I am bound to confess with regret that I have in fact after the most careful thought found it impracticable. But knowing your mind as I do, I have endeavoured in the last paragraph of my formal letter sent herewith to do what I could to make the general position clear, and I hope that that may be of assistance to you. I trust that in the light of our talks you will now be able to let me have a definite decision once your meeting at Delhi is over, and I trust that that decision may be a favourable one for matters have now reached a stage at which it is essential that a definite conclusion should be reached."

"LEAGUE'S POINT NOT MET"

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated New Delhi, September 26, 1940 :—

"I thank you for your letter of September 25, and I extremely regret that you are unable to meet me on the point which I raised during the course of our conversation on the 24th, though in the course of the discussion you appreciated and recognised that it was a vital point so far as the Muslim League was concerned, namely, that in the event of any other party deciding later on to be associated with your Executive Council to assist in the prosecution of the war it should be allowed to do so on terms that may be approved of and consented to by the Muslim League Party, as we were entering into, so to say, a 'war contract'.

"I thank you for your endeavour in the last paragraph of your formal letter to do what you could to make the general position clear, but I am afraid, it does not meet the point raised by me and I cannot derive much assistance from it'.

The U. P. Muslim League Conference

Allahabad—24th. December 1940

The Presidential Address

'Is it not high time for the Indian statesmen to rise to the occasion and make another attempt to tackle the baffling problem which has so far remained unsolved ? Does not patriotism dictate and self-respect demand that a fitting reply be given to the (British Government's) challenge ?'

This query was put by *Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan*, M.L.A., in the course of his presidential address at the U. P. Provincial Muslim League Conference, held at Allahabad on the **24th. December 1940**, in connection with the recent statement of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

Referring to the Satyagraha movement the president asked, instead of this barren path, would it not be more statesman-like to devote their time to finding a synthesis between the opposing views of the Hindus and Muslims about the future constitution of India.

'The western civilization, notwithstanding its great scientific discoveries, mechanical investigations and progress in statecraft, has signally failed to make any valuable contribution to the ethical progress of mankind,' observed the Nawab referring to the war and cataclysmic convulsions which had shaken the world.

He said : 'How many sovereigns and free countries have not been deprived of their independence and their peoples subjected to untold hardships ? The war is being waged with a ruthlessness and ferocity unknown to history. Even the tales of cruel atrocities of the Huns and Tartars pale into insignificance before the devastation, agony and annihilation wrought by the death-dealing instruments and machines of war, invented and perfected by the civilized nations of today. It is remarkable that not only no regret or remorse is visible for the vast scale destruction of human life and property, but that the exploits of devastation and havoc are being extolled and retailed with unblushing pride.'

Turning to the conditions prevailing in India the President said : 'No sooner was the War declared than the Congress party which was in power in seven provinces, began to get restive and put forward demands and claims on its own motion, without reference to the other important and influential political parties ; and when no satisfactory response was forthcoming from the British Government, threw up the responsibility for carrying on the Government of these seven provinces in a fit of temper and pique without even consulting the voters who had returned them in such large numbers to the legislatures, at the bidding of its high command whose ukases bear a close resemblance to the fascists decrees. Since then the constitution has been suspended in these seven provinces and their administration is being carried on by the Governors, assisted by their bureaucratic Advisers. There is and can be no popular support behind this form of administration. Its policy is determined and its decisions are taken without ascertaining the views of the people or their representatives. Its efforts even for the more vigorous prosecution of the war evoke no popular enthusiasm. No attempt has been made to mitigate the severity of the step that the British Government was constrained to take as a result of the majority party refusing to shoulder the responsibility for Government, by setting up any consultative machinery or appointment of non-official Advisers by means of which alone could public opinion and feeling be properly gauged. I am informed on good authority that the present provincial Governments have strenuously resisted and opposed the appointment of non-official advisers drawn from the public life of the country. They are naturally loath to part with power which has been so fortuitously placed in their hands after so many decades. We are face to face with a situation in which the people have no say in the affairs which concern them vitally.

'What then are we to do, gentlemen ?', asked the president and added : 'I can only suggest two alternatives. One is to demand an immediate dissolution of the present legislatures and fresh elections to them. In making this suggestion it is not my intention that we should take a mean advantage of the absence of the leaders of the Congress from our midst, but because I sincerely believe it to be in the best interests of the people. Moreover the Congress leaders have been proclaiming from housetops that the present constitution is inadequate as it does not transfer sufficient power to the legislatures and it is not worth their while to work it, though it may be observed in passing that they worked it, knowing its short-comings, and

would have gone on working it had not the war intervened. Therefore, these elections can be of no interest te them. The other alternative is that the Government of India Act 1935 should be so amended as to provide for a more representative and responsive executive during the period of suspension of the constitution.

For the past few months a good deal has been heard of coalition governments being set up in provinces where the Congress was in power. I do not know what the conditions in other provinces are but in our own province I can say that no coalition government is feasible or possible without the cooperation of the Muslim League party. It has therefore become necessary to make the position of the League clear with reference to this move. The Muslim League legislative parties are not precluded from entering into coalition with other parties in the legislatures provided the legislative programmes of these parties approximate to theirs, but they can only accept the responsibility for forming a Government in coalition with other parties if they are assured of a working majority in the legislatures. The League cannot, however, coalesce with individuals. It can only do so with regular disciplined parties with political programmes.

Referring to the League attitude towards war, Nawab Muhammad Ismail said that the all-India Muslim League through its council and working committee had made perfectly clear from the commencement of the present war that if 'full effective and honourable cooperation of Mussulmans' was desired by the British Government, it must create a sense of security and satisfaction amongst them' by meeting their demands and 'take into confidence the Muslim League.' The Muslim League still adhered to this position. It was, however, satisfactory to record that some of these demands had been in a large measure conceded by the British Government by means of the declarations made by the Viceroy and the pronouncements of the Secretary of State for India ; at the same time it was to be regretted that the failure of the negotiations which were being carried on by the president of the Muslim League with his Excellency the Viceroy for an effective share and voice in the Government of the country had not made it possible for the League to offer that full and honourable cooperation to which it had pledged itself on certain conditions. The president said that the League was fully alive to the growing menace of the international situation and the threat to India involved in it. It was with this object that the League had decided to give its cooperation to the fullest extent in the prosecution of the war provided it was made possible for it to do so on honourable terms. There was no question of non-cooperation with the war effort as far as the League was concerned, but at the same time it demanded the right of controlling and guiding it as an equal partner. It was true that when India was involved in this war the people of this country were not consulted but this was due to the subordinate position which this country to their shame occupied in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Till we make an effort to raise ourselves to that position which our internal dissensions unfortunately prevent us from doing, our complaint on this score is futile. Instead of settling our own house in order by finding a proper solution of the intricate problem which confront the people of this country by means of dispassionate deliberations and friendly negotiations, our Congress friends are prone to address their demands direct to the third party over the heads of the other parties and communities which easily turns them down on the plea that there is no unanimity behind them and that they are in conflict with the demands and interests of other parties and communities. In spite of the rebuffs received daily, our countrymen still refuse to face facts and realities. It is quite apparent from the most recent pronouncements of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State that no fresh move is contemplated by the British Government to satisfy the demands of the various parties. According to these the various communities, interests and parties must adjust their differences amongst themselves and then address their demands to the British Government.

'Is it not high time for the Indian statesmen to rise to the occasion and make another attempt to tackle the baffling problem which has so far remained unsolved ? Does not patriotism dictate and self-respect demand that a fitting reply be given to this challenge ?

'The Congress has recently launched a civil disobedience movement and most of its prominent leaders are now in jail. This movement has been started, it is said, for the vindication of the right of free speech, but to those who have been closely following the resolutions of the Congress working committee during the recent months, it is abundantly clear that this movement's real object is to mark the disapproval and resentment of Congress against the British Government for not acceding to its demands and for bringing pressure to bear upon the Government

for eliciting a declaration from it to its liking. Sooner or later the general guiding the movement would also have to resort to Satyagraha. Then it was quite likely that it would become a mass movement and would not only become a source of great embarrassment to the Government but might also endanger internal peace and security. Instead of treading this barren path, would it not be more statesman-like to devote their time to finding a synthesis between the opposing views of the Hindus and Mussalmans of the country ?

In regard to the Pakistan scheme, the president observed that the Lahore resolution had raised a hue and cry among the non-Muslims. For what reasons, it was not quite clear except it might be that it shattered the fond dream of Hindu domination over India. If the Lahore resolution was examined calmly and carefully, it would be found that all it did was to group the provinces in which Mussalmans were admittedly in majority in zones which would be sovereign. 'The units comprised in these zones will be autonomous as they are today. These units will, therefore, retain their present character and complexion. There is going to be no exchange of populations or migration of Mussalmans from other parts of India to these zones. What do the Hindus and Sikhs then fear ? How would they be worse off from what they are today ? The Punjab will still be for the Punjabis, irrespective of religion or creed. As against these two zones there will be several Hindu zones in which a fairly large number of Mussalmans will be living. They are quite reconciled to this idea. So why should it cause any anxiety to non-Muslims ? It may be the application of the word 'Sovereign' to these zones creates misgiving in their minds. This too is not a new idea which should cause any surprise to the non-Muslims. If the demands which the Mussalmans formulated when the constitutional issue came into forefront, first in connexion with the Simon Commission and later in connexion with the Round Table Conference, are carefully examined, it will be found that they have all along been asking for a federation of fully autonomous states, which very nearly means the same thing as sovereignty. It may also be pointed out that there is nothing in the resolution to prevent these sovereign states confederating with other sovereign states. If goodwill prevails and suspicions are dissipated, I have no doubt that some kind of confederation will come into being. Sovereign states in other countries have confederated before now. So there is nothing in the resolution which should cause disquiet to persons not obsessed by preconceived notions about the form of India's future constitution.'

Baluchistan Muslim League Conference

Quetta—26th. July 1940

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Strong criticism of the Minto-Morley scheme which, he argued, had created permanent communal majorities and minorities in the Legislatures, was voiced by *Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan*, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of his presidential address at the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League Conference, held at Quetta on the 26th. July 1940.

The Nawabzada reviewed at length the policy adopted by the British Government in India and the representative system of government which was introduced by the Minto-Morley scheme, and stated that this system, which inevitably created permanent communal majorities and minorities in the legislature, was wholly against the aim and spirit of democracy. He expressed surprise at the fact that both the Hindus and British wantonly used the word "nation" for the entire population of India but the Muslims never demurred. The Hindus asserted that they formed the majority and for over fifty years, derived advantage from it. The Muslims accepted the position of a minority for themselves, and as such, went on demanding safeguards of their rights and interests. The loss of rule and power had such a shatterirg and saddening effect on the minds of the Muslims that they failed to grasp the subtle machinations which lay at the bottom of the system of the government which commenced with the Minto-Morley scheme and culminated in the Government of India Act of 1935.

The speaker declared that the Muslim League's two-nation scheme was a glorious one and holds out hope of a splendid future for India, a future in which the different communities can rise to their full stature according to their own tradition

and characteristics and can make progress without any hitch and hindrance. There is absolutely no ground for the apprehension that the condition of the Muslims residing in the provinces in which the Hindus are in a majority would be helpless and pitiable. Each nation would be in a majority and in power in one part of the country and a minority in the other. A balance of power would thus be created which would prevent the majority from committing aggression. In case an all-India federation is established according to the British and Hindu scheme, the Muslims would everywhere be subject to Hindu rule and in a hopeless position."

Referring to the war, Mr. *Liaquat Ali Khan* said, "In regard to the war the policy of the Muslim League is clear. It has not non-co-operated with the Government nor has it refused to assist it in the prosecution of the war. It has openly condemned German aggression and expressed support of the aim for which the British Government claims to be carrying on the war. What the Muslim League wants from the Government is nothing more than an assurance that the aims which the British and Muslims agree to fight for would be enjoyed by the Muslims in India. It is said that the Muslim League has offered conditional support and co-operation. This is entirely wrong. The Muslim League simply desires the enunciation of the aims in the spirit of an ally so that the Muslims may realise that those aims are their own and they may thus feel the urge to fight for them.

"The Muslim League has called upon Muslims to refrain from joining the War Committees for so long as the negotiation between the President of the League and the Viceroy is proceeding. The League regards these Committees wholly inadequate for the defence of India and the prosecution of the war. They are not in a position to command and utilise to the full extent all the resources of the country. Muslims keenly desire to fight for the preservation of liberty and humanity shoulder to shoulder with the British Government, but they want to spend their money and blood with authority and responsibility in a useful manner. They are not going to waste them."

The Nawabzada affiirmed that Muslims did not harbour any ill-will towards their countrymen. They deemed it their duty to save their homeland from foreign attacks and internal disorder. "In a dangerous time like the present the Muslims are anxious to serve their country and countrymen. The Muslims should therefore organise themselves for the purpose." He appealed to them to enlist in the Muslim National Guards.

Bihar Muslim Political Conference

Sonhala (Bihar)—2nd. July 1940

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"Britain has decided to continue the War until victory is won. But the War situation has so developed that if there is any country whose moral and material aid she needs most it is India. And such aid can most effectively be forth-coming only if a truly National Government is installed at the Centre. For an appeal from such a Government alone will strike the imagination of the people and induce them to make all possible sacrifices to win a war which will then be their own as well as that of the British. Let us hope that the interviews which the Viceroy has had with Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah will lead to the speedy establishment of National Governments in the Centre as well as in the Provinces", observed Mr. *S. A. Brelvi*, in the course of his Presidential address at the Bihar Provincial Muslim Political Conference held at Sonhala (Bihar) on the 2nd. July 1940.

Proceeding, Mr. Brelvi said: "Hitherto we have been told that the greatest obstacle to the establishment of such Governments was the lack of unity among the Hindus and Muslims. We all know that that was a false excuse. The truth was that the British Government were unwilling to part with power. If to-day in her hour of greatest trial Britain realizes the justness of the Indian demand for freedom, she will have taken the greatest step forward in the march to victory. As to our internal differences, I have not the slightest doubt that there are enough resources of patriotism and statesmanship in this country for such differences to be amicably adjusted as soon as the leaders, who can deliver the goods, are assured that the freedom that is given to India is genuine. Apart from this, once freedom is assured the imperative need of fighting the common world menace of Nazism will be a potent factor in rallying all forces in the country under one standard.

What is needed, in the interest of Britain as well as that of India, is prompt satisfaction by British statesmen of the Indian demand for freedom."

Referring to the Nationalist Muslims' efforts to help to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity, Mr. Brelvi said, "The Azad Muslim Conference held at Delhi and the resolutions passed by it were the best proofs of the desire of the Nationalist Muslims not to hinder but to help the attainment of a permanent and honourable understanding between Hindus and Muslims. So successful, indeed, were the efforts made by the Nationalist Muslims and so genuine was the solicitude of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders to come to an agreement with the Muslim League that, had Mr. Jinnah not barred the way of negotiations by his insistence on the recognition of the League as the sole representative body of Indian Muslims, a settlement satisfactory to both sides would long ago have been arrived at within twenty-four hours and the country would have been spared the humiliations and despairs of the last two years. If national unity has not been achieved, the responsibility for the failure is that of Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues who have consistently refused to discuss with the representatives of the Congress the safeguards they consider necessary for the protection of Muslim interests in a free India.

"As a Muslim, it has always distressed me to find a large number of my co-religionists being overpowered by the fear of a Hindu majority. That feeling to my mind, is a thoroughly un-Islamic one. For, Islam teaches fearlessness. Islam also teaches brotherhood. Any policy or programme which is either based on fear or is opposed to the idea of brotherhood must not be countenanced by Muslims. Yet such is the policy and programme which the Muslim League asks Muslims to accept! Speaking for myself alone, I would have no safeguards for Muslims or any other minority except those concerning religion, language and culture and civic liberties which are embodied in the fundamental rights of all citizens. For, I am convinced that if we aim at establishing true democracy in our country, any safeguards other than these will hamper its realisation inasmuch the existence of such safeguards will sap the sense of responsibility which the majority owes to the minorities. For, democracy does not mean a mechanical rule of majority, but a rule of liberty, equality and fraternity—a rule, in short, in which the smallest minority has an equal opportunity of being heard and has never any fear of its rights being trampled upon and in which the majority identifies itself with the needs, the fears and the hopes of the majority."

Explaining the position of Nationalist Muslims as regards constitutional changes, Mr. Brelvi said : "We stand for complete independence of India, of India one and indivisible. We have in the past made sacrifices for the attainment of independence and we are determined to make greater sacrifices, whenever required, until our goal is reached. No settlement will be acceptable to us which does not recognise the right of India to frame its constitution through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise. We also stand for effective safeguards for Muslim rights and interests to be determined by Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly.

"The question of Indian defence is bound up with that of Indian freedom. As soon as the Indian constitutional demand is accepted by the British Government and National Governments are installed at the Centre and in the Provinces, there will be no effort and no sacrifice that India will spare to make the Indian Defence Force as strong and irresistible as possible and the resolution recently passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its last meeting will facilitate the work of these Governments in these respects."

The U. P. Azad Muslim Political Conference

1st. Session—Lucknow—20th. July 1940

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

An emphatic repudiation of the demand for 'Pakistan' and an appeal to Indian Muslims to get over their 'minority complex' were made by *Maulvi Abdul Majid* in the course of his presidential address at the first U. P. Azad Muslim Conference held at Lucknow on the 20th. July 1940.

Mr. Majid declared that 'Pakistan' was a desperate cry of those who were weak and had no confidence in themselves. 'The Muslims of India cannot leave this

vast sub-continent every corner of which bears the stamp of their influence, in order to confine themselves to limited areas in certain corners of the country. The folly and absurdity of Pakistan has been so thoroughly exposed that I do not want to dilate upon it, he added.

Mr. Majid proceeding observed that the cultural and political problems of Indian Muslims were exactly the same as those of the rest of Indians. They did not claim to have separate problems. It should not be forgotten that India was the cradle of many religions and creeds, the followers of which were as steadfast in their beliefs as the Muslims were in their own. The economic prosperity of the people did not depend on differences in religious convictions but was determined by the vagaries of the present economic system for the elimination of which Indian Muslims had to make common cause with their other brethren.

The question of economic welfare of the Indian people, and of Muslims in particular, was closely related to the question of independence. The Indian Muslims could not, therefore, ignore, or shelve, the problems arising out of their national struggle for the achievement of complete freedom from British rule. The Muslims would doubtless have to find out solutions for the problems directly concerning their own religion and community—problems which have caused anxiety in respect of their distinctive and collective role in the India of tomorrow.

But, proceeded Mr. Majid, the march of time would not wait for the settlement of their problems and he expressed his conviction that Indian Muslims had not lost confidence in their own future to such a degree that out of sheer nervousness they would start clamouring for separation.

Examining the factors which had given rise to these fears Mr. Majid held that the idea of Muslims being in a minority was fostered by the powers that be and their agents. "But if the nine crores of Indian Muslims who occupy a predominant position in five of the most important provinces cannot defend their rights and interests on the basis of their own strength, no pacts and agreements with the other communities would ever succeed in giving them the security they desire. Those who inspire a sense of defeatism and lack of self-confidence among Muslims instead of inculcating the spirit of courage and determination and self-reliance are the worst enemies of their community. The sooner the Muslims of India leave their minority complex the better for them and the country. No power on earth can possibly deprive the Muslims of their religion, culture and other rights if they themselves are determined to stand on their own legs.'

Proceeding Mr. *Majid* said that communal organizations were hampering the development of unity so indispensable for national independence. He appealed for the creation of common platforms and organizations which would tackle the problems of the masses, whether they were Hindus or Muslims. 'The only common organization struggling for national freedom is the Indian National Congress,' he declared, and urged Muslims to join the Congress in their thousands. Mr. *Majid*, however, uttered a warning that there were certain elements at the top of the Congress which, by their narrowmindedness had antagonized the Muslims. But that was no reason why the Muslims should shun the Congress. The Indian Muslims had contributed to a very large extent to the growth and development of the Congress. 'How could we now leave this national body in the hands of narrow-minded elements who are influencing it at present on account of our separation from it ?' he asked.

Concluding Mr. *Majid* stated that joining the Congress, however, did not mean separation from all other organizations which aimed at the promotion and defence of the specific interests of the Muslim community. These should be strengthened.

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

Welcoming the president and delegates to the conference, Mr. *Mohammad Yusuf Khan*, chairman of the reception committee, dealt at length with the demand for a declaration of the war aims of Britain which had not so far been forthcoming. At such a critical time the Muslim League had declared that 'democracy was not suited to India and the question of independence could not be considered so long as the communal problem remained unsettled. Britain took shelter behind these outbursts of the Muslim League and gave out to the world that while she was prepared to accept India's status if the communal settlement was reached she could not leave the Muslim minority at the mercy of the Hindu majority.'

The conference would, he said, have to frame its policy in the light of these happenings. Referring to safeguards for Muslims, the chairman observed that in a free India the interests of all the communities would be safeguarded. The difference

between the Muslim League and the Azad Muslims was that while the latter wanted to safeguard the real interests of the Muslims the League was using the word to hinder independence.

Referring to Pakistan, the speaker said that the entire history of the world had probably nothing 'so stupid, dangerous and anti-independent as this. It was strange that the Muslim League forgetting all its demands had suddenly taken to Pakistan in a great hurry and confusion'.

Madras Muslim Youth Conference

Annual Session—Madras—21st. September 1940

The Presidential Address

"My advice to young Muslims is that you should forget your religious differences, attempt to have one common platform and come under the Muslim League, which is the only organisation of the Muslims in the Country", was the advice given by *Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur*, presiding over the annual Muslim Youth Conference, held at Madras on the **21st. September 1940.**

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur, in the course of his address, said, that if the Muslim youth was properly organised and if true Muslim spirit was inculcated in them, the progress of the country as well as Community was assured. In the past, the Muslim League confined its work to British India alone and never interested itself in the affairs of Muslims resident in Indian States. He had toured India and found that in the States also Muslim community was suffering as much as their co-religionists in British India. On the other hand the Indian National Congress had interested itself in States' affairs and prominent Congress leaders were constantly touring the Indian States and rousing the peoples there. After his tour in some of the States, he thought it was necessary to have an All-India States Muslim League and the work that was being done now in the States would yield fruitful results.

Proceeding, the President said that the existence of the communal problem was due to the weakness of Muslim kings who ruled India. This problem would not have arisen if the kings had done their duty properly. They had been very tolerant and the history of India would bear testimony to the fact that Muslim kings granted jagirs to Hindus and Hindu temples. In Hyderabad, he knew that the State was helping more Hindu temples than mosques. Yet there was so much propaganda against the Muslim States. Much was made of forcible conversion to Islam. He had himself taken part in the movement of conversion and he would challenge anybody to give a case of coercion. The Muslims came to India as traders and rulers and had indentified themselves with Indians. They had called India their home and this could not be said about the other foreign invaders. Therefore, it was shocking to him to be told that the Muslims should migrate to other lands.

Continuing Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung said that all the trouble came when steps were taken to transfer power into the hands of Indians. Up to the grant of Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, both the communities lived in peace and harmony and when a semblance of power was granted the communities began to fight. The Communal Award was given and it was the standing cause for all trouble. He was one of those who stoutly opposed the award as being detrimental to Muslim interests. The weightage given to the Muslim had proved of no use to the community.

Quoting profusely from the Holy Quoran, the President appealed to the Muslims to sink their religious differences and become united. Religious differences had, in the past, led to bloodshed and communal riots. But if the Muslims had truly understood the message of Islam, such disasters would not have happened. Every individual had a right to hold his own views but no right to force them on others. "Have faith in God and do the good" is the message of Islam and if every Muslim had that faith, no power on earth could shake his position in the world. Once the Muslims lost faith in this message, their downfall was certain. He was of opinion that the Muslims had lost faith in God and that was why they were in the miserable condition in which they found themselves to-day. "My advice even now to the young men", he concluded, "is to forget your religious differences and to unite as one community under the flag of the Muslim League, which is the only organisation which can truly represent the Muslim interest."

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

The Working Committee Proceedings

Nagpur—10th. & 11th. August 1940

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha met at Nagpur on the 10th. August 1940 under the presidentship of Dr. B. S. Moonjee, in the absence of Mr. V. D. Savarkar, who was indisposed in Bombay.

Members of the Committee present included Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee (Calcutta), Dr. Savarkar (Bombay), Mr. G. V. Ketkar (Poona), Mr. B. G. Khaparde (Amraoti), Capt. Keshab Chandra (Amritsar), Mr. G. V. Subba Rao (Bezwada), Mr. Durga Prasad (Ajmer), Mr. Indra Prakash, Secretary of the Delhi office of the Hindu Maha Sabha, Mr. Bhart Misra (Patna), Mr. Padmaraj Jain (Calcutta), and Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu (Madras), Mr. M. S. Aney, the hon. Mr. V. V. Kalikar, Mr. Ganapatrai of Delhi and the Maharaja of Satara were among those who attended by special invitation.

Resolutions—Condolence

The Committee passed a resolution expressing deep sorrow at the deaths of the Maharaja of Mysore, Dr. K. B. Hedgewar, organiser of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, and Mr. J. P. Verma, General Secretary of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

Bengal Ministry Criticised

The Working Committee passed a resolution endorsing the demand made by the Bengal Hindu Maha Sabha for immediate withdrawal of "retrograde measures complained of" and revision of "the anti-Hindu policy of the Bengal Ministry." The Committee drew the attention of the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal to the immediate need for taking decisive action, forbidding the introduction of "anti-Hindu measures in the Bengal Legislature."

The resolution assured the Hindus of Bengal of fullest support in their efforts to protect their legitimate rights and interests and that, if occasion demanded it, it would make the Bengal struggle an all-India question.

Mr. V. G. Deshpande of Nagpur was appointed General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha in the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. J. P. Verma.

Second Day—Nagpur—11th. August 1940

Mahasabha's Attitude

The Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha to-day appointed a committee consisting of Dr. B. S. Moonje, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee and Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu to convey to Mr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Sabha, the views of the members of the Working Committee in connection with the Viceroy's statement. The Working Committee authorised Mr. Savarkar to take the final action in the matter in the light of the views of the Working Committee after his interview with the Viceroy.

While the view of the Working Committee was not available to the Press, it was gathered that the Working Commitee had reached the conclusion that the Viceroy's statement was unsatisfactory and inadequate. The Hindu Maha Sabha, however, would be willing to accept His Excellency's offer provided certain points were clarified. Mr. Savarkar was expected to request the Viceroy to declare that, after the successful termination of the war, Dominion Status would be accorded to India within a period of one year. The Hindu Maha Sabha's co-operation will also depend on Mr. Savarkar being convinced after his interview with the Viceroy, that in the process of safeguarding the rights and privileges of the minorities, the claims of the majority will in no way be ignored. It appeared that if Mr. Savarkar received satisfactory assurances from the Viceroy on these points, he will submit to His Excellency a panel from which selection will be made for membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

At an informal meeting of the provincial Hindu Sabha workers held this morning, the view was expressed that the Hindu Sabha's co-operation with the British Government should be conditional also on withdrawal of the ban on volunteer organisations which has affected the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and the Hindu Militia. Dr. Moonje, who presided, undertook to represent the view to Mr. Savarkar, and leave the matter at the latter's discretion.

The Working Committee Proceedings

Bombay—21st. to 23rd. September 1940

MAHASABHA'S CONDITIONS OF CO-OPERATION

An emergency meeting of the working committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was held at Bombay on the **21st. Sept. 1940** to consider the Viceroy's proposals in the light of the latest interview between the Viceroy and Dr. B. S. Moonje, who had been acting as president of the Mahasabha, in the absence through illness, of Mr. V. D. Savarkar. Twenty out of 25 members of the committee, besides some Hindu leaders specially invited, attended the meeting.

It was understood that Dr. *B. S. Moonje*, when he met the Viceroy, told him that the Hindu Mahasabha was fully prepared to cooperate in the Government's war efforts and in organizing defence on a wide scale on modern and up-to-date lines, as they were not believers in non-violence and non-cooperation, being followers of Lokamanya Tilak. They regarded the policy of non-violence and non-cooperation as sterile and non-constructive. Dr. Moonje also informed the Viceroy that the Hindu Mahasabha was prepared wholeheartedly and sincerely to work out the proposed scheme of the extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the War Advisory Council, but he emphasized that such cooperation could only be on honourable terms, due regard being given to the position of the Hindu Mahasabha as representing the Hindu community.

Dr. Moonje demanded, in view of the Muslim League resolution stating that Pakistan was the only solution of India's constitutional problem, that Government should definitely and clearly affirm their determination to maintain the territorial unity and solidarity of India. As the Muslim League had been promised two seats on the expanded Executive Council the Hindu Maha Sabha ought to be given six seats on the basis of its population strength. Out of these six seats one should be given to the Sikhs, one to the scheduled castes and the remaining four be allotted to the Hindu Mahasabha. Dr. Moonje also demanded that similar proportion should be maintained in regard to the representation on the War Advisory Council. Dr. Moonje opposed the reservation of 50 per cent of representation for the Muslim League on the Viceroy's Executive Council and on the War Advisory Council. He also informed his Excellency that the Hindu Mahasabha did not approve of the panel system and would submit only the required number of names for the number of seats to be allotted.

The working president of the Hindu Mahasabha demanded that a provision should be made for the appointment of an Indian Minister of Defence. If for any reason this was not feasible, a sub-committee of the expanded Executive Council with the Viceroy as its president must be put in charge of the defence portfolio.

Dr. Moonje wanted that there should be no commitment on the part of the Government regarding the distribution of portfolios and that the representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha must be given portfolios of importance. He also pointed out that the demand of the Muslim League that no constitution, either interim or final, should be adopted by his Majesty's Government, without the consent and approval of the Muslim League, would mean the granting of the power of veto to the Muslim League, a position which the Hindu Mahasabha could never accept unless it was meant to indicate that the constitution would provide reasonable safeguards for the protection of the legitimate rights of the minorities. If the Government proposed to accept any non-official adviser in the provinces the Hindu Mahasabha should also have due representation.

RESOLUTION

The working committee of the Mahasabha passed the following resolutions :—

"The Hindu Mahasabha urges that the Governor-General should not commit himself to any distribution of portfolios before the expanded executive Council is constituted. This committee further urges that the distribution of portfolis when made should be made on an equitable basis with due regard to the importance and interest of the Hindus."

"(1) In view of the attitude taken up by the Muslim League and the altered political situation brought about thereby, the committee requests the president without meaning any disagreement about the personnel of the panel, to withdraw the panel that has been submitted by him to his Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha in deference to the wishes of the Viceroy.

"(2) The Hindu Mahasabha urges that a sub-committee of the expanded Executive Council be formed, with the Viceroy and Governor-General, as chairman, to be in charge of the Defence portfolio and that the Hindus should be given adequate representation on the sub-committee."

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Bombay—22nd. September 1940

MAHASABHA'S TERMS OF CO-OPERATION

"Resolved that in view of the opportunity that the present war offers for the general militarization of the Hindus and for the organization of the system of India on sound and up-to-date modern lines so that India be converted into a self-contained defence unit, the Hindu Mahasabha is prepared wholeheartedly to work out the schemes of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the War Advisory Council, but on honourable terms of equity and justice as stated below :

"(I) In view of the declaration made by the Muslim League of its 'determination, firm resolve and faith' that the partition of India is the only solution of India's future constitution the Hindu Mahasabha urges the Viceroy to make a clear and definite declaration that the Government has not approved or accepted any such proposal or scheme.

"(2) (A) that in view of the reported understanding between the Viceroy and the Muslim League that the League would be given two seats on the proposed extended Executive Council and five seats on the proposed War Advisory Council, the Hindu Mahasabha claims representation of six seats on the extended Executive Council and 15 seats on the War Advisory Council on the population basis. (B) That out of these six seats one be given to the Sikhs and one to the Scheduled Castes and the rest be given to the nominees of the Hindu Mahasabha.

"(3) This committee considers the demand of the Muslim League of 50 per cent. representation on the proposed Executive Council and elsewhere as undemocratic, unconstitutional, unreasonable and preposterous and it would urge the Viceroy to give an assurance to the Hindu Mahasabha that no such demand would be entertained."

Third Day—Bombay—23rd. September 1940

MAHASABHA'S POLITICAL DEMANDS

A lively discussion took place on the 23rd. September on the question of the selection of nominees for inclusion in the Viceroy's Executive Council. Opinion, was divided. Some members favoured the view that the meeting should proceed with the selection, while Mr. *L. B. Bhopatkar* and Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* (invitee to the meeting) thought that the matter could be decided at the next meeting of the committee to be held in Delhi.

Mr. *Bhopatkar* advised the working committee to adopt a policy of 'responsive cooperation'. Mahatma Gandhi was meeting the Viceroy and what the outcome of that talk would be was quite uncertain and the Mahasabha would have to adjust its policy according to the circumstances that might arise.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* urged that it would be inadvisable to select their nominees until the Government's decision was known and that the selection of the candidates should be left to the president's discretion.

The working committee passed a resolution setting forth the Mahasabha's political demands. The following is the text :—

"Resolved that the statement made recently by H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India are highly unsatisfactory and disappointing, in that they make no reference to India's right to independence which has been declared to be the goal of Hindu Mahasabha ; reference made to the grant of dominion status as an immediate step in constitutional advance is vague and uncertain. The Hindu Mahasabha claims dominion status of the Westminster type within a definite time limit not exceeding a year after the war.

"That the statement made to the effect that the British Government will not agree to hand over the Indian administration to a system of Government which will not be acceptable to large and powerful elements of Indian life, requires clarification as it is capable of the interpretation that if the Muslim League, the princes or the other vested interests oppose the recognition of the legitimate rights of the majority in India, the further constitutional advance will be held up or the rights of the majority will be surrendered to them which will mean the negation of the principle of democracy and incitement to minorities to obstruct and revolt.

"The temporary expedience suggested, namely, the expansion of the central

Executive Council and the institution of the War Advisory Council will succeed only if a convention grows that the Viceroy will act as the constitutional head of the administration and all real power and responsibilty is granted to these bodies.

The Hindu Mahasabha notes with regret and disappointment that the British Government even at this crisis should not be prepared to give up its old imperialistic policy and states that its latest proposal is hardly of a nature to satisfy the demands of the Indian people. In the Mahasabha's opinion a great opportunity has been lost by the Government. The Mahasabha makes it clear to the people of India and particularly to the Hindus that in all its actions and activities it will be guided by a policy, whereby the Hindu interests will be furthered and no elements will be permitted to dominate the public life of India to the detriment of Hindu interests. The Hindu Mahasabha is determined to fight every inch of ground both inside and outside the Government to achieve the above object. The Hindu Mahasabha will accept any reasonable and honourable offer made by the Government, only if it will stimulate and advance the Hindu cause and prevent any encroachment being made on the rights of the Hindus by the reactionary elements in the country, and this acceptance of the offer will not be considered to constitute a bar to the Hindu Mahasabha carrying on the agitation for further advancement of the Hindu cause and interest.

The Hindu Mahasabha hereby calls upon all Hindus to support the Hindu Mahasabha by joining it in large numbers and otherwise supporting it in the policy stated above, to organise themselves with all speed and offensiveness and to be prepared for the struggle, if necessary.

The Working Committee Proceedings

New Delhi—12th. & 13th. October 1940

VICEROY'S DECLARATION UNSATISFACTORY

The working committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha concluded its two-day session at New Delhi on the 13th. Oct. 1940 after passing seven more resolutions, the most important of which related to the Viceroy's declaration of August. The committee had no hesitation to declare that the scheme and proposals outlined in the Viceroy's declaration have failed to give satisfaction to the progressive political parties in the country. The following is the text of the resolution :—

"The working committee having given their most anxious consideration to the Viceregal announcement of Aug. 6 and the statements made by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State from time to time in elucidation and clarification of the same and having carefully noted the reactions to the same in this country, have no hasitation to declare that the scheme and the proposals outlined therein have failed to give any satisfaction to the progressive political parties in the country, inasmuch as it holds out neither any tangible and definite promise of the inauguration of the dominion government immediately at the end of the war, nor the introduction of the element of responsibility in any form in the present central Government immediately.

"The committee characterises the principles laid down in the assurance given to the minorities or to certain important sections of national life as reactionary, anti-national and anti-democratic. They virtually negative the promise to recognise the principle of self-determination in the case of the people of India in the matter of framing their constitution given in the first part of the announcement and are even calculated to incite and encourage the minorities to insist on impossible and anti-national demands and effectively impede the progress of the entire nation towards the goal of political emancipation.

"The committee hope that the Viceroy will take note of the criticisms of the scheme by important sections of the Indian public and soon come out with a liberal scheme of reform in the existing system of central Government as a transitory measure and a definite unconditional announcement in unambiguous and unequivocal terms recognising the right of the Indian people to frame their constitution of the future Government of India on the basis of dominion status for India in the Commonwealth of British nations.

"The committee desire to express their satisfaction at the firm stand taken by the Viceroy in dealing with the extravagant and arrogant demands made by Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League in regard to the representation of the League on the still-born expanded Council and the advisory council proposed in the announcement.

"The committee deeply regret to express their difference from the opinion of the Congress working committee embodied in the resolution passed at Bombay. The Congress working committee have in the opinion of this committee failed to take a realistic view of the situation and give a correct lead to the country at this critical hour. The hope of the political emancipation of the Indian people depend on the defeat of totalitarian forces and the success of the British people with whom their fate is indissolubly bound. The war has now reached a stage when the Indian people can no longer afford to be indifferent to the vital problem of India's defence. The adequate preparation of the Indian nation for her national defence is a matter of vital importance to them. The committee ask them in all earnestness to urge on the Government of India to fully arm and equip the country for their defence by raising a strong national army, navy and air force, promising the Government active co-operation and participation in their effort of India's defence. In this connection the committee desire to invite the attention of the Government of India to the frequent complaints published in papers that the claims of the Hindus do not receive adequate recognition in the matter of recruitment to certain branches of national defence activites. The committee emphatically insists on the elimination of all arbitrary and artificial classification of the Indian people as martial and non-martial and a deliberate attempt should be made to enlist in the defence forces recruits of all classes in proportion to their numerical strength in the population of the country as far as possible".

PURE DEMOCRACY

"By another resolution the committee expressed the view that as the future governance of India should be based on the principle of pure democracy and nationalism as distinct from religious or pseudo-religious principles, any attempt to frustrate this end either by Government or any organisation must be resisted at any cost".

INSULTS TO HINDU WOMEN

"The committee also condemned the insults offered by Muslims to Hindu women in the Sind and N. W. F. provinces and requested the Governments of these provinces to put a stop to this misbehaviour. The committee called upon 'the Hindu youth to be ready to serve as voluntary guards for the protection of honour and person of Hindu ladies whenever and wherever it be necessary."

RUMOURS REGARDING BERAR

"The meeting understood that the public feeling in the country had been considerably agitated by persistent rumours that the 10 Andhra districts of Madras presidency and four districts of Berar were going to be restored to the Nizam of Hyderabad in recognition of war services and the committee thought it necessary that the Government of India should make a public statement to allay the public apprehensions in the matter".

NATIONAL MILITIA

"The Committee was of opinion that the Government should at the earliest convenient time in future dispense with the British army of occupation in India and take steps to raise a national militia officered by Indians by the adoption of the policy of conscription. This step is necessary to bring down the military expenditure in the years of peace in the Indian budget to a reasonable proportion to the total income of this country".

HINDU WIDOWS

"The working committee impressed upon all concerned the necessity of training Hindu widows in remunerative work such as home nursing, teaching in primary and secondary schools, house keeping and light work in factories".

CENSUS IN MADRAS

"The committee urged that the census operators in the Madras presidency should give complete details of all Hindu castes separately as was done formerly and as is done in other Indian provinces instead of dividing Hindus into two main sub-divisions only viz., Brahmins and non-Brahmins because 'this latter sub-division has been introduced purely on political purposes instead of ascertaining the truth about all castes and communities comprehensively. The relations between the Brahmins and other communities are the same as between all other communities amongst themselves".

The Open Session of the Maha Sabha

22nd. Session—Madura—28th. to 30th. December 1940

The Welcome Address

Amidst scenes of grandeur and festivity, the open session of the Twenty-Second All-India Hindu Maha Sabha Conference commenced on the 28th. December 1940 at the spacious special pandal at Sethupathi High School grounds, Madras. About 2,000 delegates and thousands of visitors were present.

Distinguished among present at the Conference, were Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. Syamaprasad Mukerjee, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Bhai Parmanand, Mr. Hariram Sait of Aundh Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Maharaja of Ramgarh, Sankaracharya of Jyothi Mutt, Mr. L. S. Bhopatker, V. V. Kalekar and Sir Gokulchand Narang.

Mr. Ramaswami Sastri's Welcome Address

Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and the visitors. In the course of his address Mr. Ramaswami Sastri said that in a warstricken and miserable world India had to preserve her soul untainted and pure and had to fulfil once again her age-long mission of leading the world in the paths of piety, purity and peace. But Hindus could not do it if they lose their Hindutwa.

Mr Ramaswami Sastri said that Hindu Mahasabha was not sectarian but a pan-Hindu national organisation including the Harijans, Sanatanists, Buddhists. Sikhs and others within its folds. He felt there was no irreconcilable antagonism between real Sanatanism and real Sanghatanism. They must both work for Hindu social unity and uplift. The aim of the Sabha was the protection and promotion of the strength and glory of the Hindu race, Hindu culture, Hindu civilisation and Hindu politic. Its objects were the organisation and consolidation of Hindu interests and rights. The Maha Sabha, he said, was not a communal organisation like the Muslim League.

"House of a Great Nation"

After stating that his studies had convinced him that there were no such separate races as the Aryan race and Dravidian race the speaker said that the Hindus were a home-born people in India. He then referred to the work of great religious leaders and monarchs for achieving cultural and political unity in India and said that Hindus had always shown political genius of a constructive type and a rare combination of political wisdom and realism. "India has been marked out by Nature as the house of a great nation and unified people", he added. "We have both territorial unity and culture and psychological unity". But after the advent of the British, the Hindus took to Western civilisation with more avidity than the Muslims and hence became denationalised to a large extent.

The speaker then paid a tribute to the Congress and said that the Maha Sabha had to come into being because of the inability of the Congress to appeal as strongly and widely to the Muslims as to the Hindus and because it had surrendered Hindu rights. The Pakistan Scheme, he complained, had not yet been officially condemned by the Congress, though it had been done so by leaders like Mr. Nehru. Condemning the Pakistan Scheme, he said, "let us clearly tell Mr. Jinnah 'India is our goal for which Hindus will live and die. It is not a counter for bargaining. Pakistan shall never be while we are alive."

Mr. Ramaswami Sastri then criticised, what he called, "the hush-hush policy" of the Congress in Sind and the Congress ideal of *Ahimsa*. "Let us have *Sante Senas* (peace brigades)" he said. "But for God's sake let us have also *Rama Senas* (protective war brigades)." The speaker was against both the Congress Satyagraha and the Government's policy of severe repression of the Congress Satyagraha by the infliction of very severe sentences. He added that the Maha Sabha alone had got a rational and sensible programme in regard to war. "Its way", he said, "is the way of responsive cooperation and not the way of non-cooperation."

Constitutional Problem

Referring to the constitutional problem, Mr. Ramaswami Sastri said that the Hindu Maha Sabha wanted a better type of democracy than the western

type. "We propose" he said, "to combine political liberty and economic equality and social fraternity." He then gave a survey of constitution-making in India and the Viceroy's offer. "As a result of the deadlock", he said, "the Cabinet expansion scheme has been put into cold storage. I am not vexed over this at all, because the really important immediate consideration is not Cabinet expansion but Dominion Status for India."

Concluding, Mr. Ramaswami Sastri said, "In this great task of reconciling the Congress and the Muslim League and the British people, I believe that the Hindu Maha Sabha will have its truest function and highest reward. The clash of classes and communities must give place to the united efforts of all for the common good."

The Presidential Address

The ideal that the Hindus should get themselves 're-animated and re-born' into a martial race was placed before the Mahasabha by Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, the President, in his address. Urging participation by the Hindus, in the war efforts, he said that the Hindu's attitude to war must be guided by the need for the militarisation of the community and industrialisation of the country.

Mr. *Savarkar*, in the course of his address, made a special appeal to the Hindus to give their support in all elections to the candidates set up by the Mahasabha in preference to Congress candidates.

Pan-Hindu Movement

Advocating the doctrine of a "Pan-Hindu" movement, Mr. *Savarkar* declared that it was encouraging to note that Hindu Princes were evincing keen interest in it. "The farsighted amongst them have begun to realise that their present and future interests as well are in fact identified with the 'Pan-Hindu' movement now growing stronger from day to day. If up to this time the Hindu Princes failed to lead the Hindu movement or help it with that fervour, courage and religious devotion with which the Muslim Princes in India identify themselves with the Muslim political parties in India and share in the pan-Islamic ambition, the fault does not altogether lie on the side of the Hindu Princes alone. The Hindu public in general and notably Congressite Hindus in particular, never extended any the least sympathy with the Hindu States or realised their importance, but, on the contrary, arrogated to themselves the monopoly of patriotism and looked down on the Hindu States as an impediment in the path of India's progress which the sooner it was removed the better it would be for the nation. But the Muslim public, on the other hand, with a truer insight of political realities, had ever been intensely proud of the few Muslim States in India. Consequently the Muslim princes too ever felt that not only their present interest but even their future greatness and future glory depended on the progress and strength of the Pan-Islamic movement led by the Muslim politicians of India." "It is not want of resources", Mr. *Savarkar* added, "which forces you to be so helpless and hopeless but lack of political insight and political realities. You have lost the political eye altogether."

Recognition of Maha Sabha

Mr. Savarkar then went on to explain the position of the Hindu Mahasabha *vis-a-vis* the Congress, the Muslim League and the Government. "Although the Congress itself openly resented the charge that they represented the Hindus and proved their contention to the hilt by actually betraying the Hindu interests a hundred times over as for example on the question of Sind separation, the Communal Award, the frontier policy, the Hindusthani language, etc., still the Government persisted in believing that the Congress and the League were equivalent as a sum total of Hindu-Muslim representation. The Hindus as Hindus not only continued to be unrepresented but were positively mis-represented in all Governmental constitutional deliberations. But the growing prestige, influence and effective activities of the Hindu Maha Sabha did at last impress the Government with the fact that it was no longer possible to look upon the Congress as a representative Hindu body or to refuse to recognise the representative character of the Hindu Maha Sabha. The Government of India had thus unlearnt the old equation 'Congress plus League is equal to Indian people' and had to learn the new equation. The Hindu Maha Sabha, the League and the Congress is equal to the sum total of Indian rspresentation. He thanked His Excellency the Viceroy for having decisively recognised the position of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

"NEITHER ORTHODOX NOR HETERODOX"

Referring to a recent speech of Mr. Amery advocating the principle of "India First,' in which he said that the Maha Sabha represented the orthodox point of view, Mr. Savarkar said :—"The British public as well as the Government must be made to realise that the Hindu Maha Sabha is neither orthodox nor heterodox. In fact, it has very little to do with any 'doxy' at all. It is not primalily a Hindu Dharma Sabha, a religious body. The Hindu Maha Sabha is the Hindu 'Rashtra Sabha', a body seeking to represent the Hindu nation as a whole and includes all sections of Hindudom, whether orthodox or heterodox." The recognition by the Government of the Hindu Maha Sabha as the most outstanding representative of the Hindu view and the consequent consultation with the Viceroy held with its President is an event which is certain to have far-reaching consequences on the Hindu movement in general. Because it implies the recognition by the Government of the fact that the Congress does not represent the Hindus as Hindus and that just as to ascertain the Muslim opinion they have to consult the Muslim League or any other such Muslim institution which is independent of the Congress, so also the real Hindu interests, rights and claims could only be ascertained by consulting a representative body which is independent and apart from the Congress." He added, "Any Congress-League pact can no longer sell, mortgage or barter away Hindu rights unless and until the Hindu Maha Sabha is a willing party to it."

Referring to the Pakistan demand and the League's claim on the British Government, Mr. Savarkar said, "I have no hesitation in expressing my sincere appreciation of the clear attitude which Mr. Amery has taken on the question of Indian integrity and indivisibility as well as of the firmness with which the Viceroy turned down a number of the anti-Hindu and aggressive demands which the League had advanced during the recent negotiations in connection with the War Committee and the expansion of the Executive Council."

WAR AIMS OF BRITAIN

Adverting to the question of war, Mr. Savarkar said : "The Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India more than once wanted us to believe in their various speeches that the only objective which had actuated Britain to continue the war had been to resist aggression whether against England or other, to defend great democratic ideals, and without seeking any material advantage, to lay the foundation of a better international system and to secure a real and lasting peace. No better proof can be adduced to disprove these declarations than the fact that they provided an occasion for Hitler to retort when he was asked by Mr. Chamberlain to free Poland that he would do so as soon as Great Britain freed India." Consequently, the demand of the Congress leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru calling upon Great Britain to tell their general objectives in going to the war seems to be altogether idle, firstly because Britain has been repeating those general objectives in the above strain *ad nauseum* and, secondly, because the declaration of any general pious objectives cannot be worth a brass farthing unless it is immediately translated into action, wherever it is possible to do so, as England could have done in the case of India by granting her a democratic and free constitution. But she did nothing of the sort. Political science and history both illustrate the fact that no constitution or social system can be beneficial under all circumstances and for all alike. No people are so attached to democracy and to individual liberty as the British so far as their own nation is concerned. But under war conditions did they not throw their democratic conceptions and constitution overboard in a day and vote for almost an undiluted dictatorship ?"

Mr. *Savarkar* proceeded : "There is no meaning calling upon Indians that it is their duty to fight Germany simply because they are totalitarians or to love the French or the English or the Americans simply because they are Democrats or Republicans. The sanest policy for us which practical politics demand is to befriend those who are likely to serve our country's interest in spite of any 'ism' they follow for themselves and to befriend them only so long as they serve our purpose."

The bogey of the Germans conquering India with which the English try to frighten Indians out of their wits should not be taken too seriously into consideration in framing the immediate policy in regard to the war situation. As things stood, it was not very likely, nay, altogether improbable, that in this war England would be defeated so disastrously as to be compelled to hand over her Indian Empire into German hands. The English were assuring the whole world that they were sure to crush Hitler in the long run while in the same breadth they told us "Help us or the Germans are sure to conquer India." The fact is that if ever the

Englishmen really come to feel so helpless that without our help they were sure to lose India they would offer us not only the Dominion Status but some of their colonies and possessions as they are doing to-day in the case of America.

The speaker then proceeded to point out that none need be frightened of a hypothetical problem such as what would happen to India in the event of British withdrawal from India, a civil war in India and widespread Hindu-Muslim clashes.

OUR FUTURE PROGRAMME

"In framing our programme so far as it lies in our power, our only consideration should be how best we can take advantage of the war situation, to promote our own interests, how best we can help ourselves in safeguarding and if possible even in promoting the Hindu cause. In doing so we should take great care not to indulge in any idle, useless and harmful bombast by making light of our overwhelming weakness on the one hand as well as not to underrate on the other whatever strength we even now possess."

Continuing his address, Mr. *Savarkar* dwelt on the methods by which India could attain her independence. An armed revolt on a national scale was an impossibility. Consequently not on any moral grounds, but on the grounds of practical politics, the Maha Sabha was compelled not to concern itself with any programme involving any armed resistance.

Criticising the policy of non-violence, Mr. Savarkar said, "Of course relative non-violence is doubtless a virtue so preeminently contributing to human good as to form one of the fundamentals on which human life, whether individual or social, can take its stand and evolve all social amenities. But absolute non-violence that is, non-violence under all circumstances, and even when instead of helping human life, whether individual or national, it causes incalculable harm to humanity as a whole, ought to be condemned as a moral perversity." "Call it a law of natute or the will of God as you like" he said, "the iron fact remains that there is no room for absolute non-violence in nature. Man could not have saved himself from utter extinction nor could he have led any but the precarious and wretched life of a coward and a worm had he not succeeded in adding the strength of artificial arms to his natural arms. The lesson is branded in every page of human history that the nations which, other things being equal, are superior in military strength are bound to survive, flourish and dominate while those which are militarily weak shall be politically subjected and cease to exist at all."

THE MOST CRYING NEED

Appealing to the Hindus to offer all legitimate opposition "to this vicious principle in their own interests," the speaker declared, "we must whip up military enthusiasm amongst the Hindus. That is the most crying need of to-day and must form the chief plank of the Hindu Sanghatanist platform."

Mr. Savarkar urged the Hindus to utilise the opportunities afforded by the war to the militarisation and industrialisation of the community. "I feel no hesitation," he said, "in proposing that the best way of utilising the opportunities which the war has afforded to us cannot be any other than to participate in all war efforts which the Government are compelled by circumstances to put forth in so far as they help in bringing about the industrialisation and militarisation of our people. Fortunately for us facilities are thrown open to us in this direction within a single year in consequence of the war which we could not find during the last fifty years and could not have hoped to secure by empty protests and demands for the next fifty years to come."

Mr. Savarkar added that the results of participating in war efforts had so far proved satisfactory. "In examining these results", he said, "we must bear in mind that the British are raising these military forces and encouraging industrial development so far as it helps their war efforts with no altruistic motives of helping the Indians. We are also participating in these war efforts or at any rate are not out to oppose them, with no intention of helping the British but of helping ourselves. I have put the situation almost bluntly in the above manner to counter the political folly into which the Indian public is accustomed to indulge in thinking that because Indian interests are opposed to British interests in general, any step in which we join hands with the British Government must necessarily be an act of surrender, anti-national, of playing into British hands and that co-operation with the British Government in any case and under all circumstances is unpatriotic and condemnable."

Mr. Savarkar regretted there were very few Hindus in the Navy. The Sabha

was already carrying on an agitation for the recruitment of more Hindus in the Navy. Consequently the Government had promised to recruit Hindus in Naval services without any distinction and had also admitted that the Hindus were showing more inclination to join the Navy.

So far as the question of compulsory military education in colleges and high schools was concerned, Mr. Savarkar said, the Government of India was still following 'obstructive tractics.' The Senates of almost all the leading universities in India had passed resolutions favouring compulsory military training. He hoped Government would revise their policy in this respect and do the needful.

Satyagraha Campaign

Mr. Savarkar, turning to the satyagraha campaign on the Congress, asked, "What is the alternative programme to the one adopted by the Hindu Maha Sabha ? Shouting some slogans and going into the jails ? I appreciate the motive of those patriotic men in the Congress ; I sympathise with their sufferings. But I must plainly state that they have made a mess of all political movements and the satyagraha they have now launched can bring no substantial good to the country. It is to some extent useful and was perhaps meant to serve as a stunt for the next elections, Are the Hindu Sanghatanists going to adopt a counter stunt ? We would have been justified in doing that too, But the Hindu Maha Sabha as an organisation cannot do two things at one and the same time. If it participated in the war efforts with a view to reap the most substantial benefits in militarising the Hindus and allies itself with the Government to that extent, it cannot as an organisation take to any civil resistance which act will directly prove detrimental to our first and greater objective. You cannot both eat and have the cake too. Of course the Hindu Maha Sabha can resort to civil resistance if the action is more profitable than the two great objectives of which it seeks, the militarisation and industrialisation of the country."

Political Demands

In concluding his address, Mr. *Savarkar* dwelt on the political demands of the Maha Sabha. "I must make it clear", he said, "that the demands forwarded by the Hindu Maha Sabha were not slighted by the Government. We ask them to make a declaration that within one year's time after the cessation of the war Dominion Status shall be granted. Now the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have both made it clear that India shall be raised to the position of a self-governing unit of the Commonwealth, which they call British, but I claim must be called Indo-British, on equal footing immediately after the war and at the shortest interval possible. We wanted a declaration from the Government that they would not encourage the scheme of breaking up the integrity of India. Under the pressure of Hindu Maha Sabha alone Mr. Amery has made a clear declaration to that effect in his speech on 'India First.' So far as our military demands are concerned, they are almost all are being acted upon, at least uptill now. The military service is thrown open to all caste and creed alike. The Hindu Maha Sabha is already recognised by the Government as the foremost representative body of the Hindus. The only point on which the Government is still harping is the fact that they are throwing the responsibility of framing a constitution on the Indians and insisting that unless all Indian parties unite, the minority and the majority, produce a compromise unanimously voted for, no constitution could be framed. But we shall fight out this specious argument in right time. There is every likelihood that on this point too, the Government will have to yield to the most reasonable demand of the Hindu Maha Sabha. In short, I find no detail or issue important enough to compel us to resort to civil resistance at the sacrifice of the important facilities we have gained and the opportunity that has presented to us enabling us to effect the militarisation of the Hindus to a substantial extent." Mr. *Savarkar* commended to the Maha Sabha the programme, which was recommended by the Working Committee of the Maha Sabha at its meeting held in November last.

Earlier in his address Mr. *Savarkar* referred to the position of Hindus in Sind and deplored that the Government of India had not done all they could for the protection of the Hindus. He asserted that the Congress Party in Sind was equally responsible to the situation prevailing there.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Madura—29th. December 1940

The Hindu Maha Sabha Conference passed to-day by an overwhelming majority, only four voting against, a resolution moved by Mr. *N. C. Chatterjee*

demanding that the British Government should make a declaration before March 31, 1941 that they would grant Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety within a year after the cessation of the war and also announce that the Pakistan scheme will not be entertained by the Government. Failing such a declaration, the Maha Sabha, the resolution declared, would consider the necessity of direct action. Owing to prolonged discussion in the Subjects Committee, the open session of the Maha Sabha met to-day only at 5 p.m. Mr. *Savarkar* presiding. Non-controversial resolutions were taken up first.

CONDOLENCE

The first resolution, which was moved from the chair, was one of condolence on the death of the late *Maharaja of Mysore*, the *Maharaja of Kolhapur*, *Mr. Pamnani of Sindh*, *Mr. Baliram Dhawan* of the Frontier Province, *Mr. Harish Chandra Mukherjee* of Bengal and *Mr. Anjaneyalu* of Andhra Desa and others. The resolution was passed, the whole gathering standing in silence.

RELEASE OF HINDU POLITICALS

The next resolution demanded the immediate and unconditional release of Hindu political prisoners and the recalling forthwith of political exiles. A section of delegates pointed out that the resolution would be meaningless, in view of the fact that the Maha Sabha itself proposed launching direct action within three months if its demands were not met by that period.

The President explained that the resolution concerned only such politicals who claimed to be Hindu Maha Sabhaites including those who have been in jail for many years now. The resolution was eventually carried by a majority.

COMMUNAL AWARD CONDEMNED

The third resolution was moved by Mr. *N. V. Seetharamiah*, Secretary of the Tamil Nad Hindu Maha Sabha. The resolution reiterated the condemnation of the Communal Award as anti-national and undemocratic and unfair to the Hindus particularly in the provinces of Bengal, Punjab, Sind and Assam and gave excessive weightage to the Muslims and other non-Hindus and declared that there would be no peace in the country until and unless the award was annulled.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. *Sir Gokulchand Narang* of the Punjab who made a historical survey of the origin of the Award. He referred to what he called the appeasement policy adopted by the Congress Ministries in Madras and Bihar to satisfy Muslims when the same spirit was not reciprocated by the Muslim Prime Minister in the Punjab. He pointed out that the Communal Award could not be easily set aside. There were only two ways of doing that; one to curry favour with the Government by affirming and demonstrating their loyalty to the Government or secondly by showing that they were sufficiently strong to enforce their demand. The Hindus were constitutionally incapable of the first course. Therefore they should compose their internal differences and close their ranks forgetting their differences. He added that the Congress would never come to their help in this regard for there was no change of attitude among Congress leaders despite past experience. Every gesture on their part to win the Muslims in order to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity was mistaken by Muslims as cowardice.

Mr. S. N. Bannerjee of Calcutta further supported the resolution and explained how the Award had operated to the detriment of the interests of Hindus in Bengal. The resolution was carried.

DOMINION STATUS DEMANDED AFTER WAR

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee from Bengal moved the main resolution on the political situation which, *inter alia*, stated that the Hindu Maha Sabha appreciated the recognition by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State that the political situation in the country could not be satisfactorily met without the co-operation of the Hindu Maha Sabha which was the most outstanding body representing Hindu interests.

The resolution added that, "while reiterating its faith in the goal of complete independence, the Hindu Maha Sabha is prepared to accept Dominion Status of the Westminster variety as the immediate step. The Maha Sabha, however, considers that the declarations made from time to time by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on the constitutional question are vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory, and the Maha Sabha therefore urges the Government to make an immediate and clear declaration that Dominion Status, as contemplated in the Statute of Westminster, shall be conferred on India within one year of the termination of the war, and the constitution shall be so framed as to ensure the integrity and

indivisibility of India as a State and a nation, and while providing legitimate safeguards for the protection of the rights and interests of the minorities, it shall not in any manner adversely affect the rights and interests of the majority in India.

"Still the Maha Sabha strongly condemns the attitude taken up both by the Indian and the British Government in maintaining that they would not entertain any constitutional scheme unless and until it was agreed to by the Muslim minority in India inasmuch as such an attitude virtually invests the minority with a power to dictate to the majority or veto all progress, a principle which is preposterous, undemocratic in theory and is bound to be most detrimental to the legitimate Hindu interests in practice. Consequently the Maha Sabha demands the abandonment of this attitude and urges that the constitution be framed on democratic lines as framed by the League of Nations.

"While recognising that the British Government have made some attempts to increase the strength of the Indian Army and to mechanise the same the Hindu Maha Sabha is of opinion that such attempts are wholly inadequate and insufficient for the protection of India from external aggression, and for the maintenance of internal order. The Defence Policy must be actuated first by the considerations of the welfare of India herself and not subordinated to British interests.

"The Maha Sabha calls upon the Government to accelerate the increase of the Army and Navy and to recruit Hindus for the said services in all the branches in proportion to their numerical strength.

"The Hindu Maha Sabha condemns the action of the Government in showing favouritism to Muslims in the matter of recruitment.

PAKISTAN

"The Hindu Maha Sabha also calls upon the Government to make military training compulsory for Indian youths in scools, colleges and universities and supply them with necessary arms and ammunitions and further asks for the repeal of the Arms Act which must be brought into same line as in England.

"The Hindu Maha Sabha, in this connection, calls upon the Government to encourage and promote the establishment of factories in India with Indian capital and under Indian control where all implements of war, for example, Aero Engines, Aeroplanes, Motor Engines, Tanks, modern armaments and Equipments will be manufactured and also to provide for and assist in shipbuilding in India without further delay.

"The Hindu Maha Sabha condemns the attitude of the British Government in not making a clear announcement of its opposition to the scheme of Pakistan in spite of the repeated declarations that are made by the Muslim government and its leaders that Pakistan is the only solution of the communal problem in India and it has made its determination and firm resolve that it would do everything in its power to secure their demand of Pakistan. The Hindu Maha Sabha therefore urges upon the British Government immediately the necessity of making a clear declaration that the scheme of Pakistan will not be entertained and tolerated by the Government.

"In case Government fails to make a satistactory response to the demands embodied in this resolution before the 31st of March 1941 the Maha Sabha will start a movement of direct action and hereby appoints a Committee of the following gentlemen for devising ways and means for starting and conducting the movement immedately after the lapse of the period : (1) Barrister *Savarkar,* (2) Dr. *Mookerjee* (3) Dr. *Moonje,* (4) Mr. *Khaparde, and* (5) Mr. *Deshpande* with powers to co-opt.

RESOLUTION ON COMMUNAL QUESTION

"Whereas the Hindu Maha Sabha firmly holds the view that so long as the attitude of the British Government towards India remains unchanged and its anti-Hindu policy is not altered, the Hindu Maha Sabha cannot believe in the sincerity of the avowed war aims of England, namely, that England has taken up arms for establishing freedom and democracy in this world ;

"Wheres the administration in the Province of Sind has failed to protect the lives and liberties of the Hindus and has not put any effective check to the continual and repeated assassinations of the Hindus by the Muslims in that province ;

"Whereas the Administration of the Province of Bengal has been systematically conducted on communal lines in order to cripple the Hindus of Bengal and whereas the Muslim Ministry has been pursuing a policy deliberately detrimental

to the interests of the Hindus and has sponsored and initiated measures, legislative and administrative, in order to practically exclude the Hindus from the public services and to prejudicially affect the cultural and economic life of the Hindus in that province and whereas the Constitution in that Province has not been suspended though demanded at the last Bengal Hindu Maha Sabha Conference ;

"Whereas Hindu rights have been similarly suppressed in the Punjab.

"Whereas the communal decision imposed upon India by the British Government has set up communal Ministries in the Provinces of Sind, Bengal and Punjab which are unalterable by any appeal to the electorate and which are being dominated by the anti-Hindu and anti- national policy of the Muslim League ;

"Whereas even in provinces with Hindu majority, undue weightage has been given to the Muslims in important spheres of public activity and Hindu rights have been deliberately ignored for placating the Muslims ;

"Whereas the Viceroy and the Governors in the Provinces have failed and neglected to safeguard the interests of the Hindus in Sind, Bengal, the Punjab and North-Western Provinces and have by their acts of commission and ommission acquiesced in the systematic persecution of the Hindus and have also failed to exercise their powers and responsibilities in the maintenance of the established canons of civilised Government, and have not been able to put a stop to the outrages of Hindu women, the defiling of Hindu temples, the discrimination against the Hindus in public services and the deliberate attack on the civic freedom and cultural life of the Hindus ;

"Whereas the British Government have refused to undo the wrongs done to the Hindus resulting from their own policy and have taken no notice whatever of demands and protests of the Maha Sabha ;

"Whereas responsive co-operation has been, is still, and will be the policy of the Maha Sabha and while it has no faith in any scheme of barren non-co-operation but believes in the complete capture of power by the Hindus wherever possible ;

"Whereas constitutional methods have failed to protect the interest of the Hindus in vital spheres of their lives and activities ;

"In case the Government fails to make a satisfactory response to the demands embodied in the resolution before March 31, 1941, the Maha Sabha will start a movement of direct action, and hereby appoints a Committee consisting of Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Mr. Shyamprasad Mookerjee, Dr. Moonje, Messrs. Khaparde, Deshpande, Bhopatkar, Bhai Parmanand and Bharat Misra, with prowers to co-opt, for devising ways and means for starting and conducting the same immediately after the lapse of the said period.

PAKISTAN SCHEME CONDEMNED

Mr. *N. C. Chatterjee* was given ovation as he rose to move the resolution. He said that the Madura session would be most memorable in the history of India if they adopted the resolution. It would give a tremendous impetus to their movement. The Subjects Committee had not passed the resolution light-heartedly, but after mature consideration of all aspects of the situation.

Mr. Chatterjee detailed what he described as the deliberate, systematic, anti-Hindu and anti-democratic policy pursued by the communal Ministries in Bengal, Sind and the Punjab. The Secondary Education Bill and the Municipal Amendment Bill, he said, were attempts by the Fazlul Huq Ministry to introduce, in a subtle and sinister manner, Pakistan in Bengal. He affirmed that Bengal Hindus were determined to resist these attempts with all their energy, and appealed for the co-operation and support of the rest of India in their endeavours in the cause of Hindu culture and nation. He held that communal Ministries had hopelessly failed, and urged the British Government to scrap the constitution in the Hindu minority provinces. "We are not going to accept freedom with Pakistan. We do not want shibboleths and slogans like 'India First'. The fundamental principle on which the Hindu Mahasabha stood was that India should be indivisible and for that, the integrity of India should be maintained. He concluded, exhorting the Hindus to stand solidly by the Maha Sabha, and uphold the cause and prestige of the Hindu nation.

Dr. *B. S. Moonje*, seconding the resolution, explained its implications and characterised it as comprehensive. The Sabha was demanding a clear declaration from the Government that Dominion Status would be granted within a year of the conclusion of the war, and that the communal question would be solved on principles laid down by the League of Nations. The communal problem, he added, was being bolstered up by the Government.

Dr. Moonje dwelt at length on the question of militarisation of the country. He demanded that India, in order to be able to protect herself, should at least have an army of over one crore in strength. Congress followers had been taught the manufacture of the charka, and the followers of the Muslim League were preparing rifles, and if the two met in a battle of Paniput, he asked, what would be the result ? There was, therefore, at this moment utmost need for militarisation of the country, and Hindus should have a due share in the personnel of the army and navy. Concluding, Dr. Moonje urged that there should be only a Hindu Government in Hindustan and that the British Commonwealth should be styled the Indo-British Commonwealth.

Dr. *Shyamaprasad Mukherjee*, supporting the resolution, said that he, for one, did not believe in any direct action or civil disobedience, but events in the past one year indicated that there had been a deliberate conspiracy on the part of the Muslim Ministries in North India, who, he declared, were out to cripple nationalism and the legitimate interests of the Hindus. The Maha Sabha was the first to offer co-operation to the Government in the war, as they believed in militarising the nation for self-defence but there was not sufficient response from the other side. Statements and declarations by the spokesmen of the British Government in the past year, he said, were vague and half-hearted. There was no justice or reasonableness in withholding freedom, on the pretext that communal differences had not been settled. They wanted freedom to preserve the interests and honour of the Hindus. They were prepared to face any amount of sacrifice, even death, for the honour and integrity of India. They were not out to crush any community but would protect not only the interests of Hindus but those of all communties provided they identified themselves with India and believed themselves to be sons of the soil. The Maha Sabha by adopting the present resolution would only be testing British sincerity, and asking the Britishers if they would, as professed by them, concede full Dominion Status unvitiated by the Communal Award.

Dr. *Nimbkar* (Madras) opposed the resolution, and said that the Hindu Maha Sabha, by this resolution, was seeking to fight with the power in respect of which their policy hitherto had been responsive co-operation. The fight would mean opposition to both Muslims and the British. Was the Maha Sabha organisationally prepared for this heavy responsibility ? Once well-organised, the innate strength of the Sabha would help to solve the problems even without a fight. He also warned that the resolution would be virtually a vote against the President, who, in his presidential address, had advocated differently.

Mr. *N. K. Aiyar* (Madras) joined the opposition, and said that the resolution would torpedo the golden opportunity afforded by war to build up the organisation. He counselled deferring direct action.

Mr. *Savarkar*, President, before putting the resolution to vote, explained his position, and said that the views expressed in the Presidential address were his own. Besides, he had mentioned in his speech points which if not satisfactorily settled, he would himself have raised as issues, on which to force a struggle. He also mentioned that the direct action contemplated was not confined to civil disobedience, but might extend to any sphere possible, and there was no moral question.

The resolution was, at this stage, put to vote and carried by an overwhelming majority, only four voting against.

Tumultuous shouts and raising of slogans marked the passing of the main resolution of the Conference by an overwhelming majority. The resolution deciding on the starting of direct action if no satisfactory response was forthcoming before 31st March, 1941, to the demands made therein was debated upon for nearly three hours, very spirited speeches being made by Mr. *N. C. Chatterjee*, Dr. *B. S. Moonje* and Mr. *Shyama Prasad Mukerjee* in its support. The audience showed signs of impatience and frequently interrupted the speakers who opposed the resolution, despite the appeal of the President to give them a patient hearing.

The attendance of delegates and visitors was more or less the same as on the first day. The President was cheered as he arrived at the Conference pandal at about 5 p.m. and the proceedings started. After the resolution of condolence and those regarding release of Hindu political prisoners and condemnation of Communal Award, Mr. *B. G. Khaparde*, ex-Minister, Central Provinces, proposed the following resolution regarding the move to hand over certain territories to the Nizam.

CESSION OF BERAR TO NIZAM

"This session of the Akhila Bharathiya Hindu Maha Sabha records its emphatic disapproval of the strenuous and wide-spread agitation carried on to the purpose that Berar, the Northern Circars and Ceded Districts of the Madras Presidency be handed over to the Nizam in recognition of the latter's help in the war efforts and the studied silence of the British Government thereon. The Hindu Maha Sabha demands of His Majesty's Government an emphatic assurance that the said territories will not be handed over to the Nizam or any Prince or power and warns the Government that any such move will be fraught with serious and far-reaching consequences and will be resolutely opposed by the Hindu Maha Sabha by all means at its power. The Hindu Maha Sabha further considers Mahatma Gandhi's support for transfer of Berar and other parts of the Madras Presidency to the Nizam and his suggestion that Nizam be Emperor of India as atrocious and gross betrayal of the Hindu nation."

In moving the resolution Mr. *Khaparde* referred to the ominous silence maintained by the British Government on this issue, the awakening and political consciousness of people of Berar and elsewhere and the likelihood of commotions if the proposed cession of territory to the Nizam were to take place. Mr. *G. V. Subba Rao* of Bezwada seconded the resolution which was further supported by Messrs. *S. Srinivasa Aiyar*, *Mahalinga Aiyar* of Coimbatore and *K. C. Balla*, Vice-President of the Kerala Hindu Maha Sabha. The speakers were strong and bitter in their criticisms of the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi on this issue as was revealed by a recent article of his in the *Harijan* wherein Gandhiji had expressed the view that he would have no objection or quarrel even if the Nizam were to become the Emperor of India.

THE "DIRECT ACTION" RESOLUTION

"I have the honour of moving a momentous resolution and by passing this resolution you will be making this session the most momentous. It deals with direct action. This ought not to be accepted in a light-hearted manner. You must pass it with the fullest sense of responsibility and after careful consideration", said Mr. *N. C. Chatterjee* of Calcutta moving the resolution setting forth the Maha Sabha's demands and declaring its determination to start a movement of direct action if there was no satisfactory response to them from Government before 31st. March 1941. Mr. Chatterjee observed that the heart of Madras appeared to him sound and that the success of the Conference there would give a fillip to the movement in Bengal and elsewhere. He congratulated Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu and his fellow workers on the tremendous work done by them.

Continuing, Mr. Chatterjee said that Bengal was slowly but steadily drifting into a Sind. He pointed out how the Secondary Education Bill in Bengal was aimed at crippling the Calcutta University and how the Hindus were determined to wreck it. The Muslim Ministry was out to communalise the country and bring it under the domination of the Muslim League. The Hindus, he said, constituted 75 per cent of the population of Calcutta and paid 80 per cent of the rates and taxes but the Muslim Ministry was devising the Constitution of the City Corporation in such a way as to crush the legitimate rights of the Hindus and to benefit the Muslims. He wanted an assurance from that Conference that all parties and sections of Hindus present there from various provinces were resolved to see that Hindustan shall never be allowed to go down (applause).

Proceeding, Mr. Chatterjee spoke of the failure of the Governor to exercise his powers under the Constitution to safeguard the legitimate rights of the Hindus and of the demand of the Hindus of Bengal to suspend the Constitution. He further demanded a clear and unequivocal repudiation of the Pakistan Scheme and added that they would not allow anybody to parley or temporize on that issue.

One of the delegates : What is your Bose doing ?

Mr. Chatterjee : He is not my Bose. He is in the arms of the Congress.

Concluding, Mr. Chatterjee observed that none other than the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha could negotiate on behalf of the Hindus, that there shall be no interference with the fundamental principle of the Maha Sabha that India shall be indivisible and that in fighting Muslim communalism they ought not to overlook the fact that their real enemy was British Imperialism.

Dr. *Moonje*, seconding the resolution, explained the demands embodied in the resolution and said that they aimed at keeping alive the "Hindudom" in India, giving the Hindus who were the majority population power to arm themselves in

order to defend their country and to oppose the Pakistan Scheme to the bitterest end. He pointed that the British temperament was to satisfy the persons who were prepared to give the most trouble and disregard others and that if the Hindu Maha Sabha were merely to put forward their demands and rest satisfied they would have to wait till Doomsday. The Congress had understood that temperament of the British and was pin-pricking the Government. But the more trouble the Congress gave, the more the British Government was trying to favour the Muslims. The resolution of the Hindu Maha Sabha was to the effect that they were not enemies of the British Empire but that they desired that they in India should be as independent as Englishmen in their own country. They wanted an Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations and not a British Commonwealth. In this way, he believed, the Maha Sabha had taken a most realistic stock of the situation.

Mr. *Mahalinga Aiyar* (speaking in Tamil), supported the resolution as also Messrs. *Bhopatkar*, President, Maharastra Hindu Maha Sabha and *Keshab Chandra* of Punjab.

Mr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee* made a spirited speech in support of the resolution. "We have put forward our demands before the Viceroy and the British Government." Mr. Mukherjee said. "But these demands have not been met. In Bengal we have roused public opinion to such an extent that with a full sense of responsibility I can say that if any direct action movement is started by the Hindu Maha Sabha the Bengal Hindus will contribute their share irrespective of any consequence whatever (Hear, hear). Do not look upon Bengal, Punjab and Sind as particular problems relating to particular provinces, but look upon them as part and parcel of the Hindu nation whose representatives have come here and are deliberating on the destinies of the future." He did not believe in the barren policy of non-co-operation. He believed in the policy of responsive co-operation propounded by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, which was to capture power wherever power existed, for the purpose of utilising that power to bring more power from unwilling hands. The speaker wanted that that should be the policy of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Where co-operation was desirable it would be given, but in spheres where that co-operation was not responded to but, on the other hand, was met with definite hostility, they should have to strengthen themselves to such an extent as to meet hostility with hostility. He would suggest that they should carry forward that dual programme from the platform of the Hindu Maha Sabha. It would be constructive on the one hand and destructive on the other—destructive in the sense that they should build up a new Hindu social order.

They were not ashamed to say, Mr. Mukherjee declared, that Hindustan belongs to Hindus and that their political aim was the establishment of a free Hindu *Rashtra* in India. At the same time they recognised that there was room in this country for persons belonging to other communities but that was on one condition, namely, that they regarded this country as their own and identified themselves with the sons of the soil. On the other hand, if they were to treat this country as a *Dharmasala* and remained here only for their own purposes then we shall treat them as enemies of Hindustan. It was up to the sons and daughters of Madras, the Central Provinces and other provinces, where Hindus were in a majority to declare in one voice that if things were not improved in the Punjab, Bengal and Sind it would be necessary for them to resort to retaliation. This would have to be said not for the purpose of threatening people but only as a weapon of defence. They did not want to terrorise anybody, nor tread on the legitimate interests of any community,

So far as their relation with the British Government was concerned, Mr. Mukerjee said, they had stated that their co-operation was available in respect of war efforts so far as the Defence of India was concerned. The Hindu Maha Sabha was the first to make the declaration that there was no question of co-operation with regard to the war aims of Britain. The present war was a fight between Hitler and the British Government. "So far as we are concerned", he added, "we say we have remained unarmed and defenceless. If you really consider that Hitler is such a bad fellow, then train us up and we shall help you and strengthen ourselves for the purpose of defending the mother land. We do not want to look up to any body, however mighty and powerful, for the purpose of the defence of our own country". Just as Englishmen said that they must fight for the defence of their country it was the sacred duty of sons and daughters of Hindustan to shed their life blood in defence of their own country. But co-operation was possible not as between a master and a servant but only as between equals. It was possible only when the old British imperialistic policy was dead and gone. But it was seen from

the declarations made by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy that there was not sufficient response to their offer of co-operation.

Why was it, Mr. Mukerjee asked, that a mosque was built in London at a cost of 15 lakhs of rupees spent out of the British Exchequer ? It was not to placate the Muslims of India but to placate the other Muslim States outside India whose support Britain wanted. If the Hindus were strong enough to enforce their demands a temple of Shiva surely would be built in England (Applause).

Continuing, Mr. *Mukerjee* said that with a view to uniting the Hindus of all sections they should remove social disabilities affecting certain sections of the community and make them strong both in body and mind so that they could, if necessary, face death without hesitation for the purpose of protecting the sanctity of Hindustan. There was no use making petitions to the authorities for they would be thrown into the waste paper basket unless and until there was sanction behind the demands. Their demand was that Dominion Status should be given to India not later than one year after the war. Independence was their goal ; but they also believed that independence would not come as a gift from the British Government. It had to be sanctioned out of the British Government and it must come to them as something which they were physically fit to defend. So far as the British Government was concerned the only thing they could give was Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster type. The Statements made so far on that subject were extremely half-hearted and indicated that there was no intention whatever to meet the full demands of Indians or of the Hindu Maha Sabha. The speaker next repudiated the suggestion that the ultimatum of direct action was only a political stunt and a mere imitation of the Congress method, and pointed out that the difference consisted in the fact that the Congress stood for undiluted non-violence and started satyagraha on the restricted issue of freedom of speech against war efforts. He failed to see how their interests could be advanced by that satyagraha. On the other hand, the demands of the Hindu Maha Sabha for the preservation of the interests of Hindus in Hindustan went very far. In conclusion, Mr. *Mukherjee* appealed to them to shake off fear and resolve that if constitutional means failed they would be prepared to resort to things which are unconstitutional for the purpose of defending their honour and integrity. Let them take a lesson from what was happening in Europe.

Mr. *Savarkar* said he would give an opportunity to those who opposed or had difference of opinion from the supporters of the resolution either in full or in part to express their views and appealed to the gathering to give them a patient hearing so that they could weigh the pros and cons carefully and decide whether to vote for or against the resolution. He added that some delegates who wanted to move amendments to the resolution at the Subjects Committee had failed to do so owing to oversight but that according to the Constitution the only course open to them at that stage was to oppose the resolution.

Dr. *Nimbkar* of Madras then spoke opposing the resolution. He pointed out that direct action contemplated by the resolution was not in keeping with the policy of responsive co-operation. He wished that they took to heart the lesson of the Satyagraha movement started in Hyderabad. The Satyagraha started by Mahatma Gandhi, he said, was bound to have a tremendous moral effect on the world. Was it not likely, he asked, that they would be described as only imitating the Congress and indulging in a political stunt with a view to gather support in the elections. He did not know whether the passing of the resolution would not amount to a vote of no-confidence in Mr. Savarkar who had been elected for the fourth time.

Cries of 'No, No'.

Dr. *Nimbkar* : I do not know.

Proceeding, Dr. *Nimbkar* asked why the Maha Sabha should not join with the Congress which was fighting against British Imperialism. At the same time, he said, if his friends in Bengal were to declare satyagraha he would be prepared to support them. He suggested that it would be more useful if they set about organising and strengthening themselves for if they did so there would be no Pakistan.

Mr. *V. K. Aiyar* (Madras) in the course of his speech, opposing the operative clauses in the resolution protested that, in the larger interests of the Hindu community, any move for "Direct Action" was ill-advised and inopportune at the present moment. Would the present organisational strength, asked the speaker, permit of a fight on two fronts, as "Direct Action" would inevitably involve clash with both the Muslims and the British Government, not to speak of opposition

from Hindu Congressmen and the votaries of *Dravida Nadu* in the south ? The ony effect of this ill-advised step would be to strengthen the Anglo-Muslim alliance and demoralise the rank and file in the Hindu Maha Sabha movement. Further, the threat of "Direct Action" will give the go-by to the schemes of militarisation and industrialisation, envisaged by the Maha Sabha leaders, as a result of war conditions.

Mr. *Savarkar* said that even those that spoke against the resolution were not opposed to the resolution in full but had difference of opinion only on some aspect of it. Almost all prominent leaders had supported the resolution. Referring to the allusion made to a sentence in his presidental speech, by one of the speakers who opposed the resolution, he said that he had specifically stated in the address that he was personally responsible for his statement. The resolution stated that if a response was not made by Britain then they would have to take active steps. It was left to the majority to decide on the method. He believed that his presidential speech did not go against the resolution at all. If there was no response to the substantial demands they had made, they were to start a campaign but the way in which it should be started had had still to be decided. He did not know what direction it would take Their definition of civil disobedience, Mr. Savarkar added, was quite different from the Congress definition. Theirs included every kind of practical action.

Mr. *Savarkar* then put the resolution to vote and declared it carried by an overwhelming majority as only five delegates raised their hand against the resolution, while a large number signified their support to the resolution.

The President then declared that they had taken a great responsibility by passing the resolution and that they must be prepared to stand by it when the time comes.

Resolution—3rd. Day—Madura—30th. December 1940

Repeal of Cr. Tribes Act

The third day's open session of the Hindu Maha Sabha commenced on the 30th. December, Mr. *V. D. Savarkar* presiding. After the resolutions were passed, the session concluded at 8 p. m.

The first resolution which was passed unanimously urged the Government to repeal forthwith the Criminal Tribes Act. The resolution stated that the Criminal Tribes Act was "an inhuman piece of legislation, derogatory to the honour of the state and against human dignity." The resolution urged that the so-called criminal tribes, especially Kallars and Maravars of the South and Yanadis, Dommeries and Sabaras of Andhra, constituted, in historical times, rich martial material and formed the backbone of the armies under Cholas and Vizinanagar Kings.

Mr. *N. V. Ganapathi*, Secretary, Madras Hindu Maha Sabha moved the above resolution which was seconded by Mr. *Sivananda*, Secretary, Madura Branch of the Sabha.

Weaving of Defensive Weapon

The next resolution, which was moved by Mr. *S. Srinivasa Aiyar*, Advocate, Madras, called upon every Hindu and every member of the Hindu Maha Sabha to wear religiously in public as part of his dress, some defensive weapon in token of his new role as a soldier in the cause of freedom and Dharma and as a mark of repudiation of the un-Hindu and suicidal doctrine of Gandhian non-violence.

Mr. *Pandurauga Rao* seconded the resolution, which was further supported by Messrs. Seetharamayya, Manoranjan Chowdry, Srinivasaraghava Iyengar and Sanjeeva Rao of Bangalore. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Unemployment among Hindus

The next resolution ran as follows :—"The Hindu Maha Sabha views with alarm the increasing unemployment among the Hindus in India and urges upon all Hindu employers and other Hindus to give preference to Hindus in appointing their employees and to help Hindus to start cottage and other industries to mitigate the situation and urges all Hindus to buy from Hindu firms and dealers.

This resolution was moved by Mr. *Sanat Kumar Roy Choudhry* and seconded by Mr. *Mahalinga Aiyar*, and passed unanimously.

Mahasabha's Programme

The immediate programme of the Hindu Mahasabha was laid down in another resolution which ran as follows :—

"The immediate programme of the Hindu Mahasabha is hereby declared to be as follows :

"(a) To secure entry for as many Hindu recruits as possible into the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

"(b) To utilise all facilities that are being thrown open to get our people trained into military, mechanics and manufacture of up-to-date war materials.

"(c) To try to make military training compulsory in colleges and high schools.

"(d) To intensify the organisation of the *Ram Sena*.

"(e) To join the Civic Guard movement and Air Raid precaution organisation with a view to enabling our own people to defend against foreign invasion or internal anarchy provided always, that the Civic Guards are not used against any patriotic political movements in India or in any activities detrimental to the legitimate interests of the Hindus.

"(f) To start new industries on large scale to capture the market where foreign competition is found eliminated.

"(g) To boycott foreign articles to defeat the entry of new foreign competitors.

"(h) To set on foot an all-India movement to secure the correct registration, in the coming Census, of the popular strength of the Hindus including Tribal Hindus such as Santhals, Gonds, Bhills, etc. and to secure their enlistment as Hindus instead of as Animists or Hill Tribes and by taking every other step necessary to secure the object in view.

"These few items will suffice to illustrate the lines on which the Hindu sangatanists all over India should concentrate their attention in near future."

Mr. *Savarkar*, moving the resolution from the chair, said that the resolution was self-explanatory and that he did not propose to make a speech except to say that the programme would serve as a guidance to those Maha Sabhaites who for some reason or other were unable to participate in direct action the Sabha might launch.

Mr. Savarkar stressed the need to set on foot an All-India movement to secure accurate registration in the coming census, so that the true strength of the Hindus might be recorded. He also emphasised that to whatever sub-caste they belonged they should register as Hindus only, so that even tribal Hindus might be enlisted as Hindus and not as animists or hill tribes.

Mr. *Deshpande* spoke on the importance of the Ram Sena Volunteer Corps.

The resolution was passed without discussion.

The abolition of the rule for recruitment to the Indian Army on the basis of martial and non-martial classes was urged by another resolution which also stated that the Hindu community in every Province should get in the army representation not below its proportionate numerical strength.

The sixth resolution of the day which was also passed without discussion or opposition stated that the Hindu Education Trusts should be formed in each Province with the object of safeguarding Hindu culture by managing Hindu educational institutions where broad basic Hindu culture should be imparted in addition to usual curricula of studies and by taking steps to see that other schools were not established in predominantly Hindu areas by way of competition with the object of proselytisation.

By another resolution, it was resolved to appoint a committee to consider the amended design of the Swastika symbol of the Hindu Maha Sabha Flag in view of the fact that the Swastika symbol at present did not proceed right to left which was the ancient approved manner.

Removal of Untouchability

Mr. *Savarkar* moved from the chair the eighth resolution recommending all Hindus to intensify their efforts to remove Untouchability from the Hindu fold by educating Hindu public opinion and adopting effective measures in giving the so-called Untouchables equal, social, civil, religious and public rights along with all other Hindus. Mr. Savarkar stressed that the fundamental principle of the Maha Sabha was to treat all Hindus alike and appealed to the Sanatanists to concede equal rights to Untouchables in all public affairs.

Captain *D. L. Patwardhan* next moved a resolution recommending various Provincial Sabhas to take steps to start Naval Flying and Military Schools wherever possible. The resolution was passed without discussion.

Recruitment to the Army

The Conference also adopted the following resolutions, which were put from the Chair and passed unanimously :

"That every effort should be made to bring pressure to bear upon the Central Government to abolish the rule of recruitment to the Indian Army on the basis of martial and non-martial classes and that the Hindu community in every province should get representation in the army not below its proportionate numerical strength.

"That Hindu educational trusts be formed in each Province with the object of safeguarding Hindu culture by managing Hindu educational institutions where broad and basic Hindu culture will be imparted in addition to the usual curricula of studies and by taking steps to see that other schools are not established in predominantly Hindu areas by way of competition with the object of proselytisation."

A committee was appointed to recommend an amended Swastika sign to the Maha Sabha Flag in view of the fact that the present sign did not appear to be of the ancient approved type.

The Conference recommended to the Hindus to intensify their efforts to remove untouchability from the Hindu fold by educating the Hindu public and taking effective measures as outlined in the previous conferences to give the so-called untouchables equal social, civil and religious public rights along with all other Hindus.

In speaking on this resolution, the President said that so far as private opinion on the question was concerned, they would not trouble their Sanatanist friends, many of whom had already joined the Mahasabha. For instance, they would not ask His Holiness the Sankaracharya of Jyothirmutt, who was present with them, to come with them to the home of an untouchable. But those who were convinced about the need of removing untouchability by their own example should be allowed to put them into practice. In public life, in schools, conveyances, roads and trains and councils and courts, which were conducted from out of the taxes paid by all, they should not observe untouchability. But they would not inflict the removal of untouchability on any Sanatani brother by force. They wanted to secure the removal of untouchability by persuasion and not by coercion.

The next resolution appealed to the Hindus in villages to have closer intercommunication with the so-called untouchables by allowing their habitations to be close to those of the caste-Hindus as that was the only way to counteract the danger from Muslim and Christian Missionaries.

The Conference recorded its strong protest against "the communal and reactionary policies of the Hyderabad and Bhopal States and the regular campaign that is allowed to go on in the said States for the extermination of Hindu religion, race and culture with the wilful connivance of the State officials, who are predominantly Muslims, in the exhibition of communal hatred or indifference towards Hindus as those which took place at Hyderabad, Bidar and Nanded and Kulti where Hindus were murdered, their shops looted and their temples defiled."

This resolution was moved by *Veer Yeshwant Rao Joshi* and seconded by Mr. *N. V. Sitaramayya* and passed unanimously.

Naval & Military Schools

The last resolution recommended to the various Provincial Sabhas to take steps to start naval, flying and military schools wherever possible and approved of the efforts made by the Karnatak Provincial Sabha in that direction.

President's concluding Speech

A warning to the British Government not to believe that they could rule India by depending on the Muslim alone and an appeal to Muslims to make common cause with the Hindus in their own interest were made by Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, President in his concluding speech .

Mr. Savarkar said that as a result of this session, the Hindu Mahasabha movement had come to stay in the Madras Presidency. The session would also remain memorable for many years to come because of the resolution they had passed by which they had determined to launch a campaign of direct action in case the response from the Government to their demands was not satisfactory. That resolution did not mean that they were adopting a plan of going to jail. If arrested they must go to jail. Already there were men in the Mahasabha who had been arrested for anti-war speeches. But going to jail was not their goal. They must find some ways of demonstratiug their protest which would necessarily be legitimate if not exactly legal.

Continuing, Mr. Savarkar said that he would like to make an appeal to the

Government. In his negotiations with him he had always found the present Viceroy extremely patient and considerate in listening to the other side, though remaining firm as a rock. He himself had tried to remain firm as a rock as the head of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Nevertheless, the negotiations were most cordial. The men who conducted the present Government knew the Hindu Maha Sabha very well. The British Government should know once for all that they could no longer rule India by depending on the Muslims alone. The Muslims might constitute 75 per cent in the Army and might have organisations like the Khaksars. But he would remind them of the story of the frog which bloated itself to death. The Muslim should in their own interests be friendly with the Hindus, if they wanted to have any connection with India. Let it be remembered that before the British came to India the Hindus had defeated the Muslims in a hundred battles; not the Indian Muslims alone, but the Arabs and the Pathans. As he had had occasion to tell the Viceroy, the Muslims compared to the Hindus were absolutely weak and should prove a broken reed to Englishmen when the time came for proving their mettle. He, therefore, appealed to the British and India Governments to remember that if they wanted to have an alliance with India, the only body which could deliver the goods was the Hindu Maha Sabha and not the Muslims or the Congress. Everyday some Congressmen were coming to the Maha Sabha camp, but none went form the Maha Sabha to the Congress. He would like to tell the Government, now that Hindu-dom was awakening and a new power was coming into existence, that it would pay the British to satisfy their demands, which they had made in very reasonable terms. For the industrialisation and militarisation of Hindustan they wanted the help of Englishmen, even as Japan had required the help of foreign technical men. That would also help in strengthening the Empire. Thus, so far as industrialisation and militarisation were concerned, they could tread the same path. There could be an alliance just like the one between Hitler and Stalin. If the Government failed to respond, then the people would have to act. He hoped the people would not fail.

There was great need, Mr. Savarkar went on, for the Hindu Maha Sabha movement being well organised in Madras Presidency, though there were some people who said there was no necessity for such a movement here. One limb of the body could not remain dead to the feelings of pain or pleasure felt by other limbs of the body. Similarly they could not be oblivious to the sufferings experienced by Hindus in the Frontier Province and elsewhere. While Muslims and Christians were so well organised that if a single member of their community suffered the whole community raised their protest, the Hindus suffered like orphans. It was to remedy such a state of things that they wanted the Hindu Maha Sabha to be strengthened. They should help by all means the administration of the States ruled by Hindu rules and not weaken them, as some short-sighted people attempted to do. They must remember that those States were the bulwarks of Hindu interests, especially as the Muslim States were in no mood to promote Hindu interests. In this connection he appealed to the ruling dynasty of Mysore to safegurad the interests of Hindus. He pointed out that Muslims, who formed only 5 or 6 per cent of the population there, were represented in the army to the extent of 40 or 50 per cent while the high offices held by Muslims in the Government were out of all proportion to their numerical strength. He hoped that the lesson of past history would not be lost on the rulers of the State.

In conclusion, he made a fervent appeal to the Hindus to be alive to the new spirit of Hindu-dom and to be prepared to make every sacrifice necessary for the achievement of their ideals.

Amid shouts of "Hindu Dharma-ki-Jai" and "Hindustan for Hindu", which reverberated through the Conference pandal, the Conference terminated.

The All India Hindu League

First Session—Lucknow—27th. & 28th. July 1940

The Welcome Address

The first session of the All-India Hindu League met at the Ganga Prasad Verma Memorial Hall, Lucknow, on the 27th. July 1940 under the presidentship of Mr. *M. S. Aney*, M.L.A., (Central). A large number of delegates from different parts of the country were present.

Delivering the inaugural address, Rai Bahadur *Kunwar Guru Narain*, hony. general secretary of the League, said that only a pan-Indian national government would be able to attend to the work of equipping the nation to meet an international situation which affected India intimately and maintained that to India British connexion was necessary and consistent with national freedom. He stressed that neither freedom could be obtained nor independence retained without adequate and proper national defence.

Dr. Sir *J. P. Srivastava*, president, reception committee, welcoming the delegates said :

We are meeting at a time of grave crisis both in the international situation and in our home affairs. The one lesson that we have learnt from the progress of this war of attrition is that the days of small states are gone. Stupendous resources are necessary to stand up to the forces of aggression. We in India are fortunately placed that way. Comprising as we do one-fifth of the world's total population we can, after the necessary mobilization of our existing and potential resources, hold our own against any totalitarian state. Dismember the country, and it will be at the mercy of any invading power. The instinct of self-preservation alone should be sufficient incentive for unity among the peoples of Hindustan. The logic of the situation is so clear that it is difficult to understand the mentality of those Muslim League leaders who have raised today the cry of Pakistan.

Financial Aspect of Pakistan

Assuming for the moment that this absurd demand has the backing of the majority of Muslims in the country and the Hindus are weak enough to agree to it, what would be the result of this partition at least in one direction. Lest I am accused of seeing things through the distorting lense of communalism, I shall only repeat what a Muslim provincial ex-Premier has said on the subject. Khan Bahadur Allah Bux's masterly analysis of the Pakistan scheme still remains unrefuted. The total revenue of proposed Pakistan would not exceed Rs. 16 or 17 crores, all of which is required for daily administration. And if the railways and customs and other central revenues of Pakistan's share yield, say another five or six or even ten crores of net surplus the whole of it will not be enough to maintain the defence of the unit against external invasions and to satisfy the interest charges and other liabilities. It is true the unit, if allowed a period of peace and prosperity, may 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 will all this time stand still and so would the transborder neighbours including Russia, and their resources would not be put to the best use. Who then will defend this unit against Russia or Afghanistan in the meanwhile in case a new builder of a Russian or any other empire rises ? If the British are asked to hold this baby until it is strong enough to stand on its own legs, in the first place what is the 'quid pro qou', and in the second, what is this smoke screen of an independent sovereign and Islamic State for ?

Home Truths

This is so far as the financial aspect of the scheme is concerned. I do not propose to cover the familiar ground of the other manifest objections to the scheme, but I cannot refrain from saying a few home truths to those who have been preaching the two-nation theory for partition. Whether they like it or not the fact remains that the Indian Muslims are not, and will not be regarded as a separate nation by their co-religionists abroad. They are Indians and they should be proud of their nationality. As Khan

Bahadur Allah Bux pointed out in his speech at the Azad Muslim Conference held at Delhi, the majority of the 80 milion 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 Aryan. Every Muslim going on pilgrimage to the holy Mecca is invariably described as 'Hindi' by every Arab and all Indian Muslims are similarly known as Hindustani in Iran and Afghanistan and as Indians throughout the world.

LUCKNOW POET

I am ashamed to confess that it was here in this city, that the first step to Pakistan was taken. I am referring to the Lucknow Pact which was entered into to win the support of Muslims. Valuable Hindu interests were sacrificed for a short-lived political unity. It was forgotten that there could be no lasting or honourable settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem based on a policy of surrender. In our anxiety to please the Muslims we agreed to sacrifice certain valuable political right and to concede a principle which has done more mischief than anything else. That, as might have been expected, has only served to stiffen the Muslim demands. With the passage of time the Muslim leaders modelled their conduct on that of Oliver Twist always asking for 'a little more'. This was the direct result of the Lucknow Pact. I have respect for the premier Hindu political party, viz., the Congress, but I wish in all humility to submit to it and to its worthy leaders that the policy it is pursuing to 'buy up' the support of the Muslims is fraught with immense danger not only to the Hindus but to the country as a whole. How can the Congress hope for anything but a rift in an alliance in which the motivating power for one party is, to put it bluntly, greed ? The Muslims did not join the Congress because they were enamoured of its political programme, but because they expected to get more out of it at the expense of the Hindus than from the British Government. The reason assigned by a Muslim member of the old Bengal Legislative Council for joining the Swarajya Party gives a clear picture of the working of the Muslim mind. Did not the whole Muslim community, he said, 'co-operate with the Government long enough ? Did not the Muslims of India remain aloof from the Congress and other political agitations from the time of Sir Sayed Ahmed ? Have they received their just rights and recognition from the Government ! It is an open secret that they have all been treated as beggars, a race of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The homily of self-help was preached to them in season and out of season by successive Governors. Did they not side with the Government during the Anti-partition agitation ? And what was their reward ? They were thrown overboard unexpectedly and left at the mercy of the community against which they revolted to please the Government.' This discloses the motive which actuated the Muslims to come to a temporary understanding with the Congress. In its anxiety to keep the Muslims in good humour the Congress has continued giving in to the ever-increasing demands of this community. In this province while the Congress was in power, the Publicity department of the Government broadcast thousands of leaflets, stating openly that in order to placate the Muslims orders had been issued banning *arati* and the blowing of conches in serveral Hindu temples in the districts. Is not the present Muslim demand for partition the logical conclusion of this mistaken policy pursued by the Congress which is financed mostly by the Hindus ? In fact I am surprised at the moderation of the Muslim demand. Knowing the inherent weakness of the Congress position they should have asked not for partition but for hegemony over the whole country.

AZAD-JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE

Some Congressmen—I do not assail their motive—have said that they have no objection to the reestablishment of Muslim rule in India. I beg of you to ponder over the implications of such a statement. The latest exhibition of the Muslim League president's mentality as contained in his notorious telegram to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ought to serve as an eyeopener to all of us. There is, however, one thing in Mr. Jinnah's retort with which I am in complete agreement, and that is that no communal settlement is possible when both negotiators are Muslims. He should have added that the Hindu Mahasabha is alone in a position to negotiate for the Hindus and the man in whom 250 million Hindus have supreme faith at the moment is Veer Savarkar. God willing, the Hindu Mahasabha will yet save the Hindu rights and I sincerely appeal to my Hindu Congress friends to strengthen that organization by backing it in all matters pertaining to the communal settlement.

Coming Census

Talking of millions reminds me of the coming census operations. Democracy is to a very large extent dependent on the counting of heads. During the last census the Congress did irreparable damage to the Hindu cause by obliterating house-numbers in Hindu mohallas and threatening Hindu villagers with social ostracism if they did not boycott the census operations. The result, as you know, has been disastrous. The majority community has at places been placed at a permanent disadvantage by this incorrect recording of its numbers. It is the duty of every Hindu to see that the mistakes of the past are not repeated. Our future status depends on the correct figure of our total population. This is an issue over which there can be no possible difference of opinion among the different castes and sub-castes of our community. Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras are all Hindus and unless they stand together against the encroachment of their rights they shall all be reduced to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own country. The Hindu League which has been formed with the permission of the Mahasabha, is intended to serve as a common platform for all Hindus, irrespective of caste and creed, to oppose the Pakistan scheme and to see to it that the Hindu interests are properly looked after in the coming ecnsus.

Presidential Address

A note of warning against the dangers of the 'fratricidal scheme of Pakistan', an appeal for unity at the present critical juncture, a reiteration of the one-nation theory and a plea for a policy of benevolent neutrality towards the Indian States, were the keynotes of the presidential address delivered by Mr. *M. S Aney*, M.L.A.

The president made a rapid survey of the international situation and passed on to a discussion of the situation in India which he described as a house divided against itself. The Congress had been wakened by disclaimers from the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League. Holding that our helplessness can be overcome by our determination to stand united, Mr. Aney appealed to the majority community to shoulder the responsibility for shaping our destiny.

'The first and foremost idea that must dominate and guide the activities of all the sections of the Indian population, if they want to be a free nation, is that India or Hindustan is one whole indivisible nation.' He called upon the Hindus who wanted to stand for the fulfilment of the ideal of the Indian nation, namely, Hindustan, to oppose with all their strength every attempt to divide and vivisect the Indian nation.

Indian States and Congress

Urging the need for the restoration of confidence in the minds of the princes, the president said that it was unfortunate that the growth of the conception of an Indian democratic state is viewed with great suspicion and fears by the ruling princes. The main reason for this was the socialistic and communalistic bent of mind of some of the leading politicians who play a very important part in the Congress politics. He had no hesitation in saying that the sudden departure made by the Congress in its traditional policy of neutrality in regard to the administration of native States was a blunder. And the direct participation of the first rank Congress politicians like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya and Seth Jamna Lal Bajaj in the agitation carried in certain States was a still greater unpardonable blunder. But the most deplorable feature of this agitation which has caused an almost irreparable wrong to the united India was the part played by Mahatma Gandhi himself. Mr. Aney then alluded to his fast at Rajkot.

The president declared that the Congress must definitely repudiate the socialistic doctrine and declare that in the scheme of independent India the order of the princes and ruling chiefs have got a place of honour and that it is definitely opposed to the principles of setting up the people of the native States against their rulers. What we wanted to achieve in British India was the establishment of the sovereignty of the people. The form of government may be republican, totalitarian or even monarchic, but the independence of the States is a recognized fact. This attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the native States was subject to one exception. If they found that the administration in any native State was perversely persisting in the pursuit of a fatal policy of racial or communal discrimination, he would insist on Indian publicmen giving up their policy of neutrality and using all means of persuasion against such a State to abandon this path.

Turning to Pakistan, he said, 'Nothing will be more fatal to India than the recognition in any form of the fratricidal scheme of Pakistan. It will be neither in the interests of the Mahomedans, nor those of the Hindus. It will undoubtedly be the beginning of the end of both.'

Refuting the two-nation theory, Mr. Aney stressed that from the earliest times to the days of the Maratha empire we find that the Indian people have cherished the ideal of integrity of Bharatavarsha as a common motherland of all. The customs and usages of the Hindus and their entire social, cultural and political life has the idea of one India as its basis. If India is to be divided into two different nations under two different political powers, the whole fabric of Hindu culture stands in danger of being destroyed. No Hindu can give his consent to any scheme of this kind.

He recorded a protest against Pan-Islamism which, he said, had the definite object of bringing the Asiatic nations like India and Burma under the influence of Islamic culture and Islamic religion. He drew a comparison between the demand for a 'homeland' or 'national home' by the Mahomedans with the demand of the Jews for a national home in Palestine and asked whether the one was not as outrageous as the other. According to Mr. Aney the Pakistan scheme was conceived not in a spirit of construction but of destruction. He then proceeded to deal with the practical difficulties of the scheme, namely, the presence of predominantly Hindu populations in certain areas in the Punjab and Bengal, the possible migration of moneyed Hindus from Pakistan, the financial difficulties which would arise in the case of deficit provinces and the possibility of conflict between these so-called independent communal states.

CONGRESS AND HINDUS

Mr. Aney criticized the Congress for conniving at the wrong done to the Hindus of the Punjab and Bengal and the Hindu community generally which has accelerated the pace of the process of disunion and deterioration of the spirit of nationalism. He then dealt with the disabilities of the Hindus in the various parts of the country.

PROGRAMME FOR HINDU LEAGUE

Concluding, Mr. Aney chalked out a programme of work for the Hindu Leaguers, who, he said, should give a proper lead to their countrymen and co-religionists at this critical hour. He urged them to stand for peace and peaceful methods and organize the Hindus as a body with a clear conception of the great duty and responsibility which they had to shoulder. The principles laid down by the League of Nations will be fully recognized and applied in the solution of the problems relating to minorities in India with such adaptation as the special circumstances in India may require. The Hindus must also start a movement of volunteer organization or support the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. Every effort must be made to destroy untouchability and raise the economic education and moral level of the depressed classes.

The Hindus, he concluded, must unhesitatingly assume the responsibility of protecting their country. If this result can be achieved only by cooperation with the authorities in their efforts for the success of this war the Hindus, he declared, should cooperate. They had to do it more in their own national interests than in those of our rulers.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Lucknow—28th.. July 1940

MUSLIM SEPARATIST TENDENCIES

The open session of the League met again at Lucknow on the next day, the **28th. July 1940** under the presidency of Mr. *M. S. Aney*. A fairly big gathering of delegates and visitors was present.

On a motion from the chair it was resolved that the League viewed with anxiety the present political situation complicated by the communal demands and the separatist tendencies of the Muslim League and called upon every organization in the country to direct the nation's energy into a common channel and promote unity among all its sections, groups and parties.

PAKISTAN

By another resolution the League condemned the Pakistan scheme as entirely anti-Indian and suicidal and trusted that all those who looked upon India as their motherland and wished to preserve its culture and integrity would make every

sacrifice and offer the stoutest opposition to the scheme of partitioning India into communal blocks. It called upon the Congress, the Forward Bloc, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation and other political bodies to face it by united counsel and action.

Mr. *B. C. Chatterjee* of Calcutta, moving the resolution, reiterated the determination of the Hindus to fight this scheme which he characterized as an attempt to violate something which was inviolable—the indivisibility and integrity of the country. Dewan Bahadur *Harbilas Sarda*, seconding the resolution, alluded to Khan Bahadur Allah Bux's analysis of the scheme and dealt with its impracticability on financial and other grounds.

Census of Hindus

A third resolution authorized the president, Mr. *M. S. Aney*, to take all necessary steps in connection with the organization of the anti-Pakistan movement and the correct recording of facts in regard to the Hindu community in the ensuing census operations in India. On the suggestion of Dr. *Radhakumud Mukherjee* it was further pointed out that it was scientifically wrong to describe the aboriginal people of India numbering over 30 milions as followers of an undefined tribal religion and that they should be described as Hindus in accordance with the results of anthropological enquiries.

Communal Award

The League by another resolution urged the abolition of the Communal Award as it hampered the healthy growth of nationalism, interfered with the harmonious relations between the different communities and jeopardised peace and tranquility in the country and culminated in the Pakistan movement.

Dr. *Radhakumud Mukerjee*, moving it, held that the Award was absolutely inconsistent with any form of democracy or responsible government and Indians should ask for its immediate cancellation. He stressed the fundamental unity of the country and added that India and Hinduism were organically related like body and soul.

Untouchability

A resolution on untouchability moved by *Pandit Raj Nath Kunzru* enjoined on Hindus the duty of doing everything in their power and adopting all practical measures to eradicate untouchability and to promote equality and fraternity between caste Hindus and the scheduled classes. Pandit Kunzru declared that untouchability was a blot on Hinduism and should be eradicated forthwith.

Dr. *Maneckchand Jataveer*, M.L.A, of Agra, representative of the scheduled classes, made an impassioned appeal for equitable treatment to his community. Through defections from Hinduism and embracing other faiths the Hindu population during 1891 to 1931, he said, had declined by 11 per cent., and if measures were not taken to conserve their numbers in another five centuries they would perish completely.

By another resolution the League resolved that with a view to securing maximum efficiency and avoiding friction steps should be taken for the cooperation of all Hindu volunteer organisations in the country after the model of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh founded by the late Dr. Hedgewar.

Nazi-ism

A resolution sponsored by Mr. *C. S. Ranga Iyer* recorded an unqualified condemnation of the spirit of Nazism as being completely opposed to the Hindu traditions and a menace to civilisation and the freedom of nations. The League asked Britain immediately to declare India a Dominion based on the Statute of Westminster with a view to securing her maximum effort and cooperation in the task of defeating Nazism.

Mr. *Ranga Iyer* asked the gathering to battle for universal freedom so that the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations which leaders foresaw would be an important unity in a world federation.

The League opined that Hindi should be recognised as the inter-provincial language of India and Devanagiri as the script for every province in India.

Nationalisation of Army

Another resolution moved by *Rai Bahadur Sukhdeo Behari Misra* was passed holding that the question of self-government was indissolubly bound up with the question of national defence and therefore urging his Majesty's Government and the

Government of India to take immediate steps to nationalise all the arms of Indian defence, namely, army, navy and the air force. An amendment by Dr. Sir J. P. Srivastava was accepted asking for enrolment of Hindus including Sikhs in as large numbers as possible so as to secure the preponderance of the majority community in the future national army of the country. Mr. Ranga Iyer supporting stressed that Hindus in the army should have a strength proportionate to their population.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING REMARKS

Mr. *M. S. Aney*, in the course of his concluding remarks, made a moving appeal for unity among the various Hindu organizations in the country. There was no antagonism or contrariety of interests between the Mahasabha and the Hindu League. The latter was designed to devote all its energies to the task of combating the Pakistan movement. As long as there was a single Hindu alive in this country, he said, they would resist the introduction of the scheme.

Mr. Aney drew a picture of the ancient glory of Hindusthan, emphasising the conception of the immortality of the soul and the indestructability of the Hindu religion and Hindu ideas. Here, in India, he said, there was untold wealth waiting to be tapped. It was a land teeming with warriors—the descendants of heroes who fought the battle of Kurukshetra. They were a nation pulsating with life and vigour and yet the authorities were not harnessing these resources in men and money. He hoped that they would now wake up to a realisation of these facts and nationalise the army. By nationalisation he meant not recruiting of some more men from the so-called martial classes but raising them from all the provinces and from all classes of the population, so that the force thus raised would be national in every sense of the term.

The Working Committee Proceedings

Resolutions—New Delhi—12th. & 13th. October 1940

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu League concluded its two-day session at New Delhi on the 13th. Oct. 1940 after passing seven more resolutions.

The committee differs from the opinion of the Congress Working Committee embodied in the resolution passed at Bombay, which has "failed to take a realistic view of the situation and give a correct lead to the country at this critical hour.

"The hope of the political emancipation of the Indian people depends on the defeat of the totalitarian forces and the success of the British people with whom their fate is indissolubly bound. The war has now reached a state when the Indian people can no longer afford to be indifferent to the vital problem of India's defence. The adequate preparation of the Indian nation for her national defence is a matter of vital importance to them."

The committee promises the Government active co-operation and participation in their effort at India's defence.

Referring to the Viceroy's declaration of August 8, the committee declares that the scheme and proposals outlined in the declaration have failed to give satisfaction to the progressive political parties in the country as they hold out neither any tangible and definite promise of the inauguration of a Dominion form of Government at the end of the war nor the introduction of an element of responsibility in any form in the present Central Government immediately.

The committee also expresses their satisfaction at the firm stand taken by the Viceroy in dealing with the "extravagant and arrogant demands" made by Mr. *M. A. Jinnah*, in regard to the representation of the Moslem League on the "still-born" expanded Council and the Advisory Council.

Resolutions—New Delhi—17th. November 1940

The position of Hindus in Sind and the Punjab and the grievances with regard to the census in certain provinces, were among the subjects dealt with in resolutions passed at Delhi on the 17th. November 1940 by the working committee of the All India Hindu League with Mr. *M. S. Aney* in the chair.

The Committee expressed horror and indignation at the continued murder of Hindus and their loss of property and urged the Government of Sind to put down the crimes and restore a sense of security. It also requested the Governor-General to

exercise his discretionary powers and failing immediate restoration of law and order, to suspend the Constitution.

In view of the helplessness of the Hindus in the provinces, the Commiltee recommended to the Governor to be liberal in granting them arms licences.

The Committee declared that the political, economic and cultural rights of the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab are being systematically trampled underfoot by the Unionist Ministry and resolved to appoint a committee of enquiry to report on how Hindus and Sikhs are faring in the province.

The Committee recorded its protest against the attempt of census officers, particularly in the Central Provinces and Berar, Bihar rnd Orissa, to prevent the aboriginal tribes like, Gonds, Mundas, etc., from declaring themselves as Hindus, although their customs, manners, usages, historic associations, modes of worship and religious observances are mainly akin to, if not identical to, those of the Hindus.

The Hindu League also protested against the instructions issued by the Bengal Ministry to the effect that only the Hindu population of the province be required to record their division and sub-division of castes and classes, while the local Muslims without mentioning their respective classes and divisions, such as, Sunnis and Shias.

The Berar Hindu Mahasabha Conference

Second Session—Amraoti—19th. October 1940

The Presidential Address

'The Hindu Mahasabha is vitally interested in creating enthusiasm in the country for war efforts and in organizing its defence on a wide basis and on modern and up-to-date lines,' observed Sir *Manmatha Nath Mukerji*, presiding over the second session of the Berar Provincial Hindusabha Conference, held at Amraoti on the 19th. October 1940.

Sir Manmatha Nath added that the Hindu Mahasabha had no faith in non-violence and non-cooperation, which it regarded as sterile and non-constructive. It was prepared whole-heartedly and sincerely to work in cooperation with those to be ruled by whom it was the destiny of their country now. 'But such cooperation must be on honourable terms based on recognized principles of justice and equity and with due regard to the position of the Sabha and the crores of Hindus whom it represented. Independence must be the heart's desire of all subject nations, and Hindus are no exception to the rule. Indeed, they would be something less than human were they not imbued with the same desire. But internal as well as external situations imperatively demand that we should, for the present, be satisfied with Dominion Status of the Westminster type. We regard the acquisition of that status as an immediate step of constitutional advance which is overdue, and we want a clear and definite assurance that we shall get it within a strictly specified time-limit, not exceeding a year after the war.

The speaker said that it was in the fitness of things that at this supreme hour of world crisis the Hindus should not sit idle and indifferent but should step in. The conduct of some of the world powers had led mankind to think that Christianity had failed and to suspect that Buddhism in the form in which it was in evidence in action had lost its cardinal principle of ahimsa. In this fateful hour of world history, Hindu India, which not only had to her credit supreme achievements in the domains of philosophy and spiritualism, but also produced a glorious record of solid work in building national life and civilization, must find her soul once more, must equip herself as an immense reservoir of indomitable energy, courage and strength, such as she was in days gone by when her sense of true humanity, her creative force and her inimitable culture were ideals for the rest of the world to emulate. Arising out of the pitfalls into which she has fallen, refusing to be lured by the siren call of a resplendent but false civilization and soulless culture, let Hindu India rise once again to her full stature.'

European War

Referring to the war in Europe, Sir *Manmatha Nath* said: 'The three European dictators, in spite of their differences on essential points as votaries

respectively, of Nazism, Fascism and Communism, have found it possible to evolve a common formula for pursuing ruthless campaigns for self-aggrandisement, destroying human life and world-civilization on a scale unprecedented and staggering. Two of them have forgotten their fundamental antagonism to each other, which was so pronounced at one time that one definitely swore to destroy the other ; and now standing on a common platform they are dividing the spoils between themselves as partners in a joint venture. Gone are the solemnity of pledges, sacredness of promise and seriousness of protestations. Most emphatic assurances have been given but only to gain time and lull opponents into a sense of security and only to be gone back upon as soon as it became opportune to do so ; promise to be the god-father of a child to be both of the sovereign of a neighbouring state turned into an attack on and subjugation of his kingdom from which he had to flee with his family for the safety of their lives ; secret pacts, undisclosed intentions, false professions have introduced a state of insecurity in nations as well as in individuals.'

India's Twofold Duty

Detailing the latest development in the situation in the Far East, the speaker remarked that India, though for the moment comparatively remote from the actual theatre of war, could hardly hope to escape from the effects of this topsy-turvidom or remain unaffected by the ravages that were being wrought by the world conflagration. 'The collapse of the old order, whatever shape or form it may take, is bound to produce its repercussions and reactions in India. She has, therefore, a two-fold duty to perform : Firstly, she will have to react in relation to the world conditions and the world upheaval in such a way as to be able to preserve her own life and heritage. Next, possessing as she does one of the most, if not the most ancient culture and civilization, she has a duty to the bleeding, tottering world ; and she would be false to the eternal spirit of her culture and the undying soul of her civilization if she but turns her face away from the tortured soul of the world. To discharge this two-fold duty, she will, in the first place, have to put her own house in order, and then to choose her own path and set herself firmly on it—the path of strength and sanity and of progress and prosperity. In this critical period, in this world-wide turmoil, in the quick-sands of her own rapidly changing conditions, a single false step, taken either inadvertently or deliberately, will involve her in a violent retrogression and will entirely undo the progress of an age of patient toil or any victory in the struggle for freedom she may have so far achieved.'

Military Training

He emphasized the need for adequate military training for Indians in up-to-date methods on a sufficiently large scale and not in a fashion which is not unjustifiably regarded as niggardly. Recruitment, not by hundreds or thousands but by millions, should begin at once—recruitment not alone from classes regarded as martial but from those also whose lot had hitherto been to be stigmatised as non-martial.

Communal Award

Speaking about the Communal Award, Sir *Manmatha Nath* said that it had instilled into public life an insidious poison whose virulence was increasing with the age it was acquiring. The speaker maintained that it was not an award at all. It did not, in truth, possess any of the essential elements, the fundamental requisites of an 'award'—a legal term which presupposed a reference to an arbitration and an agreement to be bound by its term.

Pakistan

Referring to the Pakistan scheme and other schemes 'for the communal division of Hindustan,' Sir Manmatha Nath observed that the Hindu Mahasabha urged upon his Excellency the Viceroy that he should make a clear and definite declaration that he had not approved or accepted any proposal for the partition of India as demanded by the Moslem League. The sooner the declaration was made, the better.

Five Proposals

He laid before the conference five proposals which could quite easily be put into practice, to make all Hindus think and feel in terms of a nation. In the first instance, efforts should be made in a proper spirit to come to a solution on some agreed basis of the one great obstacle to their consolidation as one Hindu nation.

Even if there was diversity in creed and custom, the speaker saw no reason why they could not stand shoulder to shoulder under the Hindu flag. Secondly, came the question of the choice of a national script, a common language, which went a great way to foster unity. The speaker was inclined to the view that they should choose Nagari as the common script of Hindusthan. Hindi being the spoken language—not the Urduized, Persianized or Arabicized Hindi that they saw commonly used, but the pure Sanskrit-nishtha Hindi untainted with foreign words and expressions. In the third place, every Hindu should make it a point in his programme of duties to do all he could in order that the depletion of the cattle-wealth might be checked and restricted. Fourthly, the temples and sacred places of Hindus, which were the common bond of fellowship for them, should be restored to their orginal order, purity and grandeur. And, fifthly, the Hindus of Hindusthan should never forget for a moment that they were parts of one indivisible whole, 'fragments of one great nation which Providence by the merest chance has separated and posted at different places—in India or outside India.'

The Mohakoshal Hindusabha Conference

Fifth Session—Bilaspur—7th. December 1940

The Presidential Address

The following are extracts from the presidential address of Dr. *Shyama Prassad Mookerjee* delivered at the fifth session of the Mahakosala Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference held at Bilaspur on the **7th. December 1940** :—

The Hindu Mahasabha was founded twenty-two years ago through the efforts of patriotic Hindus who where prominently associated with the India National Congress. It did not perhaps originally aim at entirely independent political organisation with a definite mission of its own—a role which the decree of Providence has assigned to it during the last few years. It had included within its main programme many an important item of social and economic reform of vital moment to Hindu interests, but its political outlook had not during the first decade of its existence captured the mind of the people at large. The dream of an Indian nationhood which would comprise within itself men and women professing different religions, who regarded India as their common motherland, had fired the imagination of generations of political thinkers and workers in this country. I have nothing to say against this ideal for I believe that its consummation, if ever achieved, will be all to the good of our country.

But as a matter of actual experience we have noticed that at least one big community residing in this country, namely, the Muslim, has not openly identified itself to any appreciable extent with this movement ; on the other hand, its demand for special treatment, which was readily acceded to, originally made on the ground of educational and political backwardness, has now developed into an insistent call for the division of India on the basis of a 'two nations' theory and a claim for separate independent Muslim States within the boundaries of Hindusthan. If the Hindus of India during the last half a century had not attempted to arrive at a patched-up peace with the Muslim leaders but had boldly laid down their political programme, fully recognising the fundamental rights of citizenship of all communities inhabiting this land, the situation would not have perhaps developed in its present acute form. The last quarter of a century had unconsciously imbued some of us with the belief that Indian freedom was unattainable except with the support of the Muslims of India.

The time has now come when we should not only feel but declare unhesitatingly that the liberation of our motherland is capable of being accomplished with the united efforts of 28 crores of Hindus who regard this country as the holiest of holy land on this earth. If other communities join us on the basis of a clear-cut national programme, safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of all, we shall welcome such cooperation. But if they refuse to join us, we shall regard them as a definite obstacle in the path of the achievement of our goal and must strenuously prepare ourselves to win back our freedom by our own efforts. Our outlook in brief should be the attainment of Indian liberty with the support of

others if available on honourable terms, or without it, if the situation so demands. The infusion of strength into the Hindu mind on this basis has recently been and will continue to be a principal duty of the Hindu Mahasabha.

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE

I do not for a moment ignore the fact that the present attitude of Muslims is largely due to the direct and indirect encouragement it has received from representatives of the British Government. Whatever pro-British historians may like to assert the fact remains that the policy of 'divide and rule' was astutely nurtured by British diplomats and has helped to embitter communal feelings in this country to a much greater extent than would otherwise have been possible. The answer to this will not be given by pandering more and more to unjustifiable communal demands. The answer which a self-respecting India can give is to unite the Hindus and to make all parties feel that in spite of all diplomacy and separatist tendencies Indians are capable of reaching their goal by their own sacrifice and suffering.

The recent speeches of the Secretary of State for India give us an ample indication of the true spirit that pervades the minds of those in whose hands the destinies of India today lie. That spirit is clearly anti-Hindu in character. We are reminded off and on of communal disharmony in India as the stumbling block in the way of further political progress. But have we heard a single word of contrition or of apology for the introduction of separate electorates and accepting it as a basis for the present Indian political structure ? The British Government is reluctant to transfer power to Indians for it apprehends that the Hindus, constituting 70 per cent. of the Indian population, would then have the dominant voice which leading Muslims would not be prepared to accept. It is open to Government to institute national electorates and leave administration in the provinces and at the centre to be run by majority parties who will be returned through such electorates with a mandate for giving effect to political programmes that transcend the bounds of sectional interest. It will not do that for it knows that the acceptance of joint electorates will ultimately reduce communal misunderstandings, lead to national solidarity and may sound the death-knell of British supremacy in India. At the same time it dare not allow representatives of the people coming through existing electorates to occupy positions of power and authority at the centre, for it knows that the majority of the people who will thus be returned to the legislature even through separate electorates must come from the Hindus who, whatever their party allegiance, will unite in removing the ever-tightening grip of the British Government on Indian affairs.

Crocodile tears are shed for the alleged welfare of the minorities in India. May I ask that if forcible disruption or hamstringing of the majority is a new democratic principle which British statesmen have learnt to appreciate, why should they not apply it to their own country and do away with the Parliamentary constitution that gives legitimate power to the party that is backed by the majority to rule over the destinies of England ? Again, if an inordinate love of minority interests has temporarily absorbed the British mind, may I ask what persuaded Government to provide special electorates on a favoured scale for the Muslims in provinces where they were in a majority ? May I ask, again, why does it hesitate to do the barest acts of justice to the Hindu minorities in provinces such as Sind, the Punjab and Bengal where rightful interests of the Hindus are being daily trampled under foot ? When will British conscience be roused against the deliberately mischievous provisions of the Communal Award, designed to cripple the legitimate rights of the Hindus, specially of the provinces I have just mentioned ?

Will any one dare deny that the deliberate acts of murder of Hindus in Sind are signs and portents of a spirit of complete lawlessness against which no adequate protection has yet been given by the Government of the day ? If one single British life were lost through the acts of assassins, as hundreds of innocent Hindu lives have been lost during the last two years, not only would the British Lion have roared from one corner of India to the other but the whole Empire would have borne a witness to the shaking of its paws. In my own province acts of oppression affecting the honour of women, and the cultural, civic, religious and economic rights of Hindus are being systematically resorted to, resulting in a recent demand by the Hindus for the suspension of the Constitution. The British Government is preserving an attitude of stolid silence and of unconcealed indifference that gives the lie direct to any genuine claim on its part for preservation of the interests of minorities. To-day none can deny that even the Pakistan

scheme has received at least indirect support from responsible and influential persons who speak on behalf of the British Government from time to time. It is significant that this nefarious proposal has not been disapproved much less condemned in any of the official pronouncements recently issued either from India or from England. To-day, as I said, the policy is to curb and destroy the power and influence of the Hindus by depriving them of their legitimate rights and privileges.

CONGRESS AND MAHASABHA

There is much that is common between the ideal of the Congress and that of the Hindu Mahasabha ; but there are also points of difference. Both believe that independence is our goal. The Hindu Mahasabha has, however, said that if India is treated as a full-fledged dominion just like Canada, Ireland and South Africa, it will accept that constitution as an immediate step towards the attainment of its goal of full independence. This does not narrow down the political goal of the Hindu Mahasabha ; on the other hand, it puts England's sincerity to the test. It offers its hand of cooperation provided India's honour and self-respect are maintained intact. There are matters concerning India'a welfare, specially in connection with defence, which may be solved peacefully if England and India acted on a basis of honourable cooperation. Of course the way in which things are moving and the language in which British representatives are expressing their views about Indian aspirations make it extremely doubtful if full Dominion Status will come to India immediately on the termination of the war, even if England defeats Germany.

While fully prepared to co-operate with all other communities residing in India and to establish harmonious relationship with them on broad and statesman-like ideas of Indian nationalism, the Hindu Mahasabha genuinely aspires to instil in the minds of 28 crores of Hindus a sacred determination that it is possible for them, nay incumbent upon them, to win back the independence of their country even though other communities may refuse to offer the hand of honourable cooperation. The Congress attitude towards Hindu interest especially in respect of the communal award has been a regrettable episode in the history of indian progress and the Hindu Mahasabha is determined to see that in future the case of the Hindus does not go by default. Where Hindu rights are violated as such, Hindus must learn to resist them with all their strength.

Lastly, the present creed of non-violence of the Congress as interpreted by some of its exponents is not the creed of the Hindu Mahasabha. Centuries of political subjection have almost blotted out the memory of Hindu valour and strength and broken the backbone of the people. Their power of resistance, their resolution to stand against evil even at the risk of death have been greatly weakened. The current doctrine of non-violence has further enervated the Hindu mind. The Hindu Mahasabha appreciates the need for Ahimsa. But it firmly believes that Ahimsa born of fear and cowardice is not consistent with India's great heritage nor have any people the right to preach the doctrine of non-violence unless they have the power, the courage and the valour to uphold truth and right, justice and equity by all possible means, peaceful or otherwise. A nation must first be physically strong and adequately armed before it can proclaim and defend moral doctrines. That nation is truly great which has force and strength at its disposal but never abuses them for the advancement of self-interest or self-aggrandisement.

The Hyderabad Hindu Conference

Resolutions—Hyderabad—28th. July 1940

Disorder and confusion prevailed at the session of the Hyderabad Hindu Conference held at Hyderabad on the 28th. July 1940, when a resolution moved by Mr. *Shankerrao Borgaonkar*, giving conditional support to the new constitutional reforms was debated.

The resolution expressed gratitude for the declaration that the Nizam represented his people in his own person, which principle was a sure step towards Responsible Government. Though the reforms were in themselves incomplete and unsatisfactory and reduced the majority community to the position of a minority, the resolution advocated its acceptance by the Hindus for whatever they were worth, provided full civil liberties were granted.

Messrs. *Vinayakrao Narendar Pershad*, Saxena, Ganpat Laljee and others vehemently opposed the resolution and disorder prevailed for some time and the proceedings had to be stopped for half an hour.

At the request of the President, *Dr. Moonje* made a speech in the course of which he pointed out the fact that the declaration that the Nizam represented the people in his own person was a step towards Responsible Government. Such a position did not exist in British India and hence the fight for freedom.

Dr. Moonje admitted that the reforms were unsatisfactory, because they reduced the 85 per cent Hindu population to a minority and said that Hindus would never rest content till they had got representation in the Legislature commensurate with their population. If the Government accepted their criticism and withdrew the reforms, it would be well and good. If, on the other hand, Government ignored their criticism and enforced the reforms, what was it that should be done ?

One section of the Hindus, continued *Dr. Moonje*, desired to keep aloof, while another desired to enter the Legislature and fight both from within and outside. If they did not get into the Legislature, reactionaries would be profited. Illustrating this, he cited the incident in the Bihar Council, when the Congress withdrew on the advice of the late *Pandit Motilal Nehru*, leaving Muslims in a majority, who adopted a resolution making Urdu the provincial language and Government promptly enforced it. If they did not enter the Legislature and opposed, a third party of Government would be benefited. He advised them to think coolly and decide for themselves.

The resolution was then put to vote and carried by 339 votes to 233.

Resolutions pledging loyalty to the Ruler and the Asaf Jahi Dynasty, congratulating the Satyagrahis who had recently undertaken the civil resistance movement under the direction of the Mahasabha and Arya Samaj and another condoling the untimely death of some of the Satyagrahis were also passed. Another resolution moved by *Bhikaji Patil* referred to the question of the representation of the Hindus in the Services and requested the Government to increase the proportion according to their population basis while a fifth, moved from the Chair, appealed to the Administration to set at liberty all Hindu prisoners and undertrials connected with the movement unconditionally, so as to create an atmosphere of goodwill among the various communities.

The Bengal Hindusabha Conference

Ninth Session—Krishnagar—16th. November 1940

Presidential Address

The claim that the Hindu Mahasabha was neither an anti-national organisation harmful to the cause of the Mahomedans, nor were its activities influenced by low political motives, was made by *Sir Manmatha Nath Mookerjee*, President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, presiding over the Ninth Hindu Conference held at Krishnagar on the 16th. November 1940.

Dr. B. C. Moonje, Acting President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, *Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee* and *Mr. N. C. Chatterjee* were present, among other leaders, at the opening of the Conference.

Sir Manmathanath said that Hindus and Muslims had been living as neighbours in this land for centuries, treading the same ground and breathing the same air. And who amongst them would be so foolish as to say that a split between the two communities was desirable ? If a Hindu, zealous of the prosperity of his community, nurtured a feeling of ill-will against the Mussalman he was much too mistaken. But it was one thing not to harbour ill-feeling against a neighbour and to respect and to love him, and it was another thing to forget one's religion, culture and rights and rely on the mercy of another only to be used as a tool in his hands.

Aims of the Mahasabha

The speaker maintained that it was the object of the Hindu Mahasabha neither to create hatred against the Mussalmans among the Hindus, nor to keep alive the

differences between the two communities. Neither was it the organisation's intention to work for the good of the Hindu community at the expense of the interests of the others. The Mahasabha's ideal was to recognise and establish the just and legitimate rights of both the communities. There would have been no need of the Mahasabha had the Muslims not been slow to regard the other Indian communities as their brethren, nor had the Congress been mindful of the rights and interests of the two communities and helped to right the wrong perpetrated by one community upon the other.

Sir Manmathanath said that a Hindu, like all rational beings, loved freedom and would try to exert himself in acquiring complete independence. From the conditions now prevailing in the country and outside, it would be evident that India was not yet fit to stand by herself against so many odds facing her. The Mahasabha believed that the time had not yet come when India could stand all by herself in the comity of nations and defend her freedom and independence. It was, however, certain that she would attain the strength at no distant date but at the present moment she required the help of a powerful nation. It was, therefore, ready to accept Dominion Seatus of the Westminster type.

Bengal and the Congress

The speaker appealed to the Bengali Hindus among Congressmen to fully realise the situation obtaining in the country. Particularly, he appealed to the Congress nationalist members to join the Mahasabhaites and to help them in achieving their object. He asked them to realise what position they held in the Congress. "Congress", he remarked, "remembers Bengal only at the time of expulsion."

The Welcome Address

Appeal for Aid to Britain

"We must render all help to Britain, and to that end we must insist on Britain helping us properly to organise and equip ourselves", said *Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates to the Conference.

Mr. Basu said, "The way that England has been resisting the victor of the major portion of the European continent and moral displayed by Britons are beyond all praise. Whether the war England is waging is a war for the preservation of democracies as she professes, or a war for her own self-preservation and self-interest, is a question which I will not discuss. As hard-headed practical men what we have to decide is whether, apart from all other considerations, it is to our interest to give England all our support in this war. We have our quarrels with England, we have not been treated fairly by her in the past. All this is well-known, but the question of questions now is 'Can we afford not to help Britain with all our enfeebled power? If England loses, can we expect any better treatment from any other invading power from the West or from the East? If England were to withdraw from India under the stress of her enemies, or for any other reason, would our independence be worth a minute's purchase in the present state of the world? That is the question which I ask myself. Will non-violence, preaching against war, fasts or any other fantastic methods save us from hordes of invaders armed with the latest military equipments? My answer to the question is that we must render all help to Britain and to that end we must insist on Britain helping us properly to organise and equip ourselves."

Pakistan Agitation—A Sinister Move

Referring to the Pakistan scheme, *Mr. Basu* remarked that at one time it was generally thought that it was too fantastic to be worth even ridicule. But recent events had shown that the move was "a sinister one and that one does not know how far it is secretly blessed, if not actually suggested by outside authority—who knows, after a decade or two, somebody's reminiscences will not reveal the true origin of that scheme as has been the case with the *Aga Khan's* memorial in *Lady Minto's* reminiscences? It, therefore, behoves us not to belittle this satanic movement, but to put forward all our strength in opposing it, and seeing that it is nipped in the bud".

He also referred to the 'plight of the Hindus in Sind', the Communal Award, describing it as "rather an ordinance, which perpetuated communal electorates and gave weightage to the Muslims", the Calcutta Municipal Bill, the Secondary Education Bill and the firing incident at Kulti in September last.

PLEA FOR CORRECT CENSUS FOR 1941

Emphasising that the ensuing census of Bengal should be correctly taken, *Mr. Basu* characterised the 1931 census was not only wrong, but ludicrously wrong in some respects. He did not think that the fault was entirely that of the census officers. "They were not given proper materials. A stupid decision was made, again by the Congress, to boycott the census, and you reap the harvest. By boycotting the Simon Commission we got the Hoare-cum-Macdonald decision, and by boycotting the census, we got the 51/46 ratio. This mistake must be rectified and it is the duty of every one of us to see that the 1941 census figures are as correct as possible. I have no doubt that if the true figure is elicited the proportion of the communal population of Bengal will be in favour of the Hindus."

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Krishnagar—17th. November 1940

The conference which concluded its session on the **17th. November** passed resolutions demanding the release of political prisoners and detenus, condemning the Communal Award, protesting against the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, and the Second Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill.

The Conference called upon all Hindus to take the utmost care in securing a correct record of their numbers and to offer all possible co-operation in that regard to the Census authorities, demanded "the appointment of an independent committee of inquiry to inquire into the firing at Kulti" and deploring the "complete failure of the Ministry to deal with this distressing situation."

The conference, was of the opinion that the present Constitution should be suspended in Bengal as "it has failed due to the policy that is being pursued by the present Ministry."

Dr. *Moonje*, speaking on a resolution, criticized the policy of the Congress and said that the nationalism preached by it, was not real nationalism, but a pseudo one and also suicidal. "According to the Congress, nationalism in India must be an exception to the general rule and therefore must be the composite conglomeration of all the different religions existing in India." He added that if the Hindus wanted to save themselves from their own friends, the Congress, they ought to have no politics other than that of the Hindu Mahasabha.

The All India Hindu Youth Conference

Madura—29th. December 1940

Presidential Address

The annual session of the All India Hindu Youth Conference was held at Madura on the **29th. December 1940** under the presidency of Dr. *Shyama Prosad Mukerjea* who in the course of his speech said :—

We meet at one of the most critical periods in the history of our Motherland. In addressing you it is but natural that I should stress the importance of your role in the struggle for national regeneration of India. Youth, it is often said, is the architect of a nation's freedom. That magnificent edifice of freedom is yet to be built in India, and if you are to contribute worthily to the creation of this structure, you will have to take stock of your materials, lay plans and mobilise all your energy and skill in addressing yourselves to that noble task. There is none here who would look at this ancient land and be not filled with pride and reverence—a land that has fostered an undying culture that is unique in its strength and vitality, sheltered diverse sects and religions and communities of the world and given them all a happy home, peace and prosperity, made us proud possessors of a rich and noble heritage built up through various phases and processes of history involving profound meditation, powerful action and noble self-sacrifice of countless men and women through ages past. Our country has hitherto been one home—geographically, historically, culturally and spiritually. Men have indeed come from outside and made this land their abode, but they have ever been influenced by that fundamental atmosphere of unity that has been India's great characteristic. To-day, it has suited the interests of our political masters to divide India and rule her. We must stubbornly resist any move for

dissecting India, whether it emanates from a section of Moslems or it is fostered indirectly by a third party.

India's Position

As regards the position of India against the international background, we must realise the helpless state in which our country is placed to-day. In a world which has changed its ideas and weapons of warfare as also its moral values in favour of what are shamelessly barbarous and ruthlessly horrible, India stands with no knowledge and weapon to defend herself, bereft of all means that might help her to mobilise her resources to resist any possible invasion. She stands unarmed and helpless not because she herself wanted to do so but because she has been reduced to this state of impotence by the deliberately perverse policy of an alien Government.

Our country is unique in the whole world. Its snow-clad mountains, rising majestically above all known heights, its long stretches of perennial rivers vitalising the country and distributing health and wealth to all, its vast habitable plains teeming with millions, its resources of all kinds remaining to be utilised, make our country a veritable paradise in the mortal world. But the dwellers of this paradise, the children of the soil, hardly get any share of this rich heritage. Economically the land which had always been smiling with plenty, whose treasures had been proverbial and had invited rapacious foreigners to plunder her again and again and yet remained unexhausted and almost inexhaustible, is now in deplorable ruins. When we look at our society to-day, we notice the innumerable ills that are sapping its health and well-being. Internal divisions and conflicts among the numerous castes have brought into the forefront the need for a gigantic social reconstruction. To-day our enemies are taking full advantage of the loosely-knit structure of Hindu society and reactionary forces are constantly at work for weakening its very foundations.

The tragedy is heightened by the fact that although politically, culturally and economically the Hindus are losing their strength there is no systematic effort on their own part to combat this menace. The clarion call of *Veer Savarkar* asking Hindus to unite under the banner of the Hindu Mahasabha is intended to touch the heart of every son and daughter of India who look upon this great land as their home-land and are prepared to identify themselves completely with her joys and sorrows, her rise and fall. The catholicity of Hinduism is proverbial. We have never hesitated to respect other religions and cultures. If we have ever erred, we have erred in giving too much attention to humanity and too little to our own problems, to our hearth and home. Internationalism is undoubtedly desirable but it must be erected on a well-adjusted platform of nationalism. We are often prone to neglect the foundation and to brandish the superstructure. Thus we who form one-fifth of the entire population of the world cannot have our voice felt in the administration of our own country. We are looked upon as minors to be kept perpetually under the care of our self-constituted guardians. The slave-mentality is at the root of all our evils. India as such was never conquered by a foreign army. It was the Indians themselves who by reason of their disunity and divison allowed the foreigners to come and dominate over their motherland and self-respect demands that they themselves should undo what they have done.

Youth's Duty

In every country youth is considered as the backbone of a nation. Youth movements have revolutionised thoughts and ideals in other countries and swept away reactionary forces that stood in the way of their national regeneration. Youth is a period in the life of a man when he is most sensitive to new ideas and is attracted by the dazzling brilliance of the light that comes from afar. It is therefore natural and desirable that the Indian youth should be open to the influence of new ideas and new creeds. But what I deplore as anti-national and as injurious to my country's interests is the blind and uncritical acceptance of any creed, simply because it is something new and is followed in some foreign countries. We have our own problems vitally affecting the destinies of our country. We have our past ideals and traditions which stimulated thought and action in many distant parts of the civilised world. While we should not hesitate to imbibe the best that the lessons of other lands can offer, we shall be guilty of gross betrayal if we pose ourselves as cheap imitators, forgetful of the peculiar problems of our own country. There is a section of reactionary Moslems who acting with the

indirect support of the British power desire to impede the cause of our liberation and to dominate the Hindus, specially in provinces where the Hindus are in a minority. The Hindus themselves, often blinded by a false nation of nationalism, have not the capacity to stand against an evil that seeks to destroy the very foundations of that truly liberal and nationalistic spirit which must sustain any permanent movement for the independence of their country.

HINDUISM AND COMMUNISM

It has almost been a fashion on the part of a certain section of the Indian youth, most of whom are Hindus. to idolise what they call communism, irrespective of the immediate problems that face the Hindus of India. They hesitate to call themselves Hindus. They forget that Hindus themselves constitute a nation and when that term is used as defined by the Hindu Mahasabha, their rights are identical with the rights of India as a whole. To my mind, it is no less an indication of slave-mentality and inferiority-complex to accept everything that is Russian because it comes from Russia than it is to accept everything British simply because it comes from Britain. When I am encountered with a new creed, I should examine my own creed to which I was born and nurtured and see how best I can assimilate what is new with the creed that is mine. The Hindu philosophy of life does not envisage a less noble and wholesome ideal for human conduct than the philosophy of communism. I do not hold the view that we have nothing to learn from communism and the activities of Russia or of any other country. But I am against blind and uncritical acceptance of any creed, simply because it is the latest fashion in the market. We can and should learn a good deal from the example of men like Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. Who in the world would not emulate Lenin in his idealism which was so tempered with a sense of reality that he could go against the orthodox Marxists and apply his principle with an eye to the objective conditions of Russia? A tenacity of will, an iron discipline, a single-minded devotion to one's cause and a keen sense of responsibility are virtues which characterised Lenin and which men in our country can worthily emulate. Look at the present dictator of Russia. Who will not admire *Stalin's* shrewd sense of reality? The same England which considered him as untouchable is to-day anxious for his friendly gesture. Between him and Hitler, there was all conflict and no agreement. But did such conflict stand in the way of his entering into a non-aggression pact with Hitler and reaping rich benefits out of it? The unique position that Stalin occupies to-day is not due to his blind adherence to his communistic ideals. He bears first and foremost the interests of Soviet Russia in mind, and he is playing his cards with commendable skill and foresight, always anxious to take the fullest advantage of the situation to add feathers to the cap of Russia.

PROBLEMS OF HINDUSTHAN

I ask you with all the emphasis at my command to apply your mind first and foremost to the problems of Hindusthan, to take a firm stand on the Indian soil and address yourselves to the removal of the weeds that choke the growth of healthy plants on your own once-adored garden of beauty and sweetness. In the solution of our problems we shall apply Western methods but the fundamental basis of our social and economic structure must be in accordance with those imperishable doctrines of equality and service which marked out Hinduism as one of the vital factors in the history of the world. A re-organisation of Hinduism according to modern needs and conditions is essential for the salvation of our country.

The energies of the youth must be applied to the solution of our basic national defects which are a stumbling block to the attainment of our political freedom. Unite twenty-eight crores of Hindus by one common national ideal and inspire them with the firm conviction that their unity can and will herald the dawn of Indian liberty. We have before us the great problem of removal of those social inequalities which prevent the attainment of Hindu unity. Our society to-day though nominally consisting of four 'varnas' has more than three thousand castes some of which, though consisting of our own brethren, the flesh of our flesh and the blood of our blood, have been relegated to the rank of untouchables. Let the Hindu youth take up this colossal problem in right earnest and establish an invincible social brotherhood that will recognise no artificial distinction between caste and caste and infuse an undying strength into the Hindu social order.

Drive Illiteracy

There is then the question of illiteracy. Make an organised attack on it and bring the lamp of light to every Indian door. There is the question of class antagonism. Let the youth be the torch-bearers of understanding and good-will and unite the different classes into one organic whole. There are the increasing instances of Hindu women being kidnapped and outraged and of Hindu lives and properties destroyed in a planned and systematic manner, specially in provinces where they are it, what patriotism is it, what humanitarian outlook is it that beacons you away from applying your energies to fight down these immediate evils that are out to imperil if not destroy your existence as a self-respecting race ? Youth organisations must develop in every part of the country and they must be trained to launch a planned and systematic campaign against all forces of evil and reaction. This determined resistance will effectively prepare you for the struggle that you will have to face for bringing about the economic and political independence of your country. Establishment of study-circles, critical examination of social, economic and political problems both here and abroad, organisation of defence forces of associations for the advancement of physical fitness and endurance, of touring parties for visiting villages and areas specially in disturbed centres, are only some of the major activities that should absorb our urgent and active attention.

If you believe that communalism stands as an ever-rising hindrance to the attainment of our goal let me remind you that a surrender to the demands of reactionary Moslems, even to the length of offering to the President of the League the Prime-Ministership of India, will not restore Hindu-Moslem unity. I am not against Hindu-Moslem unity. But this unity must be built on the fundamental concept that Hindusthan is indivisible, that Hindusthan is the fatherland of all communities claiming the citizenship of this country and that a free Hindusthan where minority rights will be scrupulously protected must always remain primarily in the hands of the children of the soil themselves. The sacred duty of preserving and advanceing the political, the cultural and the spiritual freedom of this land is vested by holy injunction in the twenty-eight crores of Hindus who will live for it as cheerfully as they will die for it.

Inter-Provincal Jealousises

The youth of India has also to fight against the growing tendencies of inter-provincial jealousies. The Hindu Mahasabha aims at uniting the Hindus and while we shall not neglect our own provincial problems we must fully learn the habit of safeguading the interests of our brethren irrespective of the provincial area from which they may come. Bengal and Sind, the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Province have their own problems vitally affecting the Hindus but they can never be solved unless they are made the problems of Hindusthan as a whole. Once this All-India outlook genuinely captures the imagination of the people at large, a new spirit of comradeship will govern our action which will enable us to face dangerous situations with courage and solve them without fear or hasitation.

Standardisation Problem

One of the greatest curses of Indian public life is party factions and party squabbles. It is a thousand pities that very often these unseemly quarrels disfigure the conduct of those who call themselves leaders dominating the public life in the country. This spirit of faction very often affects the activities of the youth as well. My appeal to you is that in this great hour of crisis you will not allow party factions to grow amongst you and spoil the very cause you have at heart. Differences there must be in every sphere of activity but if we place the country's interests above everything else, such differences will melt away and be adjusted in a healthy manner so as not to undermine the movement itself. Liberty does not mean the rigid and forcible acceptance of the view-point of one person or one party. Just as I cherish my own liberty, so should I be prepared to respect the liberty of others. I appeal to you to train yourselves in a spirit of steadfastness and robust discipline and develop that capacity for corporate work which alone can endow us with unbending strength and determination.

Build up Character

Personal conduct and character will always play a great role in the true building up of the youth movement. Inspired by a lofty idealism which is nothing

more and nothing less than the liberation of their beloved Motherland, let the youths of Hindusthan remember that freedom will not come by a mere surrender to emotions or by a vociferous observance of slogans. To-day the forces that want to keep us down are powerful and organised. Their plans can be frustrated only if we look upon our problems with an eye of realism and actively prepare ourselves to meet them in the field of open conflict. *Swami Vivekananda* once said that no great task can ever be performed by tricks and stratagems. Our youths do not lack brilliance or intellectual gifts. But they must be equally endowed with that solidarity and strength of body and character which defy mountains of obstacles, that purity of conduct and sense of individual and public morality which make man greater than a mere animal of the human species and raise him above his circumstances and even superior to fate. I ask you fervently to apply your minds to the solution of the great problems that face your country specially to fight those reactionaries who are out to destroy the vital rights of Hindu citizenship. If you have to reach the height of liberty you have to be solemnly earnest about your programme of work and prepare yourselves for the greatest suffering and sacrifice.

The American poet Walt Whitman has said :

"When liberty goes out of a place, it is not the first to go.
Nor the second or third to go,
It waits for all the rest to go—it is the last"

WIN BACK OUR LIBERTY

That liberty we have lost and if we have to win it back—as win it we must —the youth have to win back "all the rest" before we can see the dawn of freedom light up this ancient land of ours whose service has inspired generations of men and women who considered no sacrifice too great, no suffering too arduous for the attainment of their cherished goal.

Let us recall the words of the great Indian seer, one of the true makers of New India, Sri *Aurobindo* that the bare intellectual idea of the Motherland is not in itself a great driving force ; the mere recognition of the desirability is not an inspiring motive. There are few who do not admit that freedom in the abstract is a desirable thing. Many have the wish to see freedom accomplished but few have the will to accomplish it. It is not till the Motherland reveals herself to the eye of the mind as something more than a stretch of earth or a mass of individuals, it is not till she takes shape as a great Divine and Maternal Power in a form of beauty that can dominate the mind and seize the heart that petty fears and hopes vanish in the all-absorbing passion for the Mother and her service, and the patriotism that works miracles and saves a doomed nation is born. 'Bande Mataram' is the sacred 'mantra' that in a single day converted a whole people to the religion of patriotism. No other 'mantra' can make its appeal to the sons and daughters of Hindusthan. The Mother has revealed herself. Once that vision has come to a people, there can be no rest, no peace, no further slumber till the temple has been made ready, the image installed and the sacrifice offered. A great nation which has that vision can never again bend its neck in subjection to the yoke of a conqueror. May this inspiring ideal serve as a beacon-light to all who have the interests of Hindusthan truly at heart ! May the Divine Mother banish fear, superstition and cowardice from the minds of all and lead us along the path of unity and righteousness and stimulate each of us however humble or unworthy to make his life's offering at the altar of that Eternal 'Sakti' that presides in all her glory and perfection over the destinies of our beloved Motherland.

The National Liberal Federation

22nd. Session—Calcutta—28th. to 30th. December 1940

The Welcome Address

The twenty-second session of the National Liberal Federation of India was held at Calcutta on the 28th. December and continued till the 30th. December 1940 under the presidency of Mr. *V. N. Chandavarkar*, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University.

Lord Sinha of Raipur, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, called upon the people of the country to forget their internal differences for the time being and concentrate their efforts on winning the war.

"There has been, and still is," he said, "too much loose thinking, and the real end is lost sight of in the maze of shibboleths and communal antipathies. Our existence is now bound up with that of Great Britain. We stand or fall with her. We cannot allow the forces of evil to triumph. I am confident that when victory crowns the efforts and sacrifices of the Democracies, a new era will dawn on this country, and our people will breathe the breath of freedom and contentment, and will be of substantial help in establishing a new world order which the suffering peoples are all looking forward to."

"So long as the form of Government in India," Lord Sinha went on, "remains what it is, acts of the Executive Government cannot help being liable to be misunderstood. It is therefore necessary, that so long as there is no change in the system of Government, important affairs of State, especially those which concern defence, are so conducted as to evolve the support of the people.

"The Government of India has put forth strenuous efforts in support of the fight against totalitarianism. We are grateful to those responsible for what has been and is being done. But India's efforts might have been more widespread and effective, if the people had a voice in the organization and control of defence arrangements. It is one thing to help in the framing of a scheme and the carrying out of it. It is another thing to have a set scheme, in the framing of which you have had no hand placed before you as one which must be carried out.

"We look for the creation of an atmosphere that will attract all possible support for successful prosecution of the war. The support should be drawn from all sections and groups, and the support should have life and momentum at the back of it. There should be no hesitation on the part of those in charge of affairs in coming forward with measures that will evoke the spirit of sacrifice in support of the cause for which Britain is fighting."

The Presidential Address

In the course of his presidential address Mr. *V. N. Chandavarkar* said :—

I wish, during the brief hour that I shall speak to you, to tell you without mincing matters what I think of the present political situation in India and what those in power ought to do at the present moment to win the complete confidence of the Indian people that they may go ahead with the war which, I must frankly say, is as much our war as it is theirs, so that lasting victory shall, in the end, crown the British arms,—a victory that will preserve our liberties for us in India as they will be preserved for those in Great Britain as well. We must not let ourselves forget in this connection that the political quarrel between Britain and India is a domestic quarrel, which should not be allowed to interfere with and queer the pitch for action against the common enemy of mankind.

What is Liberalism and what it means as an inspiring force and a shaping influence in Indian politics, is a subject on which we may well spend a part of our allotted time, so that we may clearly envisage the situation as it is to-day and perhaps find a way out of the present 'impasse.' Those of the Congress Movement in India, who may be rightly described as its founders understood Liberalism somewhat as follows :—They never made caste, community, sect, clique or party ever come before the interest of the country as a whole. Only the other day Mr. *Amery*, the Secretary of State for India gave us the slogan, as he put it, of "India first." But long, long ago before it, the late Sir *Pherozshah Mehta* had declared

from the Congres platform that he was not only a robust optimist like his friend the late Mahadeo Govind Ranade but that he was "an Indian first", and everything else, if at all, afterwards. This was the sheet-anchor of his faith in India as a nation. And this is the sheet-anchor of Liberalism as well. It was in that faith he strenuously opposed special, separate, communal electorates for Mahomedans in India even on grounds of expediency, in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909.

The next article of faith in the creed of Liberalism is to work always and inevitably for Indian unity and Indian Nationalism. Whatever mars that unity has, therefore, to be regarded in the light of Liberalism, not only as a step that is retrograde but as a step definitely meant to divide us in order to keep us in permanent bondage. Hindus and Mahomedans have lived long enough—for centuries by now—in this country, not to regard themselves as separate political entities. Nationality and Nationalism are terms that can never mean either Hindu Nationality and Nationalism or Mahomedan Nationality and Nationalism. They can only mean, rightly understood, Indian Nationality and Indian Nationalism. In public life, there can be only Indian Nationality based on Indian unity. If this has not been so in India even to-day, the reason is not far to seek. It is to be found in the introduction of communal electorates in Indian body-politic by way of the Minto-Morley Reforms,

No Subserviency

Liberals and Liberalism cannot be charged with subserviency, for their creed has always been "co-operate where we can, and criticise where we must." They are no sycophants and no demagogues ; and they cannot be branded as representing cliques and interests and yet posing that "they alone can claim the honour of representing India."

Liberalism is the enemy of reaction as it is the enemy of all wild-cat schemes of revolution and reform. Its watch-words have ever been regulated liberty, progress and reform. Wisdom, sobriety and right direction have always been its guiding tenets. This is expressed in other words by Mr. *A. O Hume*, the father of the Indian National Congress, as "a genuine parliamentary frame of mind." It is a method and frame of mind by means of which we are enabled in public life to throw our minds in the common stock, to educate and focus public opinion on the immediate question in hand and seek to solve it by discussion and argument and by an open mind that does not shut out honest and fairminded criticism from any quarter.

While Liberalism is keen on "avoiding the dangers of cataclysm" it is definitely opposed also to the "equally serious" menace of stagnation. That is, stagnation on the part of the powers that be and cataclysm into which the country is rushed, at periodic intervals, by the Congress rulers of the country. I wish to say nothing more on the present or past mood of Congressmen. Suffice it to say here that the passion for creating a succession of deadlocks has done us no better service than landing the whole country into a 'cul-de-sac'. It has spelt disaster and confusion all round. It has sown disunion and discord throughout the country. It has driven the country round and round the same programme without any benefit to the body that sponsored it and with infinite loss to the country driven by it.

Charge Against Congress

Congress stands to-day, miles away from the effort to educate the people of India into "a genuine parliamentary frame of mind." Instead it has fostered all round slave mentality in its worse form. In the name of discipline it has crushed freedom, in the name of the majority it has done away with democracy and practised the art of Government by fiat and mandate. It has left the constituted electorates of the Assembly to take care of themselves. Professing to be responsible to them, it has really defied them, and compelled the Ministries in office to do what its self-styled Parliamentary Committee and the Working Committee bids them do. And these take their orders from the sole dictator at the top, who is not even a four-anna member of the Congress itself ! Twenty years of Congress activity has not brought the country either peace or self-government. Nor has the ground been prepared for the government of a people for the people and by the people. It does not recognise public opinion much less consults it. On the other hand, it holds forth its own opinion as the voice of the country as a whole. By this kind of pugnacity on its part, it has created another rival,—the Muslim League, who is as clamorous as itself in claiming that it shall be equally pugnacious and that it shall be heard. And between the two the country suffers from stagnation on the one hand and the danger of cataclysm on the other.

"NEGATION OF LIBERALISM"

What characterises the present political situation in India may be aptly described as the negation of Liberalism. For another vital characteristic of that faith is compromise which is, to day, conspicuous by its absence between the Government and the parties that confront it. It is also absent between the parties themselves that should work together for common good. "I am the State," says the Government. "I am the State to be and the people combined", says the Congress. "I am going to be the State—not even within the larger State...but separate and distinct from the whole,—and yet I demand that the greater will move as I direct or shall not move at all," says the rival, threatening war if it is not heard. All this has come about because there is the absence of larger vision and the denial of rational compromise as the only key to the solution of any political problem. The Government will not compromise, the Congress will not compromise and the Muslim League will not compromise. The Government will do nothing without the Congress and the Muslim League. It will listen to none else for as the slogan goes, none else can deliver the goods. They seem to have forgotten, all of them, that this has never been and can never be the successful method of political reform and advancement. What has been achieved so far, has been achieved only on the basis of rational compromise, on the basis of mutual adjustment of claims and concessions with commonweal as the only end in view.

So much for those who would have nothing short of complets independence, which means isolation and may ultimately involve, as the forces of the world play upon us to-day, a short shrift to all hopes of freedom, autonomy and dominion status in the future governance of India. So much also for the Pakistan school of muslim politics, which, if conceded or extorted, my lead us back to the days when endless feuds, jealousies, rivalries for power, and civil wars were the order of the day in this disunited India of the past.

And what shall we say about the Government in the light of this almost universal law of practical politics ? Leaving alone reactionaries—the apostles of stagnation—on the one hand, and extreme hot-gospellers on the other, compromise warns Government face to face with the awakened political conscience of a people, that it will not do for them to introduce any "small and temporary improvement", unless "it is made on the lines and in the direction of a great and permanent change", envisaged by the people and offered to them as a distinct pledge by the rulers. In any circumstance, it should be no such reform as will make it "all the more difficult to return to the right line and direction" in fulfilment of "some large and progressive principle which is the crux of the expected change." And lastly, a wise Government must always beware not to seek "to palm off upon a society the small one as actually being the great one and to represent the small reform as settling the whole question."

PLEA FOR TIME-LIMIT

Now the Government have promised to India the grant of full Dominion Status after the conclusion of the present war. It has added that the promise shall be implemented within the shortest period of time after the war. What is imperative in this matter in order to convince people of the absolute sincerity of their intentions is that a definite time-limit should be announced forthwith at the end of which the definite promise shall be definitely carried out. A warning note has here to be sounded that in this task none of us in India will be satisfied or silenced by the production of a "tertium quid" to which I have already alluded above. I must frankly say in this connection that I am far from satisfied with the recent observations of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. *Amery*, on the subject of constitution-making for India. We do not want any experiment here, either on the American or any other model. Our historical and political evolution under the British rule has set us definitely on tbe path of what is clearly envisaged by Dominion Status and democratic, parliamentary self-government. We have passed through four successive stages of reform from 1892 to 1935. And we demand the fulfilment of responsible self-government for India in a manner outlined in the concluding paragraphs of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on the Reforms of 1919. That responsible self-government has been put in a clearer form still by the Balfour declaration of 1926. And the Westminster Statute gives us under it full and complete freedom of initiative and action. This is to what the British Government is now definitely pledged. And we shall accept nothing that takes us in a line and direction different from the path clearly marked out for us in that promise.

But are we to be satisfied in the meanwhile, with things as they are, on the excuse that nothing can be done or need be done while the war is going on ? The least that we except from the Government of the day is, that they will go ahead with their scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and of adding on to it a War Council, also composed of non-officials drawn from all parties in the country. But it has to be emphatically said in this connection that the two Councils so formed should not be in the nature of an eye-wash. The members chosen or nominated to work upon them should be of the wisest and the best, and, though technically responsible to the Viceroy alone, the convention should be established that their advice shall normally operate without let or hindrance from any quarter. Above all things the portfolios of Defence and Finance must be in charge of non-officials who are not drawn from permanent services. The policies shall be framed by the non-official members concerned, who will be allowed to see to it that they are carried out in letter and spirit by the administration under them. And the responsibility of these members shall be a joint-responsibility, aad not only for the particular department which may be put in their charge. Thus will be initiated from now a cabinet system in the Central Government which may not be responsible, but must certainly be made responsive, to public opinion in the country. Without this material change of outlook and policy in the immediate governance of India, none will be convinced to-day that the country is 'not' meant 'only to supply men, materials and money, as if it were a conquered country" and that a sincere and whole-hearted attempt is being made "to win the goodwill of the Indian people on the side of war, a factor of such immense importance in the difficult days that lie ahead of us all."

DEFENCE AND FINANCE

I need not go here into the details of Defence and Finance. But I shall permit myself to say something by way of general observation on Defence. We are here on stronger ground than any other political party in India. Finance and Defence have been subjects studied in detail and spoken on with authority by some prominent members of our Party. Therefore, my observations on the subject will be only of a general character, and such as suggest themselves to a layman and nothing more. These may be summarised somewhat as follows :—

(1) That it is not only foolish but criminal, if not suicidal, to say that we can drive back an enemy, who attacks us with weapons of violence, by following the policy of non-violence. And it is no act of violence to defend our country and our hearths and homes against such an enemy by recourse to arms. The cult of non-violence has no application whatever in such a case. Therefore, to pursue an anti-war propaganda on this ground has no sanction in history, religion and ethics of any country in the world, not excluding India.

(2) That even more than any subject of constitutional reform the question of the reorganisation and Indianisation of the military system of the country is vitally connected with the growth of our nationhood in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and therefore, it cannot be either shelved, postponed or lightly set aside.

(3) That as modern wars have become more and more scientific, a country, which does not employ its best brains and talents in its army, is bound to go to the wall in any conflict with modern powers. Hence it is up to the Government to push on vigorously with its policy of Indianisation. The University Training Corps should be expanded and utilised fully for manning the army with officers. Military training of Indians in all arms like artillery, navy and air force should be speedily undertaken, and pursued with zest, vigour and drive suitable to the occasion.

(4) All so-called distinction for the recruitment to the army as between the martial and non-martial races should be done away with. Provincial discrimination and favouritism should be a thing of the past. Every province should be encouraged by all means to contribute its full share in man-power for the Defence of India.

(5) The Government must shed off its distrust of Indians completely, and thus help to turn the present system into what may be rightly called the National Army of India. What Sir *Sivaswami Aiyer* said about this question years back is more applicable to the situation in India as we find it to-day. He said, "We desire that Indians shall be freely admitted to employment in all arms of the defensive organisation of the country, that no time should be lost in taking steps for the organisation of a territorial army which will serve as an auxiliary force of the Indian army. This cannot be accomplished until provision

is made in India itself to give the highest standard of instruction in military and naval engineering, in the construction and management of aircraft in the knowledge of tactics, and in all technical and administrative subjects required for members of the General Staff."

(6) That the needs of the present war and the perils of neglect are much greater than those of the last war. Hitlerism and War, if they succeed in overwhelming Great Britain and conquering India, will work havoc with all our hopes and aspirations for the future of India. Hence, both in the political and the military sense, the situation has to be handled not only wisely and with foresight, but with implicit faith in the people of India.

(7) That this military reorganisation and the war effort consequent upon it, should be efficiently undertaken, and undertaken with the fullest confidence that the whole country is behind that effort, demands that the defence portfolio shall be placed in competent and trustworthy Indian hands. We have been promised Dominion Status, which, without the Dominion Army to accompany it, can be so only in name. Every one recalls in this connection the speech of the late Lord Sinha as President of the Indian National Congress and how he had coupled his plea for a definite declaration of British policy in India with a demand for the full and all round Indianisation of the Army and the kind of military training for Indians that must precede it. For he maintained that responsible self-government for India can never come until Indians are made fit to defend themselves. And this, I affirm once more, will not be done until Government shakes off for good the distrust in the people which yet marks the military policy of the Government of India. This is all that I have to say, and only as a layman, on the question of Defence.

Wanted Large Scale Planning

Another subject that cannot be overlooked in this discussion is that of industrialisation. The Roger Mission and the Eastern Group Conference that met at Delhi only recently will, I trust, do all that is needful for purposes of war-time-industry and for correlation on that account between countries and interests with kindred aim. But this is only a temporary phase. What we ought to press upon the attention of the Government as also upon the attention of all businessmen in India is, that a temporary alignment and co-ordination of effort are not enough. What India needs most to-day and the day after-tomorrow, is a definite and large-scale planning which will unmistakably provide for clear-sighted industrial prosperity of India after the war. And the task should be a joint consultation and effort between officials directly concerned and business men in the country as well. In all fields of industry, India is pushing ahead since the last war and there is no dearth of non-official talent and capital in this country, provided you know how to harness it to this planning of industry and to the successful orientation and carrying out of the plan. Here again, politics and economics impinge one upon the other. And confidence and trust in the one field beget trust and confidence in the other field also, to the advantage of politics and economics both.

I have already referred to the present political deadlock. Suggestions are being made for a peace-effort to put an end to this undesirable state of things. The letter of *Sir Jagdish Prasad* to the press followed by a long explanation and elucidation upon it by Sir *Tej Bahadur Sapru* the other day, is one indication of the general feeling in the country over this matter. The Prime Minister of Bengal has come out with the proposal that Muslim League should take a lead in the matter. But Mr. *Jinnah's* subsequent speeches on the subject make one fact clear more than all others and it is this that no pourparlers shall even be begun until certain previous conditions laid down by the Muslim League are accepted by the other party in question. In these circumstance, I am led to believe that these efforts, if at all they get a start, have but a slender chance of success and of success in a manner that we all desire for the political good of India as a whole.

One Nation

We want Indian unity, and no party domination. We want India to be one nation and not cut asunder into Hindu India and Muslim India. We want in India the reign of true democracy on the model of British democracy and as it has worked in England. Our trust, in the first instance, is in that democracy and only under it, in the Government that represents the democracy in Great Britain and India for the time being. We do not want here the domination of one race over another, or such a rule by majority or a clamouring minority as will virtually

take us back to autocracy or one-man rule. We want no true interests in India to suffer but all legitimate interests to come together to co-operate to one end, namely the prosperitiy and uplift of our motherland, that is India, and 'not' this or that part or province or frontier of India. We do not swear by complete independence of India, for we do not desire to go back to pre-British rule in India, much less to fall an easy prey to any conqueror from the East and the West, the North and the South. We honestly think and firmly believe that Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety will give us the 'kind' of independence we need in India to-day and to-morrow, to weld her into a self-determining and seh-sufficing nation. I do not look far into the future. One step is enough for me.

If a reconciliation and friendship resulting in a united effort sufficient to cope with the present situation are to be brought about based on these fundamentals, then it will not do to depend merely on peace-missions of the kind I noted above. In this connection I welcome the suggestion made recenly by my friend the Honourable *Mr. P. N. Sapru* that England should send out for that purpose a goodwill mission to India composed of its first-class statesmen whose presence in England is not so indispensable for direct war effort. The principal aim of such a mission should be to travel over the whole country and know the situation for itself, than, to interview representative men of all parties in the country, and, lastly, as the result of the dispassionate and entirely unofficial view that it gets of things in India, to frame what I may call a Treaty of Friendship between England and India, somewhat on the lines of, if not similar to the treaty arrived at between England and Ireland after the conclusion of the last war.

It has to be borne in mind that the treaty should have for its aim 'not' the re-opening of the constitutional question between India and England, for that has been settled in essentials, namely, Dominion Status and such Status, at that, as will make India an equal partner with England in the Indo-British Commonwealth of nations. The purpose of the mission and of the treaty to follow it, should be to restore goodwill, to remove possible misapprehensions about the intentions now and remote, of England towards India and to prepare the ground for the specific task of constitution-making, that can only follow after the successful conclusion of the present war. It should also be understood that the decisions of this Mission should not be made to wait upon the previous assent to them by the parties most vocal in the world of India as it is to-day. These noises and bickerings are bound to continue till a definite solution and a decisive step is determined upon by the Government in power. We know that this has been done by Great Britain and the British Parliament in 1909, in 1919 as well as in 1935. The solution of our internal differences, communal or otherwise, should not be laid down as a condition precedent to the solving of this political tangle. We know that it was not done in the case of Ireland as between the party led by Mr. *De Valera* and the party led by Mr. *Collins* and others. And we cannot accept the "raison d'etre' of a different attitude to the political struggle between England and India. There is a very large number of politically minded and patriotic men in India outside the Congress and the Muslim League, who will agree to such a course and smoothen the path of reconciliation between England and India, on lines honourable to either side. My submission to the British Government, in their own interest as well as in the interest of India is, therefore, this :— It should make a clear declartion to the Indian people that, say within two years after the war, they will definitely establish Dominion Status in India, and then the people of India shall have to work out their own salvation in their own way, without either interference or domination from Great Britain or by any party that may be in power in Great Britain thereafter. In the meanwhile they are sending a Goodwill-Mission to India, fair impartially minded, of undoubted integrity and honour, whose sole aim in going to India and seeing things for themselves shall be to clear up misunderstanding, restore friendship, and do all in their power to smoothen the path of progress all round. It is my firm, considered and emphatic opinion that until the Indo-British problem is solved first all other differences in India will not end.

Resolutions—Calcutta—29th. & 30th. December 1940

DOMINION STATUS AFTER WAR

The session of the Federation concluded on the 30th. December after adopting a number of important resolutions.

The hon. Mr. *P. N. Sapru* moved the following resolution on the future constitution of India, as adopted by the subjects committee :—

"The National Liberal Federation of India, while desirous of satisfying the reasonable claims of minorities is of opinion that the Viceroy's declaration of August last virtually gives them a veto on constitutional progress and protests strongly against the distinction drawn by Mr. *Amery* between the status and functions of a dominion which has created a grave apprehension in the minds of the people that what he called British obligations in India may permanently stand in the way of India achieving the same freedom as the other dominions enjoy.

"The National Liberal Federation of India strongly dissents from the recent statement of H. E. the Viceroy that the British Government can do nothing more than they have already done to enable India to enjoy dominion status and urges that it should be immediately announced that India will be accorded the status of a dominion within the meaning of the Statute of Westminster within a period not exceeding two years after the conclusion of the war.

"The National Liberal Federation of India is further of the view that in the meanwhile the Central Government should be so reconstructed as to have by convention a fully national character. The Viceroy should be its constitutional head and that the British Government should not ordinarily interfere with any policy that has the support of such an executive and the Central Legislature. The portfolios of Defence and Finance should be entrusted to non-official Indians enjoying the confidence of the country."

The mover said that in this resolution they had expressed their views on the political situation which had developed during the last 18 months in this country and had also formulated what their basic demands were.

The history of India, Mr. Sapru added, might have been very different if at the beginning of the war, before any demands had been made by any political party, the British Government had come forward with a clear and unequivocal declaration of Dominion Status for India.

Referring to the recent declarations made by his Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India that they had done all that they could do towards a solution of the political tangle and that the initiative now should come from Indians, Mr. Sapru remarked that his Excellency had been 'blundering for all these years. In the declaration it had been said that the British Government sympathized with India's desire to frame her own constitution consistent with historical and other obligations which they had towards this country. The freedom which Indians might get was conditioned by these obligations. But the obligations could be interpreted in such a way as to give them real power or just a shadow of responsibility. The speaker observed that the question of obligations should be settled by direct negotiation between the representatives of India and the British Government. These obligations ought not to be allowed to stand permanently in the way of progress.

As to the distinction drawn by Mr. *Amery* between the status and function of a dominion Mr. *Sapru* said : I do not care for status ; 'I care for power ; I care for freedom and I care for, if you give me the right to use the word, independence. If we have reality of political power, status will follow'.

Mr. *Sapru* added that the attitude of 'no compromise with imperialism' would lead them nowhere. They were prepared to accept the creed of Dominion Status which was virtual independence. 'What we want is the reality of power, full control over our own destiny, the control which the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and South Africa have. Nothing else will satisfy the aspirations of the people of the country. Nothing else is worth looking at. What we are offered is not Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety. What we are offered is controlled self-government within the imperialistic structure and if the truth is to be told, there is the political deadlock in this country because England is not clear in her mind what she means to do with India after the war. That feeling will not be removed by an equivocal declaration with mental reservation.'

Mr. *Sapru* then referred to the difficulty that confronted them in framing the constitution of the country. In view of the declaration of the British Government they should agree among themselves as to the body which would frame the constitution. The principal Muslim party in India stood for the partition of India. 'How can you negotiate in a reasonable atmosphere', he asked, 'with people who want to divide this country, people who talk not of Indian nationalism but of two nations ? How can you negotiate with people of that type ? That is the initial difficulty in our way and for this initial difficulty the responsibility mainly rests with the British Government'. The speaker maintained that this problem had been created for them by the British Government when they introduced the

system of separate electorates in India in 1905. This vicious circle was created for them by the British policy of granting self government in instalments.

Therefore it was essential, he pointed out. that the British Government should give up this instalment system. They must declare that the future constitution was going to be placed on a permanent basis and that the final transference of power to the Indian hands was going to take place within a definite period of time.

Mr. *Sapru* held that the British Government was more responsible for the present political deadlock than either the Congress or the Muslim League. He asked, 'If an Anglo-American or a Franco-British union was a possibility now, why not an Indo-British union ?'

The resolution was formally seconded by Prof. *R. H. Kelkar* of Poona and supported by Mr. *C. R. Somayajulu* of Madras and was adopted by the Federation without any change.

Seconding the resolution, Prof. *R. H. Kelkar* recalled that during the last war Mr. *Montagu* had come to India to investigate the Indian problem. Why was not such a thing possible now ? The suspicion was that there was no real desire to part with power.

Supporting the resolution Mr. *Somayajulu* said that the future constitution of India must be of a federal type at the Centre on the population basis and the provinces must be divided on a linguistic basis provided they were financially self-supporting. But the federal constitution adumbrated in the Government of India Act of 1935 was opposed by all the parties in India as it was a negation of full responsible government. He thought that the future federal constitution should be framed by a committee representing all the major political parties in the country.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES

Dr. *R. P. Paranjpye* moved the following resolution on separate electorates :

"The Federation, while fully ready to safeguard the interests of all sections of the people, considers that the aim of India's political evolution should be a democracy not qualified by considerations of race or creed and therefore the Federation is definitely opposed to the permanent existence of communal electorates and the present Communal Award ; at the same time as it would not be practicable to effect this reform immediately owing to the existing conditions it considers that gradual steps should be taken to eliminate separate communal electorates by having joint electorates with reserved seats for a definite period.

"The Federation is emphatically opposed to the suggested division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan as being against the best interests of the country which in its opinion should be one single unit of Government for purposes of administration and defence though it will have necessarily to be of a federal character."

In moving the resolution, Dr. *Paranjpye* traced the history of the introduction of separate communal electorates in this country and said that it was a great mistake to introduce religion in the political sphere and today they were witnessing its dire results.

Referring to the Communal Award the speaker said that in this award the Muslims had got far more than what they were entitled to in any system of democracy and the award had become a standing obstacle in the path of India's progress as a real democracy. It was time that they put their foot down on the communal virus and enunciated once for all their opposition to separate communal electorates. They did not desire to treat the minorities harshly. They wanted to treat them as indulgently as possible, even giving them better treatment than what they would get on their numerical strength.

Seconding the resolution, Mr. *J. N. Basu* pointed out that India was not the only country which was the meeting place of different classes, creeds and races. They had had in other countries a similar collection of races which had fought each other, of creeds opposed to each other and of classes contending for power against each other. But no other civilized country had yet thought of the peculiar device that was incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1935. He gave instances of Canada and South Africa and asked if the British people ever thought of introducing separate electorates in those countries.

After Mr. *S. N. Varma* had supported the resolution it was carried without any change.

THE WAR

Sir *Chimanlal Setalvad* then moved the following resolution on the war :—

"The Federation reaffirms its deep sympathy with the victims of totalitarian

aggression and is fully confident that they will soon be able to regain their lost independence. It deeply appreciates the heroic efforts made by Britain and the countries associated with her and by Greece and China in resisting aggression and trusts that their enormous sacrifices will be crowned with success.

"The Federation feels that India should offer its wholehearted support in the prosecution of the war as it is convinced that the future of democracy and the cause of India's freedom is bound up with the defeat of totalitarianism. At the same time it feels that the requisite effort will not be forthcoming from the people of India unless sufficient enthusiasm is created among the people by a change in the policy of the Government towards India."

Moving the resolution, Sir *Chimanlal Setalvad* said that when they asked for India's wholehearted support to Britain in the prosecution of the war, they did so not to oblige Britain but to oblige themselves. If England went down there was no question but India would lose even the present measure of liberty she enjoys. Sheer self-interest demanded that India should put forth her best efforts in support of England to carry on this war to a successful conclusion.

On the other hand, he said, England in her rule in India during the last 150 years had failed to equip India for self-defence in the manner she should have done. And it was on that account that they stated in the concluding portion of the resolution that the psychological conditions should be created in order to enable India wholeheartedly and more effectively to support Britain in the war.

Seconding Sir *Chimanlal Setalvad's* resolution the hon. Dr. *Hridaynath Kunzru* said that the Government had not succeeded in evoking wholehearted enthusiasm in the country for their cause. What was that due to? It was not due to any partiality in the minds of Indians for Germany, Italy or Japan; it was due entirely to internal circumstances. The Government must understand the psychology of the people and make them feel that the war was their war: it must enable them to feel that they were being prepared for self-defence and that the fight for freedom would soon enable them to enjoy freedom themselves. But unfortunately India had been to no small extent antagonised by the shortsighted policy pursued by the British Government. The speaker made particular reference to the question of defence in this connection.

He feared that notwithstanding the fact that the sympathies of India were entirely with the democratic countries, so long as the attitude of the British authorities towards India was not changed, it would be impossible to create that enthusiasm which alone could enable her to put all the efforts that she was capable of in aid of the democratic countries.

Mr. *N. C. Bharucha* and Mr. *Parmeshwar Nath Sapru* supported the resolution which was carried.

Supporting the resolution moved by Sir *Chimanlal Setalvad*, Mr. *N. C. Bharucha* urged the people of India to offer wholehearted support to British war efforts. What the Liberals should do now, the speaker concluded, was to go to the people and tell them that by helping Britain in the war India was only helping herself.

Mr. *Parmeshwar Nath Sapru* said that if it was necessary to obtain the wholehearted support of the country it was absolutely essential that something should be done and done immediately to make the people feel that they were fighting for their own existence in fighting for the existence of Britain. He further said that this was an opportunity for Indians to enrol themselves in the air, army and naval forces and thus build up the defence of the country.

Civil Disobedience

The following resolution on civil disobedience was moved by Dr. *R. P. Paranjpye*:

"The Federation deplores the resort to civil disobedience by the Congress as it will still further complicate the difficult situation in the country.

"The Federation also deplores the severity of sentences passed in certain cases and advocates enlightened treatment of political prisoners throughout the country."

Moving his resolution, *Dr. Paranjpye* said that the present civil disobedience by the Congress which was, at its beginning, limited to individuals, was now assuming an enormous character and leading the country to an abyss whose depth they could not at present see. He expressed the opinion that in view of the time and circumstances prevailing at present in the country, a step like civil disobedience was entirely out of place. It might be that, India for the moment was not actually in the theatre of war, but the future of India was indivisibly bound up

with the result of this war and, therefore, anything that came in the way of their successful prosecution of this war, was entirely anti-national.

Referring to the statement of Mahatma Gandhi that he did not wish to embarrass the British Government and that he did not wish the success of Nazism and Fascism, *Dr. Paranjpye* failed to realise how this resort to civil disobedience would not come in the way of a successful war effort, would not embarrass the British Government and would not, at least to a certain extent, encourage Fascism and Nazism.

Deprecating the move of the Congress in placing civil disobedience or passive resistance, as an ideal in itself, before the country, the speaker thought that the move was entirely untimely and against the best interests of the people.

Dr. Paranjpye also strongly criticised the way in which Government were treating the civil resisters, who, in his opinion, should in no way be treated harshly. The Liberals should see, he concluded, that no undue severity was used against any civil resister by the Government.

Seconding the resolution Rai Bahadur *F. L. De* said that the civil resisters were not born criminals. So they should in ordinary course be treated in a much better manner than they were being treated now. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

DEFENCE

The following resolution on defence was moved by the hon. Dr. *H. N. Kunzru*:

"The National Liberal Federation while always demanding a radical change in the defence policy of the Government is strongly of opinion that the war has shown that for making adequate preparations for the security of India it is essential that, (1) the Defence portfolio should be entrusted to an Indian member who commands the confidence of the people and, that (2) the Defence forces of India should be organised on a fully national basis. It recognizes the progress that has been made with regard to the manufacture of war materials but is thoroughly dissatisfied with the policy in other respects.

"It urges in particular (a) that the policy of Indianization of the army, navy and air force should be immediately adopted : and (b) that the distinction between martial and non-martial races should be done away with and the army recruited from all provinces and classes".

Commending the resolution to the acceptance of the house *Dr. Kunzru* said that it was a matter of urgent importance that they should attend immediately to the problems relating to their national security. For a long time their defence arrangements were based on the assumption that in any major conflict England would come to their assistance. But the present war had shown that this dependence on England was a source of danger to India.

The role of India was particularly a responsible one in connection with the Middle Eastern sphere. The conditions under which the old scheme of defence was outlined having radically changed it had become more than ever necessary that the policy should be particularly overhauled and further that India should be placed in charge of defence arrangements of the country.

Referring to the move of the totalitarian powers towards India through Egypt, Suez Canal and Palestine, the speaker pointed out that it was obvious that they were incurring a serious risk. It was necessary, therefore, from the point of view of England itself that India should be enabled to defend herself.

Mr. B. B. Roy, *Mr. V. V. Venkataraman* and *Mr. B. N. Roy Choudhury* supported the resolution which was carried unanimously.

WAR AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Dr. P. Neogy moved the following resolution on war and industrial development:

"The National Liberal Federation of India strongly protests against the virtual exclusion of Indians from higher positions in the Supply department in connection with its recent reorganisation and urges its Indianisation in order to win the confidence of Indians.

"The Federation presses on the Government of India and the provincial Governments the importance of taking advantage of the present conditions to foster the industrial development of the country. It is necessary in its opinion for this purpose that the fiscal policy of the Government should be suitably changed and that special efforts should be made to secure the establishment or expansion of the basic chemical and other industries and the establishment of new industries under Indian control aud management.

"The Federation is of opinion that national interests require that special attention should be paid to the establishment of small-scale industries.

"The Federation urges the taking of all possible steps to develop shipbuilding, aircraft and automobile manufacturing industries in the country.

"The Federation appreciates the decision of the Government of India to appoint more trade commissioners with a view to finding new markets for Indian products, but in view of the magnitude of the Interests involved is of the opinion that vigorous efforts should be made to find new outlets for such commodities the marketing of which has been adversely affected by the war".

Prof. M. D. Altekar seconded and *Mr. Santi Nath Roy, Mr. S. P. Basu* and *Mr. B. J. Shroff* supported the resolution which was seconded by the house.

Indians Overseas

The Federation adopted the following resolution on Indians overseas as moved from the Chair, without any discussion :

"The Federation reaffirms its resolutions about the injustice to Indians overseas and calls upon the Government not to relax its efforts to remove the cause of their just complaints. The Federation welcomes the firm attidude adopted by them to take such further steps as may be necessary to protect the interests of Indians.

"The Federation welcomes the raising of the status of the representatives of the Government of India in South Africa from that of an Agent to the High Commissioner and wants the Government of India to appoint High Commissioners in other Dominions. The Federation disapproves the appointment of officials to such posts and is of the opinion that all such offices should be held by Indians selected from the public life of the country.

Reforms in Indian States

The following resolution on Reforms in Indian States also moved from the Chair was similarly carried by the House :

"The National Liberal Federation expresses its full sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian States for civil and political liberties.

"The Federation urges that the rulers of States should without further delay concede to their subjects the rights of security of person and property, liberty of speech and press, freedom of association as well as representative government as a prelude to responsible Government".

Census Operations

On the motion of *Mr. Manmatha Nath Sen*, the Federation adopted the following resolution on the census operations :

"This Federation calls upon the people to help in having a correct record made by the enumerators and to offer full cooperation to the census authorities and to see that there are no fictitious entries or inflation.

"The Federation further urges the Government of India to ensure the correct enumeration of the different communities by providing for joint enumeration by enumerators chosen from different communities and also to check the correctness of the final enumeration by sample or test census later.

"This Federation urges the Government of India to amend the Indian Census Act immediately, specially as regards prosecution for census offences and for allowing inspection to persons intending to initiate census prosecutions.

"This Federation points out that those that ordinarily call and regard themselves as Hindus are not allowed to be registered as Hindus, but are classified by the census authorities as animists and the like.

"This Federation is further of opinion that the differentiation made between Hindus and Mahomedans in the matter of the recording of castes is not only mischievous but also pernicious in its effect".

Changes in Constitution

On a motion from the Chair, the Federation adopted a resolution effecting certain changes in its constitution.

The resolution on the selection of the venue of the next session was not taken up by the house, but will be dealt with by the Council of the Federation on a later date.

VOTE OF THANKS

At the conclusion of the proceedings *Mr. J. N. Basu*, proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair, expressed high appreciation of the house of the manner in which *Mr. Chandavarkar*, the President, had conducted the deliberations.

MR. CHANDAVARKAR'S REPLY

Replying, *Mr. Chandavarkar* thanked the delegates for the assistance they had given him in discharging his duties. He said that although in a minority, the Liberals were a party of expediency. They had always endeavoured to work in the public life in a sportsmanlike spirit, playing not for winning but for the sake of the game itself.

Commenting on the political situation in the country, *Mr. Chandavarkar* observed that in spite of several mistakes committed by them the Congress ministries in the provinces were welcomed as they were representatives of the people and had worked in that capacity. 'We have always felt that they were our own ministers', he observed. Speaking about leadership, he remarked that they only could give the lead to the country that were ready to serve the cause of the people as servants.

The Federation appointed *Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar* as its president and Messrs. M. D. Altekar. R. R. Bakhale and M. C. Bharucha, secretaries for the year 1941.

Proceedings of the Council of the Federation

Resolutions—Allahabad—25th. August 1940

THE VICEROY'S DECLARATION

A meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India was held on the 25th. August at Leader Buildings, Allahabad. Dr. *R. P. Paranjpye* presided and among those present were :

Mr. J. N. Basu, the hon. Pandit Hirdaya Nath Kunzru, the hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru, Dr. G. S. Mahajani, Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth, Rai Bahadur Kunwar Guru Narain, Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, Principal J. R. Gharpure, Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Behari Misra, Rai Bahadur Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Mr. Raj Nath Kunzru, Mr. Brij Narayan Gurtu, Mehta Krishna Ram, Rai Bahadur Babu Kampta Praaad Kakkar, Mr. S. G. Vaze, Rai Bahadur Lala Bihari Lal, Mr. Vishun Nath, Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, Mr. Surendranath Varma, Mr. Gopinath Kunzru, Mr. M. D. Altekar, Mehta Mahipat Ram and Babu Vishwanath Prasad.

The recent declaration of his Excellency the Viceroy and the speech of Mr. *Amery* were considered and after a long discussion lasting nearly seven hours when several issues involved and many drafting amendments were keenly debated, the following resolutions were adopted :—

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India has given careful consideration to the statement of H. E. the Viceroy of Aug. 8 and the speech of Mr. *Amery* in the House of Commons on Aug. 14 and is of opinion that it should be clarified and modified in the manner suggested below in order to evoke whole-hearted response from the people in the prosecution of the war.

NEED FOR CLEAR ASSURANCE ON DOMINION STATUS

(a) The statement of Mr. *Amery* in which he draws distinction between the functions and the status of a dominion with reference to India has caused grave apprehension in the minds of the people of the country that what he called the British obligations in India may permanently stand in the way of India achieving the same freedom as the other dominions enjoy. A clear assurance is, therefore, needed that the contemplated free and equal partnership of India is not subject to any such qualifications.

DEFINITE TIME-LIMIT REQUIRED

(b) The Council considers that a definite time-limit should be laid down within which India will attain dominion status, as it feels that after the war danger is over, the various conditions in the declaration are capable of being put forward as excuses for delaying such attainment indefinitely.

MINISTRIES AND DOMINION STATUS

(c) While the Council is anxious to satisfy all reasonable claims and aspirations, and remedy all the genuine grievances of the various minorities and interests in the country, it cannot help feeling that the guarantees given in the declaration to the minorities are worded in such wide terms that they can be used to stop all political progress if their demands, even the most unreasonable, are not fully conceded ; the council, therefore, desires that it should be clearly stated that in the event of such a non-possumus attitude on the part of any minority or interest Government will carry out its promise to grant dominion status consistently with the principle of nationalism and democracy and the integrity of the country.

DEFENCE ON FULLY NATIONAL BASIS

(d) To enable India to put forth its best effort for the prosecution of the war and to reconcile the country to any sacrifices that may be necessary, the Council considers it essential that (i) the Defence portfolio should be entrusted to an Indian member who commands the confidence of the people, and (ii) the defence forces of India should be organized on a fully national basis and in particular, the recruitment of non-Indian officers should henceforward be discontinued.

INDIANS TO BE IN MAJORITY IN VICEROY'S COUNCIL

(e) The new members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be selected from the representatives of the various political parties in the country and that such new members should be in a majority on that Council.

That as a matter of convention such an enlarged Executive Council should work as a cabinet, that the Viceroy should be its constitutional head, that the British Government should not ordinarily interfere with any policy that has the support of such an Executive Council and the Central Legislature.

SELF-DETERMINATION AND BRITISH OBLIGATIONS

(f) The acceptance of principle of self-determination in the declaration is so hemmed in by regard for British obligations and guarantees to minorities and interests as to render it nugatory and the Council considers that if it is really intended to grant self-determination, it should be done in a manner which will make it practically effective.

The Western India National Liberal Federation

Statement—Bombay—21st. October 1940

Call for Common Front

'The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association have always viewed civil disobedience, in whatever shape or form, with intense misgivings. The Liberals are not alone in believing that the latest decision of the Congress to offer individual civil disobedience may very easily degenerate into lawlessness and violence throughout the country. Democracy connotes liberty of speech for which the Liberals have consistently fought ever since the time when the Congress was founded. But what the Congress now demands is, in the opinion of the Council, license to hamper all war effort which in reality is an abuse of the liberty of free speech. It is indeed deplorable that at this juncture when all national effort should have been solely directed towards securing unity and the speedy attainment of India's political goal, the spokesman of the Congress should have insisted on an issue on which the Congress is not admittedly an united body. The claim of Mr. Gandhi that the right of self-expression is not wanted by the Congress "merely for itself but for all" is clearly untenable because the Congress has hardly ever granted freedom of speech to its own members and certainly denied it to those outside its fold.

"The Council emphatically declare that the Congress claim to carry on unfettered propaganda against the war is not only impractical but opposed to the best interests of India herself and will undoubtedly have serious repercussions. Mr. Gandhi's own inclinations were at first in favour of giving unconditional support to Britain in her fight against the forces of totalitarian States. If Mr. Gandhi was unsuccessful in converting his own followers to his viewpoint, he should have, consistently with his professed ideals, carried on agitation in support of his view, which might have prevented the successive somersaults of the Congress

from time to time to the infinite detriment of the future of the country. It is obvious that in spite of its loud protestations not to embarrass the British Government, the Congress is merely trying to create a political crisis with a view to blostering up its own prestige and covering up a series of capital political mistakes which it committed when it had the reins of Government in no less than seven provinces.

"In the interests of India herself, it would be suicidal to do anything that is likely to prejudice Britain's efforts in her life and death struggle and it is nothing short of the gravest disservice to the country to lose the present opportunity of helping in the better defence of India and in attaining ultimate political freedom.

"The Council also disapprove of the anti-national policy adopted by the All-India Muslim League in putting forward the Pakistan scheme designed to partition the country on communal lines. The Liberals have always stood for effective safeguards for the protection of Muslims and other important minorities and for securing to them real part in the governance of the country, but they can never countenance a scheme which strikes at the root of all true nationalism and unity, thus inviting fresh dangers of which the consequences cannot be foreseen.

"At this juncture it is the duty of all well-wishers of India, to whatever political party they might owe allegiance and to whatever community they might belong, to unite in a common front to oppose the suicidal policies both of the Congress and the Muslim League which undoubtedly hamper all political progress on democratic lines.

"The Council are surprised at the attitude of the Government who, by carrying on ceaseless negotiations with representatives of only certain political and communal organizations, make it appear that the only method of agitation of which they can take notice is the method of threats, bluff and bullying. There is a widespread feeling all over the country, even amongst those who do not approve of the Congress and the League attitude, that the Government have really no intention to part with power. In the interests of democracy itself and great effort in the prosecution of the war, it is essential to remove this impression."

The All India Christian Conference

Annual Session—Lucknow—30th. December 1940

Presidential Address

In the course of his presidencial address at the all-India conference of Indian Christians held at Lucknow on the 30th. December 1940 *Mr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao*, M.A., M.D., said :

So far as I know the Christian Indians lag not behind others in the desire that their country should be free. There may be differences of opinion with regard to the method of its achievement, of points of contact with other powers, and the sharing of power and authority with others ; they are matters of detail and can await settlement. But they are alive to the call of national freedom. They, too, feel the chains of slavery and realise the humiliation of being a subject nation, and the abject helplessness of looking to others for guidance and inspiration, and the galling sense of inferiority complex. They long to be a great and united nation quite fit to face the world with becoming self-respect and carve out its own destiny. They see that India can never become great and good without becoming free. Subjection has degraded her and caused her moral bankruptcy, economic helplessness and intellectual torpidity. India's manhood and womanhood could only blossom to fruition in the glow of unhampered freedom.

The late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak's plaintive cry, 'Swaraj is my birthright, finds a sympathetic chord in their heart. So they can be counted upon to join those groups in the country that strive honestly, sincerely, and selflessly to usher in the day of the freedom of the Motherland !

I do not think that there is any power on earth that can long deny India freedom of the right sort. When the whole nation longs for it and demand it with one voice, freedom will, nay, must come. Our shortsightedness, stupidity, cupidity,

selfishness, lack of imagination and want of statesmanship have stood in the way of our freedom.

The War

The Christian Indians are no doubt anxious that the war should come to a speedy end. They think that India should go to Britain's aid in her extremity and do her best to win the war. They believe that India ought to have been consulted before she was called upon to bear the burden of the war. Since she is in it now she is in honour bound to redeem the situation. Of course it is difficult to say to what extent India would be benefited by the Allies coming out victorious. The ideals of democracy for which Britain is claiming to be fighting may be tenable so far as the countries of Europe are concerned. But they seem to lose their perspective when an attempt is made to apply them to the countries east of Suez. Everybody knows that India contributed handsomely in men, money and munitions during the last war. It was the Indian troops who first saved the situation in Belgium by standing in the gap and giving breathing time to the Allied armies to be gathered together and hurled against the enemy fronts and there was not a dissentient voice all over the country. Mahatma Gandhi was himself one of the foremost who proffered help to Britain and wished her success. But soon after the war was over Britain thought it polite to say 'thank you' and forget the stand that India had taken. The subsequent history—the Rowlatt Act, the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre, the Dwyer regime—still lingers in our memory, though it has ceased to rankle in our heart. Once bitten twice shy. Britain has let us down all along. We hoped for Dominion Status but what we got was only Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The three Round Table Conferences with much ado and weary negotiations had not brought us much nearer the goal. Promises were made to the lip only to be broken to the heart. Britain would rather trust her enemies than trust India. The lessons of the Great War were soon forgotten and no serious attempt had been made during the last twenty years to make India self-sufficient from the military point of view against foreign aggression. Perhaps Britain could not trust a well-equipped, mechanized and armed India. India would have been a tower of strength at this hour of peril to Britain, but the short-sighted policy of the British statesmen is responsible for the mess we are in today. It would therefore need a terrible effort, a herculean effort indeed, to trust Britain now! But on the moral plane faith begets faith and trust begets trust. So let us trust Britain this time and do the right thing. If she hesitates to do the right thing to us we should have developed our moral and spiritual powers sufficiently so as to compel Britain to yield to our demands.

For what power on earth can keep four hundred odd millions in subjection without their consent? I am not of the defeatist mentality. The trump cards are still with us. We need not cheat: we need not be niggardly. Let us be aboveboard.

Mere moral support will not do. Since we are on the physical plane the help we give should take some concrete form.

Violence and Non-violence

Then comes the question whether the aid we give should be of the violent way or of the non-violent way. It is a sad commentary on modern civilisation that human beings still have resort to brute force in settling economic and territorial disputes. We witness to-day the unedifying spectacle of two of the most progressive, scientific and protestant countries in Europe engaged in a death struggle bringing in all their resources to destroy each other. The Master's sublime dictum of love, gentleness, meekness and non-violence is relegated to the background as an impossible theory by the Christendom of the West, and all the skill and inventive genius of the European races are being used to hurt, cripple and destroy humanity in the lust for power and wealth. At last it has been left to a Hindu saint to put to test on a national scale Christ's tenets, and to base on the principle of non-violence his scheme for winning India's freedom. What the western empire builders have rejected has become the cornerstone of the eastern Mahatma!

Every disciple of Christ should wish success to the daring adventure of faith of Gandhiji since the betterment of the world and the preservation of our civilization ultimately rest on non-violence. Let the non-violent way of achieving human destiny be India's contribution to the war-mad and blood-drenched nations of the West, and when it has gripped their imagination we should have paid back our debt to Europe.

In the meanwhile let us help the Allies in whatever way we can. Those who still hold to the efficiency of violence may join the fighting forces, whereas those who believe in non-violence may find many opportunities to realise their ideal. We have already sent a Red Cross ship to China to show our sympathy to those patient suffering people. We may likewise soothe the pillow of pain, bind the broken limbs and heal the aching hearts of the sufferers among the belligerents. We must help human beings in the hour of their need and suffering whether they be friends or foes, regardless of their deserts. We cannot afford to ignore the claims of suffering humanity nor turn the deaf ear to the mute pleadings of the wounds of mind, body and soul. India with her great traditions of charity should not lose this opportunity of being true to herself and doing the right thing.

TURMOIL IN THE COUNTRY

It is regrettable that the atmosphere today is surcharged with civil disobedience. Perhaps both sides are responsible for it. It is a pity that the Congress Governments threw up their positions of responsibility, power and influence in haste without putting up a fight to the bitter end. It is also a thousand pities that the British Government stampeded India into the war over the heads of the accredited Governments of the provinces without even going through the formalities of consulting them. Two wrongs cannot make one right ! India is suffering today by the blunders made on both sides.

The right of free speech is one of the greatest achievements of the modern age. Moral and spiritual progress cannot be achieved without it. It is indeed a powerful weapon ; it should be used with caution. There are occasions when speech is silvern while silence is golden ! At times discretion is the better part of valour.

It may be that the man in the street does not yet sufficiently realise the import of this war. The Government is welcome to use all its resources to do propaganda and court the help of the millions of this land. But their opponents, if any, should be given opportunities to air their views. Otherwise it would be imitating the footsteps of Hitler and Mussolini. If India is with Britain in this war the Government need not mind what a few irreconcilables can do. On the other hand if India is not with the Government the act of imprisoning some of the leading men and women all over the country on mere technical grounds does not help matters. It only serves to dry up the fountains of sympathy for the sufferers across the seas ! The incarcerated leaders speak behind the iron bars louder and more persistently than they ever did outside. It is indeed a ticklish question involving a choice between the devil and the deep sea. The statesmanship and moral resources of both sides are needed in no small degree to solve the issue satisfactorily.

Force may compel obedience, but it can never win love, sympathy and hearty cooperation. It is not too late yet for a rapprochement. A Christian Government may yet rise to the occasion and do the big thing. I am sure that Mahatma Gandhi will unhesitatingly respond to a Christ-like gesture on the part of Britain.

CHRISTIANS AND THE FUTURE

The future is to those who plan and strive for it. No community can be certain of an assured place unless it works for it. Self-help is the best and the only help that the Christian community can depend on in this country. So long as the majority of the community are in Government or missionary services it cannot be independent. Economic independence is as important as political independence ; in fact both are inter-dependent. Not how much one earns, but how one earns affects one's character. If every Christian youth is taught the art or craft of earning an independent livelihood, his or her future is assured. They may not be rich, but they will be self-respecting and inspiring citizens. The Christians are as a rule poor ; unless the rising generation takes to trade, commerce and industry they cannot occupy leading positions in the economic life of the country. They should believe in the dignity of labour and learn not to despise the day of small things. Some of the greatest men in the world have worked themselves up from very small beginnings. Our Master was a carpenter who earned his living with the sweat of his brow !

The Christians who live in the villages should whole-heartedly cooperate with the attempt that is being made nowadays to reorganize village industries on which depends the well-being of the country. The problem of the poverty of the village

population can be solved to some extent by the introduction of cottage industries throughout the length and breadth of the country.

As a self-respecting people the Christians should not ask for protection and special privileges. As the second largest minor community in the land they should demand that no one should lose his or her chances in life or in state services on account of one's faith ; nothing more, but nothing less. For he who serves his country serves community and himself.

It is not the legislative enactments, but the goodwill of the vast majority of his countrymen that ensures the safety of the Christian. So long as he loves and serves his country he makes himself indispensable to national life and interests. He who serves becomes the real ruler of the land ! If the religion of Christ does not help us to serve our country disinterestedly, lovingly, humbly and without the invidious dtstinction of caste, colour or creed our religion would not be worth the name.

Again there ought to be real entente between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants in all matters that do not pertain to theology, the mode of worship and church organisation. We know where we differ, but let us see honestly where we can and ought to agree. The weakness in the past has been due to lack of coordination and cooperation between the two sections. In unity lies the strength in the future.

The Pakistan dream

While efforts are being made to unite and make India one, *Mr. Jinnah* comes out with the astounding suggestion that our country should be divided into two major divisions to humour men of his way of thinking. While professing to be advocating the interests of the minorities he does not say a word as to what apportions are to be made to the Christians, the Parsees, the Jains or the Sikhs. It is entirely a selfish agitation intended to feather the nest of the Muslims of India at the risk of the well-being of the country. Fancy the Christians all over the country to be packed off to a remote village in the extreme south of India just to satisfy the whims of a group of Muslims with defeatist mentality.

Pakisthan is a wild theory, wide off the mark in any coherent scheme of things. It serves as a war cry to rally round the leader's banner in a losing battle. It may serve to spite the Hindu or drive him to corner. But I doubt if its protagonists really understand the full significance of their venture. Instead of a vague talk, have they any definite plan or scheme of achieving their object ? The idea may satisfy vested interests, but many poor Muslims stand to lose by the wholesale transfer of the means of their livelihood and property. I an sure that the Muslim masses would rebel against it when they come to realize the full implications of that preposterous scheme.

Mr. Jinnah has recently declared that there are many Muslims of his way of thinking who will not only work for Pakisthan, but also die for it. I don't think that that threat frightens anybody in modern India. I am sure there are milions of national-minded Christians, Muslims, Parsees, Jains and Sikhs who will work and readily die to prevent the Motherland being divided and subdivided to humour a group of people who want everything their own way. I trust and pray that wiser counsels will prevail in the Muslim League camp !

The Majority and Minorities

Unfortunately the problem of minorities is being brought to the fore by adopting the parliamentary system of Government after the British pattern. That system no doubt works well in a country like England where through generations of practical experience people have learned to pull together in spite of differences in ideas and ideals. Perhaps religions separate in India more than they do in the West, and a certain margin should be left for religious differences.

I think that the time has arrived that we shoud take stock ef our achievements in the past and introduce changes where they seem necessary. Parliamentary system need not necessarily be the only system of governing a country. It stands reason that not only hands but also heads and hearts should be counted in arriving at a decision. It is important to remember that social and economic conditions appeal to the mass of mankind. He who wears the shoe knows where it pinches. The landlord and the cultivator, the capitalist and the labourer with different angles of vision should be adequately represented. Groups may have votes according to their importance. Mere numerical superiority of a group need not necessarily determine the fate of an issue. We need not slavishly imitate the Western forms. We may evolve a new technique to solve our complex problems. Surely four hundred odd millions cannot fit into one hide-bound theory.

After all the Hindu majority is not a real majority. That community is split up into several castes and sub-castes. The differences assume undue import at the time of elections. Some day these differences will no doubt vanish. Then the Hindu community will be great enough to embrace others as comrades and countrymen. There is at present not much danger of the majority overriding the rights of minorities.

CHRISTIAN IDEALISM

After all it is character that counts with the individual as well as with the nation. It is the man or the woman that matters ! Unless our spiritual aspirations and ethical idealism lift us above the level of ordinary human nature our religious labels will not be of much use.

'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and the Pharisees ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of God,' says the Master.

Our religious beliefs should be rational, and should not permit us to slip into fanaticism. At this present juncture when religious animosities are apt to explode on the slightest pretext, intolerant proselytising zeal will not help matters. It is not conversions, but the deepening of the spirituality all over the country that will enable the people to stick to the kernel and cast off the shell. Mass conversions, apart from deep convictions of the individual, should be tabooed as it would tend to increase inter-communal jealousies and rivalries.

Of course the Christian community should grow. But the growth should be in spiritual height and depth but not in mere numbers. India would see Jesus in those who call themselves Christians, and their lives would be more convincing than their words and professions. The pure, gentle, non-violent, suffering, forgiving and loving Christ must have worthy representatives all over the country, in every town and village, serving, inspiring and redeeming the dumb, suffering and patient millions of India. The more they are like him the more shall the motherland need them and love them. The disciples of Jesus Christ shall have no problems in the land of their birth. If they give freely they shall also receive freely.

The Welcome Address

In the course of his speech welcoming the president and delegates, *Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh*, KT., M.A., C.I.E., chairman of the reception committee, said :

With many I feel that the defeat of Great Britain and her allies will be highly detrimental to this country and to much that she holds dear. As Dr. *H. C. Mukerji* indicated in his presidential address last year, whatever our grievances against the British Government may be, we have no sympathy with Nazism, with its remorseless aggression and its contempt for the ideals of democracy. And when we read of the havoc and distress caused by bombing in Great Britain, from which we have been so far immune, while deploring the tragedy of war we cannot but admire the courage and spirit of sacrifice of the British people. How much suffering has also been been caused in Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, all helpless victims prostrate under the conqueror's heel ! Are they to receive only the sympathy of our lips ? I am of opinion that we must give our support to the allies and this assistance should be of a practical and effective nature. In times of war it is the present more than the future that matters. Help at least to the Red Cross must appeal even to the most ardent pacifist.

At the same time, along with Indians of different creeds and political views we disapprove the policy of distrust pursued by the British Government, which has in the past neglected to Indianise the army or prepare us adequately against attacks by land, sea and air. Further, in disregard of the repeated demands of representative Indians for the industrialisation of our economic structure we have been left in a position which makes us dependent even in time of war on Great Britain and foreign countries for many of our vital necessities. While referring to the war I invite your attention to the fact that not all branches of the Indian Army are open to Indian Christians. For example, they are not permitted to enlist as ordinary soldiers in the way open to our Hindu and Muslim fellow countrymen. This invidious distinction is inexcusable and calls urgently for removal.

The present political situation is also a matter of deep concern to us. As a member of the Liberal Party, I cannot reconcile myself to civil disobedience which to my mind is a dangerous and double-edged weapon. The experience of this city alone has demonstrated the truth of my contention, for, following the precedent set by others, Shias and Sunnis rather than submit to the orders passed by the

then Congress Ministry in these provinces went to jail in their thousands leaving, alas, their differences unsolved. At the same time we must respect the convictions of the many high-minded and patriotic men and women who do not share this standpoint, while in any case there is not one of us who does not view with anxiety and regret the imprisonment of some of the best citizens of our country and the inordinately severe sentences which have been passed from time to time.

Unfortunately the British Government blundered by not declaring at the outset of the war that India would attain to Dominion Status within a very early and definite period after its close. A pronouncement of this kind would not only have obviated the present position but would have also led to a feeling of responsibility among our leaders and would have emphasised the necessity for unity among the various important interests in India. As I have publicly stated on more than one occasion, I consider that the main obstacle to political peace in India is the absence of a settlement between Hindus and Muslims represented for the most part, though not entirely, by the Congress and the Muslim League. Not long ago Mahatma Gandhi wrote as follows :—

"This is not the time to ask for our independence. It is beyond the power of the British Government to confer it upon us. India can be independent only if she can hold her own when the British go out." These words are as wise as they are true. So long, however, as the communal problem remains unsolved it is difficult to see how our independence can be effectively retained even after it has been secured. Mere criticism of one or other political party cannot solve it. Both sides must adopt a spirit of compromise. For this reason I have felt and still feel that a conference in India composed of the various important interests and including Indian Christians, who form the third largest religious body in this country, should be convened and the Government, who must not remain passive or indifferent, should also use their influence to arrive at a solution. If unhappily no solution is reached, it will be for the British Government as the ruling power to give their decision. Further, as an earnest of their goodwill, they should part immediately with some of their power and at the same time with the precedent before them of the United States and the Philipine islands fix a short and definite time-limit for the attainment by this country of full Dominion Status.

We, Indian Christians, believing in the ideal of a strong united and indivisible India, have shown that we are ready to place our country above communal considerations. We are willing to part with separate electorates and to ask for no special privileges. We are prepared to live at peace with both our Hindu and Muslim fellow citizens. Speaking for myself I would not object to all the additional members in an enlarged Executive Council of the Governor-General being taken from one community only. Let them be all Hindus or Muslims or Indian Christians or Sikhs, for I am confident that views would be identical. Last but not least it is our duty and privilege to serve as a bridge community particularly in times of conflict and thus to lesson the gap between the two largest and most influential communities of India.

There is one more matter to which I invite your attention. In a short time there will be a census. Complaints are general that Indian Christians specially in rural areas are not always recorded as such. Immediate steps are, therefore, necessary to ensure a correct classification of the members of our community by previous house-to-house visits and by the preparation of preliminary lists.

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The All India Sikh League

Resolutions—Lahore—30th. September 1940

An appeal to the Sikhs to intensify their war efforts particularly in regard to the recruitment of Sikhs in the army, was made in a resolution adopted by the All-India Sikh League at its meeting held under the presidentship of *Sardar Amar Singh* at Lahore on the **30th. September 1940.**

The League appealed to every Sikh to play his part in the defence of the country in keeping with the dignity and glorious traditions of the Sikh community, and believed that "Sikh soldiers would make their past record of heroic deeds even more resplendent in fighting bravely and loyally for the defence of the country at the present critical juncture."

The League viewed with satisfaction that the entire Sikh community was united in regard to the position of the Sikhs in the army and its demand for a share in the Central Executive, and hoped that His Excellency the Viceroy would recognise the legitimate claims of the community by giving them adequate representation on his Executive Council and the war Advisory Council.

The League characterised the Muslim League's demand of 50 per cent share in the Central Executive as preposterous and out of all proportion to the importance and stake of the Muslim community in the country, and hoped that the Viceroy would not yield to this "unreasonable" demand.

Describing the Pakistan scheme as "anti-national, dangerous and disastrous to the best interests of the country", the League declared its resolve to oppose it by all possible means and urged the Government and the Congress not to lend their support to such a scheme of partition.

Finally, the League urged the All-India Congress Committee to dissociate itself from the "sporting offer" of *Mr. Rajagopalachariar* which the League described as anti-national and anti-democratic.

The Akali Political Conference

Presidential Address—Murrer—7th. October 1940

"The only way open to the Congress to win the hearts of the Sikhs is to make a clear and unequivocal declaration accepting their demands", declared *Master Ajit Singh*, General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal, in the course of his presidential address at the Akali Political Conference held at Murrer in Sheikhupura District on the **7th. October 1940.**

Referring to the grievances of the Sikhs against the Congress, *Mr. Ajit Singh* described how Sikh interests had suffered during the past two decades owing to the alignment of the Sikhs with the Congress which, he alleged, had been indifferent towards them. He regretted that a great organisation like the Congress should have broken the pledge given to the Sikhs at its Lahore session in 1929. In the circumstances the only way to win the hearts of the Sikhs was to make a clear and unequivocal declaration accepting their demands and pledging to get them fulfilled in the future.

Mr. Ajit Singh said that there had been all-round weakening of the Sikh position during the past twenty years and urged that the Sikhs like any other minority badly needed protection of their interests. The statements issued by *Mahatma Gandhi* and *Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru* regarding the minority problem after the recent declaration of the Viceroy could not satisfy the Sikhs. He, therefore, called upon his coreligionists to unite under the banner of the Akali Dal to serve the cause of the country.

Defining the Sikh attitude towards non-violence, *Master Ajit Singh* said that the Sikhs could not discard the 'Kirpan' which was a symbol of their religion.

In conclusion, *Master Ajit Singh* condemned the Pakistan scheme and *Mr. Rajagopalachariar's* "sporting offer" to the Muslims.

The A. I. Aryan Political Conference

Second Session—Lucknow—6th. October 1940

The Presidential Address

A call to the Hindu Mahasabha, the Arya Samaj and the Sikh community to organise a united front to counteract the Pakistan idea was sounded by *Lala Khushal Chand Khursand*, in his presidential address at the second All-India Aryan Political Congress which began its session in the Amin-ud-Daula Park, Lucknow on the 6th. October 1940.

The imparting of military training in order to regenerate the decaying Kshatriya (warrior) class and the appointment of a committee of Vedic research scholars to formulate the ideals of good government as adumbrated in the Vedic literature were also stressed by *Mr. Khursand* as imperative needs of the hour. He further advocated an intensification of the movement in favour of Hindi as the lingua franca of India and the adoption of Devanagari script for the whole country. Referring to the world situation, the President characterised Hitler and Mussolini as the twin destructive forces dragging humanity to rack and ruin. Their emergence to power had meant a reversion to the law of the jungle, the ethics of the caveman and the religion of vandals.

Denouncing this unmitigated violence and at the same time disparaging the ideal of non-violence, the speaker suggested a *via media* by which physical prowess should be harnessed in the cause of righteousness and justice, in other words a holy alliance between the Brahmin and Kshatriya ideal propounded in the Vedas.

The Arya Samaj, the speaker continued, disagreed with the Congress on two essential points, namely, the principle of non-violence and the communal policy. The message of non-violence, if acted upon, would lead to the extinction of the military clan and thereby to the extinction of the State itself. The policy followed by the Congress in regard to the rights of minorities had already resulted in putting the Muslim League in the position of India's political dictator.

Lala Khushal Chand maintained that the Pakistan scheme was hardly distinguishable from the Khaksar movement. It was clear that the Hindus and Sikhs would be consigned to a position no better than quadrupeds in the proposed Pakistan territory. It was a pity that some Hindu Congressmen should still accept the Pakistan scheme in order to conciliate the Muslims.

The truth was that the Muslim attack was directed against the Aryan civilisation, the Aryan ideals and Aryan language and culture, and faced with this challenge, the Arya Samajists—nay every true Hindu—should deem it a paramount duty to lay down their lives, if need be, to shatter this pernicious scheme.

The Non-Congress Political Leaders' Conference

First Session—Nagpur—15th October 1940

The Welcome Address

"It was wrong to say that the present war was an imperialist war and it was the duty of every Indian to render all possible help in the prosecution of the anti-fascist war", declared Dr. *N. B. Khare*, former Premier of the Central Provinces, welcoming the leaders to the non-Congress Political Leaders' Conference held at Nagpur on the 15th. October 1940.

Dr. *Khare* felt sure that generosity would beget generosity. The Congress, he said, was fast losing the sympathy and support of the people and had practically ceased to be a political organisation. He believed that half-hearted non-cooperation was not going to solve the Indian problem and would end in miserable failure.

The reason why India's efforts towards the prosecution of the war were not what they should be, said Dr. *Khare*, was that there were no popular elements

associated with these efforts and since the resignation of the Congress ministries, the administration was being carried on entirely by civil servants. The Government should therefore try to associate representative Indians with the administration either by the formation of non-Congress ministries or by the appointment of non-official advisers.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"I would be emphasizing only the obvious when I say that it is the first and foremost duty of every Indian who claims to understand the peculiar position of India at present to concentrate all efforts on the successful prosecution of the war and lead Britain to victory,' said the *Raja Bahadur of Khallikote* in the course of his presidential speech.

The Raja Bahadur said that the war had now not only come to the Mediterranean but it also extended to the Pacific Ocean and the rumblings of the war could already be heard in the Far East. If India had not already fallen a victim to the fascist powers of Europe or Asia, it was not because the dictator countries had no desire to conquer and occupy India. Britain was fighting India's battle in the west as well as in the east and the Mediterranean for the moment had become our first line of defence.

The Raja Bahadur gave a survey of the events of the past 12 months and said that the Congress was trying to block the progress of India like Kipling's elephant standing in a narrow pass and holding up a whole division. It was sad to reflect that Mahatma Gandhi should at this critical time have thought fit to launch propaganda for carrying on an anti-war campaign.

RESOLUTIONS

Unconditional support to his Majesty's Government in the prosecution of the war was extended by a resolution which, while realising that there was acute differences between India and the British Government on the constitutional question, appealed to the people to give unstinted and wholehearted cooperation. The resolution prayed for the success of Britain in this war which was for the preservation of democracy and freedom and asked that these principles should be applied to India as soon as possible within a defined period after the war.

The conference disapproved of the resolution of the Congress declaring non-cooperation and deciding to start civil disobedience at this juncture. The Congress, in the opinion of the conference, was not the sole representative of the Indian nation and the conference therefore urged the formation of a nationalist democratic bloc.

Another resolution adopted by the conference urged the formation of ministries in provinces and if this was not possible, the appointment of non-official advisers to the Governors. The conference also urged the military authorities to eliminate the distinction between martial or listed classes and non-martial classes in the matter of recruitment to the army.

The Anti-Pakistan Conference

Lahore—1st. December 1940

The Presidential Address

'It may be said with a fair degree of accuracy that the Axis Powers are knocking at the eastern and western gates of India. The problem of India's defence has to be faced and solved jointly by the people of India and the Government of India,' observed Mr. *M. S. Aney*, in the course of his presidential address at the Anti-Pakistan Conference held at Lahore on the 1st. December 1940.

Mr. Aney devoted a considerable portion of his address to an examination of the recent pronouncements of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. He said : His Excellency the Viceroy struck a right note by asking the people of India to look upon this war as one that is being fought not merely for the cause of the Empire but for the cause of India also. But there are people who have doubts as to how this war is going to serve the cause of India. Frankly speaking,

the Indian National Congress has, by asking his Majesty's Government to enunciate and clarify their war aims, raised this categorical issue. The reply given and the gesture made so far on behalf of his Majesty's Government have not satisfied them.

MISTAKE IN REJECTING OFFER OF EXPANDED EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

'I am sure,' added Mr. *Aney*, 'that his Excellency did not want to repeat a mere platitude when he referred in the same sentence and breath to the cause of India and the Empire. In order to understand the import of his Excellency's reference to the cause of India in his appeal to the Indian people it is necessary to look back to the objects with which he has been strenuously trying to reconcile public opinion in India since the outbreak of war.' Mr. *Aney* recalled the Viceroy's announcement that the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth was the proclaimed and accepted goal of the imperial Crown and the British Parliament and said that according to him this consummation could be reached by India by the forging of 'new bonds of union and understanding' between the majority communities and the various important elements in the national life of India by the combined attempt on their part to defeat the totalitarian forces during the time of war as well as by taking counsels together to prepare the groundwork for the framing of the constitution for a free India.

Mr. *Aney* expressed the opinion that the Congress and the Muslim League committed a great mistake in rejecting the offer of the expanded Executive Council and the establishment of an Advisory War Council but pointed out that he was not without misgivings about the evolution of an abiding and genuine political unity as the result of the joint labours of a few leaders of the two different communities as members of the expanded council and the War Council for the prosecution of the war which had a common danger.

QUESTION OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG COMMUNITIES

Mr. *Aney* said : 'When the misunderstanding exists between the two great communities in a nation, the task of restoring cordial relations between them has to be performed by those who hold the reins of administration and wield sovereign power in their hands. Private attempts at reconciliation can succeed only if there is a bonafide desire in those who happens to be at the helm of the political affairs, to achieve that unity. Private peace-makers can act only as nonofficial agents of the Government which is ultimately responsible not merely for the maintenance of peace and order but also for the preservation and creation of friendly relations between one community and another. In fact it is the Government that alone can supply the cement to join the two. His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in every one of their speeches express their deep regret at the fact that the differences between the two communities, Hindus and Mohammadans, are not bridged. I am sure that these great statesmen know too well that communal unity is not an achievement that can be had by any people like a gift from the easy to please heavenly gods for the mere asking of it or wishing it.'

Mr. *Aney* then asked what steps had been taken by the Government of India to stop the wrong-doer from carrying on a wholly unjustifiable propaganda of calumny against the Congress Ministries and by the provincial Governors to expose the hollowness of the baseless charges that were made by the Mahomedan leaders individually and in the Pirpur report collectively.

Mr. *Aney* referred to the state of affairs in the North-west Frontier province and Sind and said that the Muslim Ministries in these two provinces had completely failed in the discharge of their elementary duties and as the custodians of the rights of the Hindu minorities of the province under the Government of India Act. Mr. Aney added that there was no will and wish among the leaders of the Muslim League to make any compromise with the Hindus and the Government had not done anything to create in the Mahomedans a will to unite with the Hindus to form themselves into one nation.

Mr. *Aney* then criticised Communal Award and said : The anti-nationalist spirit of the Mahomedans has now found a free expression in what is known as the demand for Pakistan. Various schemes have been formulated by leading Mahomedans to translate their vision of Pakistan into a reality. There are differences among them about the details, but on main principles there seems to be a general agreement among the protagonists of these schemes.

PAKISTAN—STUDIED SILENCE OF BRITISH GOVT.

Mr. *Aney* characterized the Pakistan scheme as a conquest of India by the Mahamedans without a fight and with the help and blessings of the British Govern-

ment. Mr. Aney said : Hindus and almost the whole of non-Muslim India simply wondered at the audacity of the Muslim League when it openly declared itself as standing for the establishment of Pakistan in India. But the most surprising part of the situation was the studied silence of the British Government and the Government of India on the attitude of the Mahomedans as betrayed in the putting forth of the demand of partition. *Mr. Jinnah* had declared times out of number that the Muslim League would fight for Pakistan and that they did not want even central Indian democracy to rule and govern India. This demand, added *Mr. Aney*, went counter to the very goal to which the British Government stood pledged. It was a negation of the very scheme of the Dominion form of government of the Westminster type which they desired the Indian people to accept as their goal and work for. *Mr. Aney* wanted British statesmen to declare whether this proclaimed goal was compatible with the vivisection of India on communal consideration. If not, then it was their duty to condemn the idea publicly and stop this propaganda which was being carried on daily in the press and on the platform by the Mahomedans.

Mr. Aney said : 'The British Government must immediately declare that they are not going to entertain any scheme which strikes at the intregrity of India as one indivisible nation. They must re-state the war aims about which considerable doubts had been raised owing to the unreasonable emphasis on the interests and rights of minorities. In every civilized democracy the nation means the power of the majority tempered with safe-guards in the interests of minorities. This general rule must be followed and a guarantee given that British statesmen will not introduce in the case of India an innovation. This will appeal to youth and that will elicit a response from them to join fully in the cooperation for the war. Because in that case they will have no difficulty in seeing that they are fighting for the cause of India. With that cooperation they can build a national force fully equipped and well sufficient for the defence of India.

Resolutions

The conference adopted a resolution recording its unequivocal condemnation of the Muslim League plan for the dissection of India known as the Pakistan scheme and characterising it as fantastic, impracticable, unpatriotic, vicious and fraught with grave consequences to the political, social and economic advancement of the country as a whole. The conference believed that despite diversities of religion and language, India was a complete, indivisible nation, political and economic interests of the mass of her people were common and that any kind of partition was bound to create, accentuate and perpetuate constant friction among various communities leading to internecine civil war and thereby exposing the country to foreign aggression.

In any future constitution, stated the resolution, differential treatment of minorities should be avoided and the Communal Award be reversed and joint electorate introduced for all representative bodies, local, provincial and federal, with reservation of seats for minorities if necessary on one uniform principle for representation in federal as well as provincial legislatures.

The conference suggested that in any future constitution the following principles should be borne in mind :

(1) Safeguarding of the interests of minorities by giving them unfettered freedom for the maintenance of religion, culture and language.

(2) Absolute equality of treatment in the acquisition of civic rights without allowing preferential treatment to any one on the basis of caste or creed.

The conference drew attention of the Government to the fact that there were provincial minorities too and that redistribution of existing provincial territories or compulsory exchange of population was no solution of the minority problem in India.

Finally, the conference empowered the president to appoint a standing committee with its branches in the various provinces in order to carry on persistent agitation and organise public opinion against the Pakistan scheme.

Radical Democratic People's Party Conference

First Session—Bombay—21st. December 1940

The Presidential Address

In the course of his presidential address at the inaugural conference of the Radical Democratic People's party held on the 21st. December 1940 at the Cowasjee Jehangir Hall, Bombay, Mr. *M. N. Roy* said :—

The present attitude of the Congress is determined neither by an enlightened consideration of national interests, nor by any regard for the principles of democracy and freedom cherished by the advocates of human welfare. Nor is it determined even by a short-sighted, narrow-minded nationalism based only on the animosity towards the British. Because it is evident to the simplest common sense that the destruction of the British power in India by an invading army will deliver India to the mercy of that newcomer. It is equally easy to choose between the continuation of the *status quo* in India and the establishment of a Fascist regime, which will certainly follow upon the overthrow of the British rule by a Fascist invasion. The reactionary social and cultural outlook, which is the outstanding feature of nationalism as represented by the Congress leadership, is the real cause of the present attitude of the Congress.

We have all along criticised this reactionary outlook with the object of freeing the Congress from its influence. We always maintained that, so long as the Congress remained dominated by a reactionary social and cultural outlook it could not possibly become an instrument for the establishment of popular freedom. Nevertheless, the reactionary doctrines of Gandhism, often expressed through apparently harmless fads and high-sounding moral dictums, gained such a decisive upperhand in the Congress that it ultimately replaced nationalism as the creed of the Congress. In order to make the reactionary doctrines of Gandhism prevail upon the progressive urges of nationalism, democracy inside the Congress was completely destroyed. The leader-cult is a characteristic feature of Fascism. That anti-democratic practice runs rampant in the Congress. There is very little difference between the Fascist subservience to the superman and the unconditional obedience to the Mahatma which every Congressman must swear. An organization which completely disregards democracy in its internal administration cannot possibly be an instrument for establishing democratic freedom. As a matter of fact, there is a striking similarity between the mode of operation of the dictatorial leadership of the Congress and the well known practices of Fascism. Demagogy and the exploitation of the prejudices and the primitive emotion of the backward masses are the outstanding features in both the cases. On the pretext of discipline, enforced ruthlessly, not for maintaining the integrity of the organization, but for re-inforcing the position of the authoritarian leadership, a veritable dictatorship has been established inside the Congress. It makes no difference whether the dictatorship operates through moral coercion or through other methods of terrorisation. The result is the same. The Gandhist leadership of the Congress stands neither for democracy nor for progress. Therefore, it has taken up the present attitude as regards the war against Fascism.

Breeding Ground of Fascism

The reactionary social and cultural tendencies, represented by the Congress leadership and imposed the entire orgauization through the dictatorial methods of moral coercion, are the breeding ground of Fascism. With those tendencies, a nationalist movement is bound to degenerate into Fascism. Exactly that has happened to Indian nationalism in so far as it is represented by the Congress. The natural antipathy for the British Government is being exploited for fomenting the admiration for Fascist ideas and Fascist methods. The danger of Fascism, which is the foremost enemy of the forces of freedom and progress throughout the world, therefore, is raising its head in our very midst. In this critical situation, frank speaking and courageous action are urgently needed. Having failed to check the degeneration of the Congress into a breeding ground of native Fascism and an ally of the same enemy abroad, we must now shoulder the grave responsibility of combating that organization which can still deceive a large section of our population by false pretences and fraudulent doctrines.

PRESENT POLICY OF CONGRESS

What is the justification of the present policy of the Congress ? There are two—one political and the other moral. The political justification is that the fight for democracy cannot have any appeal for India, so long as she remains deprived of the blessings of freedom and democracy. Theoretically, it sounds very plausible. But there are practical considerations which cannot be disregarded by people whose vision is not clouded by prejudices. The practical application of this argument is the refusal to help the defence of India even in the case of an attack by Fascist powers. In a recent statement the Congress president said that the Congress would not defend India against Fascist invasion for keeping imperialist interests intact. As if there was nothing but imperialist interests in India ! But the refusal is not absolute. Time and again, the Congress leaders have expressed their readiness to participate in the war on certain conditions. It is deplorable that the Government could not find its way to fulfil those conditions. The attitude of Government may or may not be justifiable. But should we allow India to become a victim of Fascist aggression just to spite the Government ? That is obviously shortsightedness which is equally, if not more, deplorable. The Government may have its illusions ; but the fact is that India cannot be defended against an invasion either from the east or from the west, except with enthusiastic and determined action on the part of the Indian people. Anything done for paralysing that action will amount to helping the following invasion of India. Will that contribute to the liberation of India ? The present Government may disappear ; but the chances of the Indian people attaining freedom will also disappear. In view of these very simple considerations, the political justification of the Congress policy cannot be regarded as at all valid.

The moral justification is even less valid. Whatever may be the personal opinion of Gandhiji, practically all other leaders of Congress declared time and again their readiness to help prosecution of war. That being the case, it cannot be claimed that the Congress policy is motivated by any conscientious objection. But assuming that Congress policy is the application of the principle of non-violence, it does not cease to be any less harmful for India as well as for the rest of the world. In that case, the possibility of the Congress participating in the war against Fascism, even for the defence of India, under any condition, should be ruled out. Should India follow the lead of the Congress, and her attitude would influence world events, the result could be easily imagined. Practising the cult of non-violence, India would deliver herself as well as the whole of the world to the mercies of the Fascist powers, who are blatant votaries of brute force, A doctrine which is bound to have such a result cannot be regarded as very noble and therefore, is not at all valid as a justification for the present policy of the Congress.

HELPING FASCIST VICTORY

In either case, whatever may be the justification of the Congress policy, the result would be the same, namely, helping fascist victory. This implication of the Congress policy must be clearly understood by all who want the freedom of India. They should realize that not one single country can remain free, or aspire to be free, in the midst of a world dominated by the enemies of all the ideas of democracy, freedom and progress cherished by the modern humanity. Having realized that, they must act accordingly. They must act so as to prevent that catastrophe overtaking India. In the prevailing atmosphere of emotional effervescence, whipped up by demagogic propaganda and deceptive actions, fundamental issues are confused. They must be clearly formulated. Today, India must fight not so much for attaining freedom, but for preventing the destruction of the very chances of her being even free. The chances will be destroyed if the fascist powers come victorious out of this conflict. Therefore, for her own interests, if not for larger considerations, India must contribute to the defeat of Fascism.

A SLAVE MENTALITY

The argument 'what can we do, if the Government does not give us any opportunity ?' betrays a slave mentality. Shortsightedness on the part of the Government should not compel us to take up an attitude which will ultimately be more harmful for ourselves. Moreover, if we realize the gravity of the danger of Fascism, and are determined to fight it, the Government cannot prevent us from doing so. As far as India is concerned, the fight must begin at home. The alarming growth of Fascist tendencies and the widespread Fascist sympathy under the cover of nationalism and anti-imperialism, should be combated by all means. The realization of that responsibility must compel all, who sincerely stand

for freedom, democracy and progress, to join hands with us in building up the Radical Democratic People's party, which rises to lead the Indian people to the cherished goal of freedom through active, voluntary and purposeful participation in the world struggle against Fascism.

Anti-fascist Elements Must Get Together

As against the Fascist conviction in a certain section of the nationalist movement and the widespread Fascist sympathy, fortunately, there are other Indian patriots and public men who strongly disapprove of the policy of the Congress, and are prepared to shoulder the responsibility of combating the menace of Fascism and mobilise popular support for the purpose. With their help and cooperation, the constitutional deadlock in the provinces can be terminated, and popular opinion can be associated with the administration of the country, so as to counterbalance all resistance from the direct and indirect allies of Fascism as far as we are concerned. We anticipated the danger of Fascism even before the war broke out. Therefore, we shall carry on the struggle against this danger, wherever it is found, irrespective of the attitude of the Government. But in the face of the common danger, all genuine anti-Fascist elements must get together to act according to such a plan as can be executed under the given situation. Let there be no illusion or wishful thinking.

The majority party having refused to play the game, others must shoulder the responsibility of protecting popular interests by occupying the vacant office in this critical moment. It is immaterial whether Congress members of the provincial Legislative Assemblies are outside or inside the jails. The fact that they have declared their refusal to participate in the defence of the country is decisive. Moreover, they laid down the office voluntarily and, having stayed out of office for more than a year, have at last sought refuge in jail. Given their ambiguous and doubtful attitude towards Fascism, it will be highly dangerous to welcome them back to power. We do not know how the Government feels about it. But we Indian anti-Fascists can no longer trust the Congress leaders. If their profession of non-violence is sincere, they should act according to the advice of their patron-saint offered to the European victims of Fascist aggression. The more sincere they are, the more dangerous they will be. If they are not sincere, no reliance can be placed on their other professions. Therefore, no Indian concerned with the future of our country can any longer hope that any good will come out of the Congress policy.

Emergency Ministers

There need be no nervousness about the outcome of the general election. With all the prejudices and the whispering campaign of the Fascist sympathizers, war resistance has no appeal for the great bulk of the population. They may not understand the larger issues involved in this war. But they can easily see how they do not stand to lose anything owing to this war. As a matter of fact, they are all deriving some benefit directly from this war. Perhaps even that they do not realize, and many of them do not actually derive the benefit which they should, under the given situation. Once they are made to see that the war is not injurious to them in any way, they will be completely immune from all anti-war propaganda, no matter by whom it is carried on. Further guarantee will be added by checking war profiteering by the middle men, who deprive the present masses, for example, of the benefit of higher agricultural prices. The emergency ministries will see to that.

As regards the composition of those ministries, also there need be no misgiving. Knowing that, before long, they will have to face the electorate, the ministers will certainly do everything to guarantee victory at the polls. In such situation, any ministry will seek popularity, no matter whatever be its personal composition. Moreover, there is absolutely no ground for the fantastic claim that there are no patriots or well-wishers of the people outside the ranks of the Congress. In every province, there is any number of men and women who can be entrusted with the popular welfare. As a matter of fact, record of the Congress ministries is such as can be easily broken. No extraordinaty talent or patriotism is necessary for that purpose.

The election campaign will provide a splendid opportunity for a systematic anti-Fascist propaganda. The masses of the people must be told what will happen to them under a Fascist regime. Once they are fully informed in that connection, they will be immune from the effects of pro-Fascist propaganda. Having known what Fascism is, and what will happen to them if it comes, they will develop the

will to fight it. The psychological atmosphere necessary for a successful defence of India will be created. There can be no doubt about the result of a general election held in the midst of that atmosphere.

MUSLIM LEAGUE ATTITUDE

Having condemned the Congress policy as it deserves, it is necessary to make a few observations also about the attitude of the Muslim League, which has been causing misgivings. Although leading members of the Muslim League favour India's participation in the war, and are actually cooperating with the war efforts, the official policy of the organization still remains rather ambiguous. Most probably, that is a reaction to the Congress attitude. But in view of the fact that the Muslim countries of the Near East are menaced directly by Fascism even today, Indian Muslims cannot remain indifferent to the danger. The solution of the present political impasse very largely depends upon initiative on the part of the Muslim League. In the absence of the initiative on the part of the Muslim League, the effort for the formation of emergency ministries in the provinces does not arouse sufficient enthusiasm. The other opposition groups are doubtful about the attitude the Muslim League will take up at the last moment. In this situation, the responsibility to lead the entire country out of the crisis devolves upon the Muslim League. All fighters for Indian freedom, who are not influenced by any communal considerations therefore, must appeal to the Muslim League to rise up to the occasion. They are, however, discouraged by the latest announcement that members of the Muslim League will not cooperate with other political parties for ending the present constitutional deadlock unless the latter accept the idea of Pakistan. This highly controversial issue need not be raised on the occasion of the inauguration of a party which is committed to all the general principles of minority rights. But I venture to suggest that no useful purpose will be served by creating difficulties for ending the present constitutional deadlock by raising issues which cannot possibly be settled immediately.

PAKISTAN

As far as the Radical Democratic People's party is concerned, the Pakistan scheme was adumbrated, its political and constitutional substance was incorporated in the programme of national reconstruction elaborated by the pioneers of our party for adoption by the Congress. The ethnic and linguistic structure of India precludes the establishment of a centralized democratic state. India is bound to be a federation of autonomous units to be built as far as possible on the basis of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity. This conclusion, deduced from the realities of the situation, cannot be avoided while framing the constitution for the democratic state of India. Therefore, the Pakistan scheme should not terrorize anybody who wants democratic freedom. Nevertheless, for the moment, it only serves as a scare-crow. What is the use of obstructing the solution of immediate issues by raising a distant issue which cannot be settled today, even if all the goodwill in the world was there.

The All India Congress Socialist Party

Poona—25th. July to 27th. July 1940

Executive Committee's Statement

The Executive Committee of the All-India Congress Socialist Party, after three days' deliberations at Poona from the **25th to 27th July** formulated its final views on the Delhi Resolution in the form of a statement. This statement expressed the party's opposition to the Delhi Resolution and its determination to prevent the Congress from actively participating in the war. The following is the text of the statement :

"The Executive Committee has noted with alarm the decision of the Congress Working Committee, at its last meeting at Delhi, to offer support to the British Government in the prosecution of the war on certain conditions. It appeals to Congressmen to raise their voices against this decision and to strive to secure its reversal.

"For five years now, the Congress has, at each successive session, declared its uncompromising opposition to the war, and its decision to resist actively any attempt to involve India in any imperialist war. When the present war broke out in September 1939 and the British Government declared India to be a belligerent, the A. I. C. C. meeting at Wardha recorded its protest against India being dragged into the war against its will. Still the Congress did not take any precipitate step at that time, and invited the British Government to declare their war aims. In the meanwhile, the Congress stood firmly by its policy of non-co-operation with the war efforts. At the Wardha meeting of the A. I. C. C. in October 1939, the Congress Socialist Party moved an amendment to the resolution defining its attitude towards the war, in which it was definitely indicated that only a free India could finally determine India's attitude towards the present war.

"The British Government, true to its imperialist character, declined to respond to this invitation and the Working Committee felt compelled to call for the resignation of all Congress Ministries in the provinces as a first step in non-co-operation with the war. The resignation of the Congress Ministries created a wave of popular enthasiasm and it was by the mass of Congressmen that Ramgarh would set the stage for the coming struggle. That session reaffirmed India's opposition to participation in the imperialist war and gave the call to the Congress organisations to prepare for a mass movement. The assumption of leadership by Mahatma Gandhi at Ramgarh was a clear indication that the Congress offer would not involve India actively into the war.

"Now, however, the basic policy of the Congress, of resistance to imperialist war, is sought to be abandoned by a majority of the Working Committee.

"The Congress Socialist Party has since its formation in 1934, made war resistance one of its main planks. When the war broke out, it advocated immediate and unconditional resistance to it, by the Congress, and exposed its imperialist character. It hoped that the resignation of the Congress Ministries, which it welcomed, would be followed by active resistance to the war.

"Government repression has taken a heavy toll of Congressmen throughout the country, and, day by day, repression is getting intense. Among others the General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Jai Prakash Narayan and several of its members are behind bars.

"At the Ramgarh session, a statement was made on behalf of the party lending support to the Working Committee in the belief and hope that the call for prepartions for mass civil disobedience would soon turn into direct action itself. The Working Committee's present stand shatters any hope of resistance to the war, and opens up the prospect of actual support for the war, which the Congress stands pledged to oppose.

"Mahatma Gandhi and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan have dissociated themselves from this decision. In so far as such dissociation implies their opposition to any participation in this war, we are in agreement with them.

"Despite any declaration that Britain would make regarding India, Britain would remain an imperialist power and the war an imperialist war. The latest illustration to prove that Britain is not fighting for democracy or for the freedom of nations against aggression, is the closing of the Burma Road to China, thus assisting an aggressor against a fellow member of the League of Nations which is being attacked. In such a context the so-called National Government would, far from helping the masses, have as its main function more intense exploitation of the country, its resources and its manpower, and the giving of a democratic trimming to the British apparatus of repression. In short, a National Government under the Union Jack would be an anti-National Government. As Gandhiji has pointed out in the *Harijan* of 7th July, 1940 : "The Congress has to make its choice. The temptation is irresistible. Congressmen can again become Cabinet Ministers. They may also be Ministers or Members at the Centre. They will have an insight into the war machine. They will watch from inside (again to the extent allowed) the Englishman at work when engaged in a life and death struggle. They will have to raise crores of rupees and dispose of them in the war effort. If I have my way, I would have the Congress to resist the irresistible temptation and not grudge those who believe in the accepted method filling all these posts.

"We cannot contemplate without grave concern the prospect of Congressmen taking their places in such a Government. The various attempts of the Congress in seeking clarification and finally a declaration on the part of the British Government during the last few months have resulted in our not being able to devote all our energies to the task of preparing the country for the struggle for independence.

We feel that it is time, we cried halt to the policy of seeking satisfaction of our demands from the British Government and devoted all our energy to preparing the country to wrest power from Britain.

"Events are moving so fast on the international stage that India might be called upon to face a grave crisis at any moment. If India is to take full advantage of such a crisis, it can only be done if the realisation of the existence of such a situation is brought home to the Indian people and the means for facing the situation are created without delay.

"With this end in view, we suggest, that immediate steps should be taken to create an effective organisation of National Guards throughout the country ; to reorganise the Congress Committees in such a way that they become effective in any emergency ; to prepare the people for the not too distant contingency when they will be called upon to summon a Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution of a free India."

The National Executive of the Socialist Party

Bombay—18th. September 1940

The national executive of the All-India Congress Socialist Party dispersed at Bombay on the 18th. September after a five-hour session.

The situation that had arisen in the light of the new A.I.C.C. resolution was considered in all its bearings.

Mr. *A. P. Sinha*, the peasant secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, made a comprehensive report on the Kisan movement, with special reference to Bihar and U. P. and the condition of sugar cultivators in the provinces.

Mr. *M. Razi*, secretary of the Bihar C. S. P., was elected a member of the national executive.

Mr. *Yusuf Meherally*, general secretary of the party, reported on the condition of a number of political prisoners on hunger-strike in the Montgomery jail as a protest against, among other reasons, unsatisfactory prison conditions.

A resolution was adopted by the executive urging upon Sir *Sikandar Hyat Khan*, Prime Minister of the Punjab, to intercede in the matter immediately, meet the reasonable demands of the hunger-strikers and bring about a just and swift solution of the impasse.

The Bihar Socialists' Conference

Dehri-on-Sone—7th. July 1940

Presidential Address

"We, Socialists, should work ceaselessly to win over a larger and larger section of Congressmen to our programme and policies. The Ramgarh resolution should continue to guide our steps and we, who owe loyalty to the great institution, the Congress, and to its whole objective of attaining independence, should grudge no sacrifice in helping our country to march on the road to independence," observed *Mr. Yusuf Meherally*, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Socialist Party, in the course of his presidential speech at the Bihar Provincial Socialists' Conference held at Dehri-on-Sone on the 7th. July 1940.

Referring to the political impasse in India, Mr. *Meherally* said, "So long as all power is not transferred to the Indian people, all talk of national government at the Centre is of no good. The only remedy is to transfer power to a popular government that has the necessary prestige and goodwill in the country to inspire confidence and loyalty and keep the peace. The remedy, therefore, is not to ask for a hotch-potch national government composed of all sorts of interests. It is only a government elected by the people that can effectively function. Our duty to-day is to prepare the people to achieve such a government and not get mixed up in the masses of an unstable compromise. The specific duty to-day before a party of action like the Congrese Socialist Party is to keep this idea dynamically alive before the people and to work for the adoption of the programme of the party in addition to the constructive programme of the Congress. This will consist mainly in activisation of all Congress Committees, laying special stress on the position of the Congress, clarification of our attitude towards Constituent Assembly and enrolment and training of volunteers."

Concluding, Mr. *Meherally* exhorted the people to make sincere efforts to achieve unity among themselves for the larger and greater cause which was so dear to their heart.

Resolutions

The Conference considered the situation as it has developed since the Ramgarh Congress, both in India and in Europe and resolved that the policy embodied in the resolution of the Ramgarh Congress should still continue to guide our steps in this country.

The Conference welcomed the resolution of the Congress Working Committee regarding the war effort but expressed disapproval of certain recent statements of well-known Congress leaders seeking to tone down and modify the Ramgarh Congress resolution.

The Conference expressed its appreciation of Gandhiji's recent statement against Imperialist repression in India, but did not agree with him that civil disobedience should not be launched while the fury of the war lasted. It felt that the time had now arrived to put an end to the stalemate in the country and declare civil disobedience on a nation-wide scale.

The All India Women's Conference

15th. Session—Bangalore—27th. to 30th. December 1940

Presidential Address

The fifteenth session of the All India Women's Conference commenced at Bangalore on the 27th. December 1940 and continued for the next three days under the presidency of *Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru* who in the course of her address said :—

In the social sphere, we have made an humble contribution towards the removal of evil customs and the obliteration of unjust laws. Amongst the many reforms that we have urged are the removal of *purdah* and of early marriage, widow remarriage, abolition of the dowry system, equal moral standard for men and women and economic independence of women. Our methods of work have been propaganda by means of meetings and conferences, but some of us have urged the necessity of legal enactments for the removal of these practices. I personally feel that conversion is a surer and better method of reform than compulsion. Compulsion even with the best of motives leads to bad results. In the matter of reforms, the law can be used only as an aid, helping the reformers to press in their points where unnecessary obstinacy is displayed. Had the Child Marriage Restraint Act been backed by intensive and widespread propaganda, its success, in spite of all other draw-backs, would have been ensured.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN

We have advocated radical changes in the personal laws particularly of the Hindus, and have demanded that the law with regard to inheritance, marriage, guardianship of the children and other matters should deal equitably with the rights of women. We want that polygamy should be intradicted by law and divorce on specific conditions should be introduced amongst the Hindus. Bills embodying these reforms have become a normal feature of our legislatures but few have been destined to bear the test of the anvil and become the law of the land. A more drastic method of dealing with these unjust laws is indicated. I agree with the suggestion made by some of our members that an equitable comprehensive law based on the equality of the sexes should be enacted even though its adoption by individuals in place of the present divergent laws of the community may be voluntary.

Acts for the suppression of immoral traffic, for the protection of children, for the abolition of the Devadasi system and for various other purposes of a similar nature have been demanded by us and are now on our statute books. We have tried to do some investigation and organization work amongst working

women and have embodied their demands of better housing, ante-natal and pre-natal maternity benefits creches, nursery schools, etc., in our resolutions.

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Removal of untouchability is my own subject and I can say from experience that work in that sphere is most purifying. It brings us nearer to the realization of *Ahimsa*, it helps us to see ourselves in the true perspective as perpetrators of terrible injustices on a vast community for which each one of us is individually and collectively responsible. Harijan service, like the worship of God, lifts one morally to a higher plane. It is like the redemption of a crushing debt which relieves the soul of its heavy burden. A little contribution made towards the removal of untouchability, a little effort made to bring light and cheer into the dismal life of these victims of our oppression will lift us as individuals and as a nation to a high level. I invite all sister delegates present here and through them the women of the whole country to make the experiment and test the truth of my assertion. This is not the place for me to give practical suggestions for work. I have been making suggestions throughout the last many years. Not much direction is needed when the heart is given. It knows how to make its own way. I, therefore, make a general appeal for women to take up this work as their very own. Some of our branches are doing a little in that connection, and I am grateful to them. But much greater effort is needed and I am sorry to observe that women's contribution to the work is not anything to be proud of. We may not forget that the achievement of our freedom is impossible till I have rectified this great wrong. The awakening amongst the *Harijans* is growing very fast with the education they are receiving, but the prejudices of the caste Hindus are not dying out with the same rapidity. This breeds a resentful attitude amongst the *Harijans* which weakens the growth of the whole nation. Even from the point of view of national freedom, untouchability must go.

COMMUNAL UNITY

Communal unity is another allied chosen subject of the year. Its achievement for our national advance is as fundamental as the removal of untouchability. The nature of this problem bears affinity to the problem of untouchability. If anything it is perhaps more acute and requires more delicate handing. It is a mixture of political, economic and religious elements made complex and difficult of solution by the presence of a third and interested party. But we may not put the blame on the third party and seek absolution of responsibility of ourselves. The very fact that the third party succeeds in creating or augmenting schism amongst us shows our weakness. For the removal of that weakness, ways and means must be found. The Women's Conference has done a considerale amount to bring the women of all communities on a common platform. I can vouch for the fact that amongst us there are no distinctions of caste or creed. We do not even remember which religion or community we belong to. On the platform of the Conference we are just women serving the cause of women and the mother-land. But we have not yet been able to take this amity and good-will further than the boundaries of our Conference. We ought to make an effort to do this. One point which I would like to bring to the notice of the delegates is that the number of our Muslim members and delegates is very small. Great attention should be paid to increase their number and I request my Muslim sister delegates to make it their special concern for the next year. Without their earnest cooperation this work cannot be accomplished. The end of the year must show a large increase of Muslim members on our registers. That in itself will bring the two sister communities a step nearer.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

From the economic group one of the subjects that I have chosen for comment is 'Cottage Industries.' We may not lose ourselves in academical discussions on the comparative merits and demerits versus large-scale industries. We may only remember that under the present conditions, cottage industries in India are a necessity. It is through them alone that the starving millions can get their daily bread. Our time should, therefore, be spent in devising means for their promotion. The starting of training centres, of sales depots, propaganda and several other ways are open to us ; but the most effective way is personal patronage. Khadi of course is the centre of all village industries. There are not many *khadi* wearers amongst our members. I appeal for a respectable place for *khadi* in the wardrobes

of our members. *Khadi* is an acquired taste and its beauties can be perceived by cultivation. Even its roughness has a charm. It is lifegiving to the poor and peacegiving to the rich. An assembly of women, dressed in pure white *khadi* is a feast to the eye. *Khadi* is a symbol of our love for suppressed humanity, it is an expression of our will to be free. Members of a nationalist organisation like ours should consider themselves morally bound to wear *khadi*. And closely connected with *khadi* is spinning. Sacrificial spinning is as ennobling as *Harijan seva*. Every turn of the wheel and every thread that is spun brings one nearer to the masses. It breeds a mentality which smarts under the injustices of the current social and economic systems and strengthens the determination to change it by non-violent means. I, therefore, appeal to our members to take to daily sacrificial spinning which will automatically make them supporters of *khadi* and of village industries.

Housing

The paucity of houses in India is astounding. In a country of nearly four-hundred million inhabitants, the poor have hardly any houses to live in. Only those who have travelled widely in the interior of the country and have closely studied the question can have an adequate idea of the sufferings caused to men and women on account of lack of houses. Overcrowding in cities is particularly deplorable. Hundreds of thousands of people spend their lives cramped up in hovels called houses by courtesy. It is not within our scope or within our power to make up for this deficiency. But we can do something in arousing social conscience against this evil. We can remind the governments and local authorities, the rich and the educated classes that it is their responsiblity to take the dumb toiling millions out of this veritable hell. Lack of money should make no excuse. The need is so imminent that if no other means are available, money should be borrowed for building purposes by governments and local boards. Co-operative housing societies should be promoted by the people themselves and moneyed people should be pursuaded to invest their money in housing schemes. House rents should be regulated by law to prevent the worst type of exploitation. I have seen landlords taking enormous rents ranging from Rs. 4 to 8 for tiny little dingy one-room tenements without any amenities. This sort of exploitation must be stopped forthwith. Owners of agricultural lands should be compelled by law to give decent houses to their tenants. The duty of our Conference is to bring these facts before the public and to persuade them to rectify this great wrong.

I must now say a few words about non-violence in which we have repeatedly declared our unflinching faith. An Indian women's organisation could do nothing less. Non-violence is inbred in an Indian woman. She carries its impress on her soul. The traditions in which she is brought up, the deprivations she has to go through in life, the *sanskars* with which she is born or her inherited genius—all make her a suitable medium for the expression of non-violence. But that which has been so far latent, has to be made patent. At present an Indian woman's non-violence savours of the non-violence of the weak and the helpless. As such it is worthless. It requires a conscious training to turn it into the non-violence of the strong, without which it cannot acquire the power to resist vice and violence. In the practice of non-violence in life Mahatma Gandhi expects more from women than from men. Let us by constant effort at self-purification make ourselves worthy of this trust. The best training centres for non-violence are our own homes. But a searchlight has to be turned ever inwarrds and a constant watch kept on ourselves to make sure that from day to day the boundaries of our family are extending and the mother's heart is constantly getting bigger to bring within its compass the whole of humanity.

Our responsibility is great. We should never forget that lip-service to a cause is worse than no service at all. It weakens us as well as the cause. Truth and honesty demand that we should practise what we preach. I, therefore, commend it to our members to give serious thought to the ways and means of realizing non-violence in their individual lives. I would suggest a serious study of Gandhian literature. The extension of non-violence from the individual to the group, its application to national and international matters is a new experiment with a technique evolved by Gandhiji in the laboratory of his life in which all through he has experimented with truth. It is a glory and a privilege to be born in his time and be his contemporary. We must do all in our power to deserve that privilege.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Bangalore—28th. December 1940

FAITH IN NON-VIOLENCE AFFIRMED

The Conference to-day adopted a resolution on war, affirming its faith in non-violence and appealing to the women of the world to throw in their full weight of their moral force on the side of permanent world peace. *Srimathi Rameswari Nehru* presided. The resolution, which was passed by a large majority, after two hours' discussion, ran as follows :—

"This Conference views with the utmost distress the continuance of war in various parts of the world. It expresses its horror at the cruel suffering inflicted on innocent people, at the loss of human life, at the destruction of great centres of learning and priceless treasures of art, at the colossal waste of wealth and above all, at the hatred engendered in the hearts of men. It once more affirms its faith in non-violence as the best solution of the world's ills and appeals to the Governments of all nations to put aside their weapons of destruction and seek peace in ways other than war. It appeals to the women of the world in particular to throw in the full weight of their moral force on the side of permanent world peace. Such peace is impossible without a new order based on social justice and equality of all nations. It, therefore, recognises that there can be no world peace till India and all other subject nations attain their liberty as the first and logical step towards the attainment of the ideals for which Britain has declared she is at war. This Conference cannot but deplore the suffering of all peoples whose freedom has been taken away from them and it reiterates that war can never solve any problem."

DISCUSSION ON THE RESOLUTION

The original resolution was moved by *Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan* (Madras) and was split into three parts for the purpose of discussion and voting. The resolution ran :

"This Conference views with the utmost distress the continuance of war in various parts of the world. It expresses its horror at the cruel suffering inflicted on innocent people, at the loss of human life, at the destruction of great centres of learning and priceless treasures of art, at the colossal waste of wealth, and, above all, at the hatred engendered in the hearts of men.

"It once more affirms its faith in non-violence as the best solution of the world's ills and appeals to the heads of all nations to put aside their weapons of destruction and seek peace in humane ways. It appeals to the women of the world in particular to throw in the full weight of their moral force on the side of permanent world peace.

"It expresses its keen disappointment at Britain's failure to recognise India's free status which would be the first and logical step towards the attainment of freedom of all nations and world democracy, for which Britain has declared she is at war."

Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan said that the resolution was merely a reiteration of the resolution passed at Allahabad and at their half-yearly meeting this year. She felt strongly that the women not only of India but of all countries should unite and try to bring peace in this world.

Mrs. Vidya Puri (Punjab), seconded the resolution.

The firts part of the resolution was passed unanimously.

Mrs. Billimoria (Bombay), moving an amendment that the second part of the resolution be dropped, said that as a creed, non-violence might be an ideal. But in the the present state of world affairs, non-violence would not avail against the aggressors. People of all shades of opinion in India had agreed that aggression should be put down. Having done that, they should render all help, moral and otherwise to the cause of putting down aggression.

Mrs. Doctor (Bombay), seconded the amendment.

NON-VIOLENCE—A WORLD ISSUE

Srimati K. D. Rukmaniamma (Mysore), Miss Thakuri Lakhani (Sind) Miss Sharadamma and Mrs. Amir Hassan (Hyderabad) supported the amendment, while Miss Vilasini Shenoy (Madras) and Mrs. Kameswaramma (Mysore) opposed it.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, opposing the amendment, said that the Conference had accepted non-violence on more than one occasion. It had been said that non-violence was a party or political issue and was, as such, not within the bounds of the Conference. On the other hand, she would say that it was a world issue. The world had come to-day to a sorry state because of the violence which permeated every country.

She would ask them, in the name of religion, not to encourage violence. She denied that any religion stood for anything but non-violence. Non-violence was not a new thing. It was as old as God himself, because God is love. Indian women, born in the tradition of non-violence, had to show a way to the world which was destroying itself because of the cult of violence. Could war ever end war or solve any problem ? History gave a decided 'no' to that question. Was not Hitler to-day a result of the last war ? The honour of India and the honour of womanhood was at stake. She would not like the Conference to stultify itself in the eyes not only of this country but of the entire world by accepting the amendment.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur said, in conclusion, that in the name of religion, in the name of humanity, in the name of Indian womanhood and the womanhood of the whole world, they should try to bring about a state of affairs in which every exploitation, every cruelty, and every war would cease and they would live at peace with each other. They could not do this if they stood for war. They must stand for non-violence, if they were to live at all.

Mrs. Billimoria's amendment was then put to vote and lost.

Mrs. Shiva Rao brought an amendment making two verbal changes in the second part of the resolution. The amendment was accepted.

Mrs. Billimoria next moved another amendment that the third part of the original resolution be also dropped and Mrs. Doctor seconded it.

Mrs. George (Cochin), Mrs. Nazir Hussain (Madras), Miss Bannerji (Bengal) and Mrs. Hussain Ali Khan (Hyderabad) spoke supporting Mrs. Billimoria's amendment. Mrs. Billimoria's amendment was then put to vote and declared lost.

Mrs. *Shiva Rao* moved another amendment which was carried in the end (amendment is contained in the resolution given above).

Mrs. *Shiva Rao* said that this war was bound to bring in a new social order in which the equality of all nations should be recognised. There could never be world peace as long as there were differences, and 'haves' and 'have-nots'.

Miss *Renuka Devi* seconded the amendment and Mrs. Cousins, Mrs. Urmila Mehta and Mrs. Venkataraman (Andhra) spoke supporting the amendment.

Mrs. *Cousins* said that the Conference had expressed its desire for freedom for India both at its last open session and at Allahabad and on those occasions the subject was not viewed as a political or party question. She had always wished that India should be a free country just as her country (England) was. It was far from just on the part of England not to have given India the substance of freedom at this time.

Lady *Rama Rao* opposed Mrs Shiva Rao's amendment and preferred the original clause. The amendment was then put to vote and carried. The resolution, as amended, was then declared carried by a big majority.

Condolence Resolutions

In the beginning, a resolution of condolence was moved from the chair on the demise of His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, Maharaja of Mysore, and His Highness Shi Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, Yuvaraja of Mysore and it was passed unanimously, all standing.

Another condolence resolution was passed on the demise of Dowager Lady Cowasji Jehangir.

Reports were read on "Adult Education ". "Child Labour". Indigenous Industries", Traffic in Women and Children", *Harijan* Work", "Constitution of the Conference" and "Indians Overseas" Reports were also read of the All-India Women's Education Fund Association and the Lady Irwin College for 1940 and of the liaison officers in England. South Africa and India. The Conference then adjourned for the day.

Resolutions—3rd. Day—Bangalore—29th. December 1940

Promoting of Communal Harmony

The need for the removal of illiteracy by the introduction of free compulsory primary education for all boys and girls and for the promotion of communal unity was stressed by the All-India Women's Conference at its plenary session to-day. Srimati Rameshwari Nehru presided.

The Conference discussed the reports of various sub-committees, and on the basis of their recommendations adopted suitable resolutions.

The Conference adopted the report on communal unity submitted by the Group Conference which met yesterday for the purpose. The report viewed, with utmost distress, the lack of communal harmony which was eating into the vitals of na-

tional life and urged on all women to make a contribution which was theirs by nature and bring concord where discord now prevailed. The report urged that no government of municipal aid in future should be given to communal institutions and appealed to the newspapers to do their best not to indulge in communal propaganda.

The Conference viewed with the utmost distress the forces of communal discord which "are disintegrating the national life" and called upon the women of India "to make a special contribution to the rebuilding of society upon permanent foundations of co-operation and goodwill and peace."

By another resolution, the Conference called upon all the A. I. W. C. branches to establish 'Literacy Leagues' of members and non-members of the conference, who will start and finance Literacy centres as well as train teachers for the work. The Conference urged that the Government and Municipal bodies should co-operate and give every financial aid to the Literacy Leagues.

The Conference carried a resolution moved by Mrs. Cousins favouring Montessori system to be introduced on a wide scale.

Mrs. *Urmila Mehta* and Mrs Bilimoria were declared elected as General Secretary and Treasurer respectively of the Conference for the coming year.

Resolutions—4th. Day—Bangalore—30th. December 1940

DEVELOPMENT OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

The four-day session of the Conference concluded this evening, *Srimathi Rameshwari Nehru* presiding, after the reports of the several sub-committees were discussed and the Conference expressed its views on several important subjects like removal of untouchability, laws affecting marriage and divorce in India and the development of cottage industries. After discussion, the report of each committee was put to vote and then adopted.

The Committee which went into the question of the development of cottage industries was of the opinion that if cottage industries were encouraged the question of the economic independence of women would be solved to a large extent. The committee also appealed to the members to use hand-made articles and cloth for their personal and home needs. The Committee also suggested that there should be set up improvement committees in every town and District and money allotted every year for elimination of slum areas in towns and for building model cottages for villagers until such time as every person had a proper roof over his head. The Committee also recommended that schemes for the provision of pure water-supply, proper drains and sanitation be taken up as well as instruction to the people in the matter of personal and general hygiene.

In the matter of increased opportunities of economic independence the following is necessary : compulsory primary education, vocational training, improved legal rights, Health Insurance Act, facilities for work for part time workers, equal pay for equal work and improved legal economic status of the wife for her work as a home maker, i.e., legal claim to a certain proportion of her husband's earnings. Without much discussion, this report was unanimously adopted. Mrs. Kamalamma Desappa (Bangalore) was the Chairwoman of this committee and Mrs. Rahmatullah and Mrs. Sudha Mazumdar, the Secretaries.

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Under the presidency of *Srimathi Rameshwari Nehru*, the sub-committee of the Conference produced a report on 'Untouchability' to the Conference. The committee pointed out that it was the the duty of all Conference members and branches to redouble their efforts for the removal of untouchability.

The committee recommended among other things, that each member should keep at least one Harijan as a domestic servant for work other than sanitation, that they should invite Harijans for social and religious functions and, if possible, adopt one family and serve as its god-mother, that separate quarters for Harijans should be discouraged in order to remove from this unfortunate section of humanity the brand of inferiority complex, that educational facilities should be given to Harijans and in particular to the women and that all schools, hospitals, hotels, wells, temples and other such public places should be opened for the untouchables.

The Municipalities and Government and other local bodies were asked not to give grants to educational institutions which did not admit Harijans.

Mrs. *Aiyasha Bibi* (Travancore), Miss Malthe (U. P.) Lady Rama Rao, Mrs.

B. K. Singh (Punjab), Dr. Ratnamma Isaac (Mysore), Sri. Nanjamma (Mysore), Mrs. Mennon (Cochin), Miss Bhagat, Sri Saradamma (Travancore) and Mrs. Parekh spoke in support of the recommendations of the committee.

Lady *Rama Rao*, while congratulating the Mysore Government and the people on their efforts to better the lot of the *Harijans*, observed that she had heard that most of the temples were not accessible to the Harijans. "Let Mysore wake up", Lady Rama Rao observed, and remedy this defect." She also asked the Mysore delegates to say whether they were prepared to keep in their houses as domestic servants *Harijans*. Several delegates raised their hands in approval of this.

Mrs. *Menon* of Cochin observed that the Government and the public were doing a lot of good work for the uplift of the *Harijans* in that State. There was a misapprehension that because there was temple-entry in Cochin, the *Harijans* laboured under great social disabilities. Temple-entry would come in a way which would do more honour to the *Harijans*. It should not come as a sort of concession. There was a special officer to protect the rights of the *Harijans*,

Miss *Bhagat* suggested that the All-India Radio should include programmes of special interest to the *Harijans*. The report was then adopted.

Marriage and Divorce Law

The special commitee of the Conference which considered the laws affecting marriage and divorce in India and submitted a report to the Conference, concerned itself with *Dr. Deshmukh's* two Bills on Separation and Divorce and the necessity of a comprehensive enquiry into the Hindu Law with a view to making it just and equitable to women. The committee felt that the Bills of Dr. Deshmukh were defective and would give rise to a lot of confusion. The committe felt it desirable that the question of legal separation and that of divorce should be dealt with in two separate Bills.

In regard to *Dr. Deshmukh's* Bills, the committee suggested some alternations, viz., the custody of children should be left to the discretion of the court—the mother being given the preference ordinarily; and (2) maintenance should be given by the husband to the wife and for each child separately. The group felt that the Divorce Bill that was drafted at the half-yearly meeting held at Baroda in 1933 covered all the demands and therefore it should be given full consideration.

The committee also suggested that the Government of India should be informed by a resolution urging that no piecemeal legislation be undertaken and that the Enquiry Committee to be appointed by them should be asked not merely to look into the Bills before the Assembly, but to make a comprehensive enquiry into questions of marriage, divorce and property rights of Hindu women as a whole and to take evidence from the All-India Women's Conference and other representative women's organisations.

The committee further suggested that *Mr. V. V. Joshi* of Baroda and at least two women nominated by the A. I. W. C. should be on the personal of that committee to be set up by the Government of India. The members suggested from the A. I. W. C. were Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Mrs. Asaf Ali, Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon and Mrs. Sharadaben Mehta.

It was also suggested that a sub-committee should be appointed by the Conference to draw up a Memorandum to be submitted to the committee, with the co-operation of all the Branches. The report of the sub-committee was then thrown open for discussion.

Mr. Vilasini Devi Shenoy (Madras) supporting the recommendations said that in ancient days, the law of Divorce did exist in Hindu society, *Mr. B. Shiva Rao* (New Delhi) further supporting the report appealed to the members to endeavour and secure the support of these members of the Central Legislative Assembly who happened to reside in their respective areas, so as to ensure the passing into of the Bills referring to the rights of women. *Begum Hamid Ali* referred to some short-comings in the Bill drafted by *Dr. Deshmukh. Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan* (Madras) said that all suggestions would be made in the memorandum which would be very comprehensive.

The report of the sub-committee was then put to the vote of the House and passed, 51 voting for and 7 against it.

Election of Office-Bearers

Mrs. *Lakshmi Menon* then announced that Lady Mirza M. Ismail, Lady Rama Rao, Mrs. Vijayalaksmi Pandit, Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, Mrs. S. C. Mukherji and Mrs. Sharadaben Mehta had been elected as Vice-Presidents of the Conference for

the year 1941. This announcement was received with loud cheers. Mrs. Urmilla Mehta and Mrs. Billimoria were elected Secretary and Treasurer respectively of the Conference for the new year.

When the Conference reassembled in the afternoon, Mrs. *Billimoria* read the report of the Group on Civic Training. The report stressed the need for teaching civics in schools and even in colleges and requested women to help in enforcing the bye-laws, wherever they existed for abolishing beggary. In recommending adult franchise for women for civic and other institutions, the report mentioned that men and women should be taught to take an intelligent interest in the exercise of the vote. Speaking on the report. Mrs. *Rajen Nehru* and Mrs. *Doctor* referred to the great part that womenfolk could play in creating civic consciousness in the citizens. The report was put to vote and adopted unanimously.

The Conference passed a resolution requesting the Government of India to grant permission to Madame and Monsiur Montessorie to hold their training courses in provinces other than Madras also under conditions obtaining in Madras.

Mrs. *Billimoria* read out the statement of accounts for the year, which was adopted by the Conference.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING REMARKS

Srimathi Rameshwari Nehru, in winding up the proceedings, made a strong appeal to the delegates to make the Conference a success by carrying out the constructive work proposed by it throughout the year in their respective places and thus do a real service to the people of our country. Much was not done by speeches. Everybody could do some real service to the people in their respective stations in life. The women employed in educational institutions could serve the country by teaching the pupils as to how best they could serve the country ; some could help through money if they could spare it ; some could help by taking to spinning in their leisure time and so on.

The All India Medical Conference

Seventeenth Session—Vizagapatam—27th. December 1940

The Presidential Address

The importance of original research to be undertaken by the members of the medical profession in India was emphasised by Dr. *K. S. Ray* presiding over the seventeenth session of the All-India Medical Conference which commenced at Vizagapatam on the **27th. December 1940.**

Dr. *Ray* prefaced his observations with a brief history of the Indian Medical Association. He pointed out how in a comparatively short time from the initial 250 members the organisation had to-day nearly 150 branches with an ever-increasing membership throughout the length and breadth of the country. The growth from small beginnings into an influential organisation was a message of hope and encouragement for members of the medical profession in this country and should strengthen their confidence in its future. The resolutions passed at its annual conferences were not mere mechanical repetitions but were so many milestones, in the history of the province, of the Association. Detailing the activities of the Association Dr. *Ray* narrated its work in relation to the Medical Council Bill, the Simon Commission report and evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the Drug Enquiry Committee and the Income Tax Amendment Bill of 1938, the Drugs Bill of 1940, and the Schemes of Medical Aid.

In the reorientation of things which was bound to take place after the War, Dr. *Roy* hoped, the Indian Medical Association would be given its rightful place in shaping public health policies and measures of the various Provincial Governments as well as the Government of India. In this connection he would very strongly urge that in all future cabinets of the Provincial Governments the portfolio of the Minister of Health should be given to a member of the medical profession.

Relating to the question of retention of the Indian Medical Service in civil employment Dr. *Ray* said that the present war had fully confirmed that the

retention of the I.M.S. in civil employment as war reserve was only a myth and if it not had been for the fact that Indian medical men had volunteered in large numbers to serve in the present war the number of I.M.S. officers which were kept in civil employment as war reserves would never have been sufficient to cope with the situation.

Adverting to the question of amalgamation of the Indian Medical Association and the All-India Medical Licentiates Association Dr. *Ray* held that it was a consummation devoutly to be desired. The accession of strength to the amalgamated body would render its influence almost irresistible, no medical man could afford to remain outside it and no authority could fail to give its ear. The introduction of the All-India Register would pave the way for all class distinctions in future. Of happy augury, however, is that the fusion of these two Associations would turn meanwhile into a strong and united body working for the common welfare and highest good of the country. It was for the leaders of both these Associations to consider seriously whether the time for further hesitation had not passed.

Medical Council of India

The Medical Council of India was constituted now more than six years back with a view to further the cause of 'higher' medical education in India. Its twofold objects were firstly to secure a uniformity of the standard of medical education in the country and secondly the establishment of a system of reciprocity with foreign countries for recognition of medical degrees. In the words of the late Sir *Fazli Hussain*, these objects were to secure "efficiency at home and honour abroad." So far as efficiency is concerned although the Council claims that the object is now on the way to fulfilment as most of the Indian universities are following the curriculum laid down by it, in my opinion efficiency cannot be complete unless the training of 80 per cent. of the medical practitioners in India, viz., the licentiates who do not come under the fold of the Council, also raised to the uniform minimum standard laid down by it. So long as this is not done, the claim of efficiency will be a mere eye-wash. Before I finish this portion of the matter, I think a word of caution on my part will not be taken amiss. In our craze for imitation models, we are sometimes apt to forget the peculiar deeds of our country in the light of the social and economic conditions prevalent here. All ideal educational systems must be broadbased upon the character of the soil and must not be mere transplantation from other countries. These considerations are sometimes apt to be lost sight of. If, therefore, there are some deficiency still left in our medical education, it is because we have not been able to co-ordinate our knowledge of what is best in others with the true requirements of our country.

Post-Graduate Training

Personally, I am against over-crowding of the syllabus of study during the collegiate period because it is more productive of evil than good. Specialised study should always be left over till after graduation the students can make their choice in the light of liking for special subjects. All that should be done at the outset is to give them a good, all-round, general knowledge of medicine, surgery and midwifery with special emphasis on hospital practice. It is often complained that the student has hardly any time to properly assimilate the training imparted to him as he has to attend classes from morning till night and the authorities of the colleges sometimes find it extremely difficult to fix a time-table in order to accommodate all the different subjects that are crowded in the syllabus. While I am not in favour of such overcrowding of the syllabus, I feel that there should be more facilities for Post-Graduate and special courses by the universities so that the graduates may avail themselves for training in Post-Graduate and Scientific subjects. This is a matter which has been very much neglected by our universities with the result that our graduates are compelled to go to foreign countries for such training. In the matter of distribution of services also, preference is given to those possessing foreign degrees. The fault does not lie with the foreign degree-holders but with our universities for not providing scope for necessary training. This is a very serious fault and I hope our universities will soon mend it by setting up post-graduate and special courses in the different centres of education.

Reciprcity with Forign Countries

With regard to "honour abroad", the Council soon after its inauguration tried to enter into a scheme of direct reciprocity with 27 countries. Many of them did not reply, four of them, New Zealand, Malta, Burma and New Sough Wales

agreed in the first instance to reciprocate directly with us, though two of them subsequently withdrew ; and fourteen countries intimated that they would recognise our degrees only so long as they continue to be recognised by the G.M.C. This scheme is what has been aptly termed by Dr. B. C. Ray as "Indirect reciprocity" as it kept our Council tied to the apron strings of the G.M.C. I am glad to say that the Council has now seen the futility of continuing this form of reciprocity and recommended its withdrawal and establishment in its place of a General Reciprocity Board for the purpose of facilitating reciprocity on "honourable" terms between India and the various countries constituting the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Honour Abroad

While it was asserted that the Medical Council would bring honour abroad, we have seen how in the matter of reciprocity most of the countries refused to enter into direct relation with the Council. A country can never have honour abroad unless it has sovereign political status. The only other way by which the reputation of medical profession of a country may be enhanced in the outside world, is the measure of contribution which it makes to the stock of human knowledge and to its advancement by original research. We shall never be able to secure this recognition unless members belonging to our profession engage in works of such original nature that the value of our contributions in these directions will secure for us not only honour abroad but also world-wide recognition. Unfortunately the original contribution which the Indian medical profession has so far been able to make in the domain of medicine is very meagre and, in consequence, the estimation in which our profession is held outside India is not very high. The causes for this among others seem to be firstly, neglect of the Indian Universities to stimulate medical research ; secondly, failure of the only other organisation, viz., the Indian Research Fund Association to command public confidence and stimulate the spirit of research and original work in the minds of the members of the profession. While the Universities here spend decent sums to encourage original work in sciences like Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, etc., they have done very little to endow research scholarships or research fellowships in the different branches of medicine or stimulating research under their Faculties of Medicine. It is a pity that while India can claim with pride sons like the late Sir J. C Bose, Sir C. V. Raman, Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. Bhatnagar, Dr. Saha and late Mr. Ramanujam who have made their mark in the world's estimation in the domain of pure science, she has none except Brahmachary, Chopra and a very few others who have been able to attain distinction in the realm of medicine. This is a state of affairs of which any country ought to be ashamed, and particularly India, where genius and scientific talents are by no means wanting.

Paucity in the Field of Medical Research

If any one goes through the records of investigations carried out by the workers under the Indian Research Fund Association, one will be surprised to find that although huge sums of money are spent annually, there is hardly any work of outstanding merit which can hold out before the world as epoch-making or as creating a land-mark in the science of medicine. Research can only grow in an atmosphere of freedom and, if genuine research workers are to be attracted to this Fund, the stuffy official-controlled air of the place must make room for a freer atmosphere. Unless the workers are given more latitude and freedom not only in the choice of their work but also in the manner and method of their investigations, I am afraid this state of affairs is bound to continue. Here I would appeal to the rich and well-to-do people to do their duty to the country by encouraging research by their private charities. There never was any dearth of philanthropic people in India and, if their charities have hitherto flowed in other directions, let them now flow in the direction of medical research—a direction which has unfortunately been very much neglected in the past.

The War and Drug Industry

The War has brought many a new complication in its train both in matters of national and international importance. Bet we are not concerned here so much with their political and economic effects as with their direct and immediate bearing on our own problems. The difficulty of getting medicines from countries on which India used to depend so long is being experienced by all of us here. The old stock of such medicines as are still feft are either rigorously controlled by the Government or sold at prohibitive prices. At one stage, there was a wild attempt

at profiteering which, thanks to the prompt action taken by the Government at the instance of the public and our profession, has now gone. But the hardship still experienced by the people as a result of storage of supply and inflation of prices is by no means inconsiderable. It would ordinarily be expected that war conditions would give a fillip to the manufacturing industries of the country including the chemical and pharmaceutical industry but the restrictions and inhibitions of imports apply as much to manufactured products as to essential raw materials, plants and machineries. As soon as the war broke out, our Association set up a sub-committee to deal with the problem and it did some valuable work in this connection by publishing a list of Indian substitutes for drugs and medicines manufactured by the belligerent countries. But I should like to suggest here that a permanent committee consisting of industrialists, economists and experts should be immediately set up to go more fully into the question of drug manufacture in India. We have yet a long way to traverse in order to make India self-sufficient in the matter.

Need of an Indian Pharmacopoeia

Where a drug has been scientifically prepared and tested, no matter whether it be of Ayurvedic or Unani system, there is no reason why it should not find a place in the pharmacopœia. It is high time that India had a pharmacopœia of her own which should not only include drugs of western systems but also those drugs of Ayurvedic and Unani preparation whose therapeutic and pharmacological values have been proved. I draw the attention of our Universities and pharmacologists to this matter.

National Health Insurance

Pressing hard on the attention of our legislators is the question of public Health Insurance with which is necessarily bound up that of rural medical aid, improvement and extension of hospitals or dispensaries generally. It augured well that as soon as provincial autonomy began to function in the provinces, the attention of those governments were turned to Labour, Tenancy and various other legislations meant for improving the economic condition of the people. While therefore there was much to congratulate these Governments on the success of those measures, I cannot but emphasise that there was one aspect of the question that did not unfortunately receive the same attention that its importance warranted. I am referring to the introduction of a system of compulsory National Health Insurance. In a country like India where Malaria, Tuberculosis and other endemic and epidemic diseases are so rampant and account so largely for the devitalisation of our people, the question of public health must be given precedence in all efforts to improve the material condition of the people. We have unfortunately no official statistics to show the extent of annual economic loss that the country suffers as result of these diseases, but if the figures were available, one could assume they would be simply staggering.

A Case for India

But what is nearer to the point is the institution of some scheme in India that at little cost will bring medical aid to all who desire it. I have in mind some such scheme as that of the panel system of England or its French counterpart—some scheme that gives doctor a living and at the same time is within the means of at least the lower middle class people. It appears to me that a suitable scheme of this nature is not impossible of acceptance in India. If, for instance, in regard to mill-hands and such people, the cost is shared between the Government, employers and employees, the share of each will not be found to be prohibitive or burdensome; nor even if the scheme is extended to the rural population. We have discussed various aspects of this question in committees and in our journal, and Provincial Governments are not unaware of the views expressed. It is not a proposition that a private body can tackle and we can only press the matter again on the attention of the various Governments concerned. We had also communicated our views on the matter to the Congress Economic Planning Committee.

Tuberculosis

So also when we turn to tuberculosis, it is so much to be deplored though here the gloom is relieved by the valiant effort made by Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow to raise a crore of rupees for the King Emperor's Anti-tuberculosis Fund. Her Excellency's effort has served to focus public attention but it will be readily understood that the sum actully raised is hardly

adequate when applied on an India wide basis. It is still being discussed how best this money should be laid out. I personally feel that mere multiplication of T.B. Clinics and propaganda are not the only effectual means of tackling a colossal problem like this. While dispensaries and clinics are important, mere multiplication of them will not serve the purpose. Certain beds should be available for incurable cases in the hospitals of the districts from which the patients come so as to prevent them from over-crowding the cities in the hope of getting accommodation in the hospitals and thereby infecting citizens. It should be remembered that segregation of one patient saves nearly 20 others from infection.

The incidence of tuberculosis in India is fearfully on the increase and the figures of mortality which must exceed 3 lakhs on the lowest computation, are daily ascending by leaps and bounds. And yet strange as it is, national consciousness does not seem to have been roused to appreciate the magnitude of the danger that threatens us. How vast the problem is and how pitifully inadequate has been our effort to meet it, will be evident from even a superficial comparison with what the Soviet Russia has already done in the matter. There are in Russia to-day 500 special tuberculosis hospitals; nearly 5,000 dispensaries and clinics dealing with early diagnosis and treatment; 16,000 sanatoria; 11,000 convalescent homes and one labour prophylactorium on the Papworth model in each industry. If this is what has been done by Russia with a population of 183 millions only, how much more needs to be done by India with a population of nearly 400 millions? It seems therefore that we have not yet touched even a fringe of the whole problem.

The State and its Functions

If the word 'Government' has found frequent expression in the course of this short address, it is because the experience of the world teaches us that is is only by the State that these larger issues can be successfully dealt with. Indeed, many of our problems in India, even our medical and public health problems, have to wait on the solution of larger political and constitutional issues. And when these are in ferment, it is hardly a time for constructive work. The imperfectly constituted provincial Governments are too much racked with communalism at present. All this offers a serious stumbling block to the solution of many Indian questions, medical and otherwise. These apparently must await a freer political atmosphere and I have no doubt also, a thriving economic situation in which the necessary finance will be forthcoming.

War and the Medical Profession

The medical profession all over the world stands on a somewhat different footing from the rest of the combatants in the war because it has to render aid to the sick and injured irrespective of whether he is a friend or foe. That is why apart from all controversial politics about India's participation in the war efforts, the I. M. A. as soon as the war broke out, not only issued pamphlets on treatment and prevention of air-raid injuries but also urged medical men all over India to render every assistance to the Government in this direction. It must be sufficiently realised that to-day war is not merely a matter of first line trenches and large battalions of soldiers but the organization of the entire resources of the country, bringing civilians, women and children, into the combatant area. The aerial bomb and torpedo drop with the impartiality of rain on soldier and civilian alike. In a world gone mad with the lust of killing, how far can we see, to what extent can we plan? We cannot see too far ahead in the circumstances of to-day. We must simply carry on holding steadfastly to the hope that human nature will soon be seen to better purpose. For our part we plead no special virtues. We are doctors but we are Indians at the same time. We see around us an infinitude of waste and human suffering. We cannot forget that out of every 1,000 infants brought in the world, 488 die before the age of 10; that 160,000 mothers die of childbirth of which 80 per cent are preventible deaths; that the average expectation of life in India is only 26 years; that death rate reaches the figure of 6½ million, that 369,000 succumb to malaria each year and an equal number if not more to tuberculosis; above all, that one third of our populatiod do not get a square meal in the day. What the 1941 census will reveal we cannot say but these figures are startling enough. So much, so very much, of the waste and suffering is preventible.

The Newspaper Editors' Conference

New Delhi—10th. November 1940

The Presidential Address

The withdrawal of the recent order under the Defence Regulation prohibiting publication of matter calculated directly or indirectly to foment opposition to the succesful prosecution of the war was mentioned by Mr. *K. Srinivasam*, Managing Editor of the 'Hindu' in his opening address, at New Delhi on the 10th. November 1940 as President of the Newspaper Editors' Conference. In the course of his speech, the President said :—

"Until a few days back, our relations with the Government in India were characterised by a spirit of unstinted co-operation from almost every responsible newspaper belonging to every shade of political opinion. We have, all of us, without a word of dissent, helped the Government in their propaganda for their war effort in all possible ways and have allowed our columns to be devoted to the publication of reports of speeches and to long statements by officials and non-officials aimed at a vigorous prosecution of the war. We have gone further, in permitting a generous use of space in our advertisement columns, often without payment and in some cases at concession rates. Those services, rendered, I need not remind you, under difficult circumstances owing to the rapidly rising prices of newsprint and the serious curtailment of the size of our papers, ought to have served as sufficient indications of our good faith even under the present trying conditions.

Effect on Editors

"It was with amazement therefore, that all of us were greeted with the order issued under the Defence of India Regulations which, if conformed to would reduce the position of an editor to that of an inanimate automaton. The conditions that were sought to be imposed by that order were such that no self-respecting editor could submit to them. We have, therefore, met here to-day to take counsel together and agree upon common action in order to preserve our rights, which are fundamental to the maintenance of a free and independent Press. This conference has become urgent now because of the political deadlock in India and the utter inability of the Government so far to solve it to the satisfaction of the people. The Government have without qualification, acknowledged the help they have so far received from the Press throughout the period of the war.

But the continued drift in the policy of the Government and the consequent worsening of the political situation have upset the equilibrium of those in charge of the administration, and as a result we have been served with an order which, it is said, is aimed at preventing exploitation of newspapers by the sponsors of the Satyagraha movement. A little introspection on the part of the authorities would have shown them that it is they themselves, who are attempting to exploit the political movement in the name of efforts to win the war. The charge that the Satyagraha movement is pro-Hitler and therefore, all publicity relating to it is fomenting anti-war activity is manifestly unjust and cannot be accepted. We must make it plain that we cannot and will not be parties to the suppression of all normal political activity in the name of the war.

Liberty of The Press

"It may be said in reply that for the duration of the war we must allow ourselves to be governed by methods associated with dictatorship and all talk of liberties of the citizen or the Press in a crisis is nonsense. May I remind those who may be tempted to adopt this line that in the summer of this year, when an invasion of Britain seemed imminent after the French collapse. Major Attlee declared in the House of Commons that under all circumstances, the Press would be free to express its views without official interference ? But we have not, in this country, a National Government, based on the will of the people, which according to another Cabinet Minister, Sir John Anderson, is the surest safeguard for the liberties of the Press as of the individual.

"The absence of a National Government at the Centre and administration under Secrion 93 of the Government of India Act in 7 provinces, are the greatest handicaps to a successful war effort. In the conditions, which are prevalent to-day in

this country, restrictions on the Press, devised by an irresponsible executive, are bound to be destructive of free expression of opinion based on the publication of impartial and true reports appearing in the Press. It is a hopeful sign that the authorities in Delhi have recognized the necessity for securing the co-operation of the Press and are now prepared to meet us in overcoming our difficulties. We may at the outset reiterate that it is far from our intention to create difficulties for the Government or impede their war effort.

"Our sole concern is to conduct a newspaper free to express opinions frankly and to that end factual representation of events in the widest sense must be allowed.

"We must have a body analogous to the Ministry of Information in England which will take counsel and act in co-operation with a body of responsible journalists in Delhi as well as at the provincial centres. The Government must have full confidence in and trust us to conduct ourselves properly as responsible members of the public.

"We in India are painfully aware of the many differences in the political sphere. But I am glad to feel that in regard to the liberties of the Press differences of outlook or opinion are not likely to divide us. A free Press with a full sense of responsibility must be allowed to function, and it is our business to suggest to the Government the right and only method of approaching us to help them in winning the war.

"Since preparing this speech I am glad to say that the Chief Press Censor in Delhi got into touch with me and communicated to me that the recent order issued under the Defence Regulations is to be withdrawn.

Resolutions

The Conference passed among others the following resolutions :—

"This conference welcomes the change thus indicated in the attitude of the Government of India towards the Press and desired to point out that even from the point of view of the Government the results they seek are best achieved by a policy of trust and co-operation instead of minatory directions.

"This conference therefore urges on the Government of India that they withdraw such regulations or restrictions as bearing heavily in the Press in the discharge of their legitimate duties to the public in order to revive and restore the atmosphere of confidence that prevailed between the Government and the Press until recently.

"This conference desires to stress that it is the duty of the Press Adviser also to advise the Government of the best way of ensuring cordial relations with the Press and to this end it is his duty to see that orders to journalists in the mofussil are communicated with due courtesy and consideration.

"This All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference appoints this subject committee as a standing committee to represent their interests in relation to the Government for the duration of the war and authorizes them to appoint sub-committees at the Centre and in the provinces as and when required for the above purpose including recommendations to the personnel of the advisory committee. The President is authorized to co-opt members to the Standing Committee at his discrtion."

The following will constitute the Committee :—The President (Mr. K. Srinivasan). Mr. T. C. Ghosh, Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Mr. C. S. Rangaswami, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Mr. Rama Rao, Mr. Desh Bandhu Gupta, Mr. Samaldas Gandhi, Mr. P. D. Sharma, Mr. A. S. Iyengar, Mr. S. Natarajan, Mr. Pothan Joseph, and Mr. Jagan Nath Rawath.

The following members were co-opted :—Mr. Francis Low, Mr. S. W. Bustin, Mr. Kali Nath Ray, Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta and Mr. S. N. Mazumdar.

The meeting further urged that various punitive measures taken against certain newspapers such as the *Sainik* and the *National Herald*, be reviewed by Government in consultation with the Standing Committee.

The Eastern Group Conference

New Delhi—25th. October 1940

Viceroy's Speech

The Eastern Group Conference was opened at New Delhi on the 25th. October 1940 by the Viceroy in an austere and businesslike setting bereft of colourful ceremonial. The following is the full text of his Excellency's speech at the opening of the Conference :—

Gentlemen, the need for a conference such as this has long been apparent to those who have studied the organization of the British Commonwealth of Nations for a protracted war ; and from the ready response to the invitations which I was recently authorized by his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to send out, I judge that other empire Governments in this part of the world are as eager as the Government of India to make the conference a living part of our war effort. India may congratulate herself on her fortunate geographical position ; for her the occasion is historic, and on behalf of my Government and the people of India I extend a very cordial welcome to the visiting delegations. I also welcome the Ministry of Supply mission whose opportunate arrival in India will enable the conference to benefit by the advice of Sir *Alexander Roger* and his colleagues. I am glad, too, to think that we shall have available to us the advice of the strong and representative body of non-official advisers from India who are present here today.

Determination to Pool Our Resources

I would not have it thought here or elsewhere that the holding of the conference implies any failure of the members of the 'eastern group' of empire countries to help one another in the war effort. Indeed, we in India have been much impressed by the eagerness of other empire Governments to help us, and we hope that we for our part have done our best to meet such demands as they have made upon us. What the conference does imply is something very different—a determination not merely to help one another, but to pool our resources so that we may as a group of Governments and countries put forth the greatest material war effort that we can.

Urgency of the Conference

The idea underlying the conference is by no means new ; it arises from the Imperial Conference of 1937. But its urgency has been borne in upon us more particularly during the past six months. Many of the countries represented here played a great part in the war of 1914-18, contributing without stint men, money and material. In that war, however, material resources, though of great importance, were considerably less important than they are today, and it is probably true that the outlying empire countries concentrated very largely upon man-power and the simpler forms of equipment, relying upon the highly organized industries of the United Kingdom and her allies to do the rest. When the present war began we knew that conditions would be very different, but we could not foresee the fall of Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium : and the destruction of France as a military power and ally in Europe. The British empire is now fighting alone, and must not only find the men and material to defend the United Kingdom against invasion, but provide for the defence of her outlying members, and for the equipment of the remnants of the forces of her conquered allies.

Almost Unique in Political Experience

This conference, therefore, while having a precedent in the Imperial Conference of 1937, nevertheless falls into a category almost unique in the political experience of the British Commonwealth. It represents the active collaboration of a part of the Commonwealth in the interests of the whole : it implies that those parts of the empire which lie east and south of Suez are about to investigate the assumption of new responsibilities, which will lighten the burdens on the mother country at a time when she is preoccupied with difficult problems peculiar to the present phase of the war ; and it reflects those qualities of resiliency and adaptability which are a characteristic feature of our

political institutions, for it means that those units of the Commonwealth which are situated in the eastern hemisphere are ready and willing to associate themselves with policies in which self-interest and self-assertion are relegated to second place in face of the menance that is confronting the Commonwealth as a whole. The spread of the war in the direction of the Middle East cannot disrupt the political integrity of the Commonwealth, because that integrity is rooted in freedom and justice which are the component elements of that political philosophy which imbues all sections of the Commonwealth.

Our First Plain Duty

A threat to any part of the Commonwealth is a threat to the whole and the immediate danger is being faced at present in the mother country. In this situation our first plain duty is to relieve the United Kingdom of such of her burdens as we can bear ourselves, and I suggest that we can best do this by preparing a joint scheme showing clearly how far, viewed not as individual governments and countries, but as a group, we are capable of meeting our own war needs and of supplying in increasing measure the war needs of the United Kingdom.

Task of the Conference

'The task of the conference is, in brief, the preparation of such a scheme, and my Government and I are under no illusions as to the complexity of our deliberations. All or almost all the countries represented here are producers of raw materials ; some are fortunate in possessing more or less wholly organized industries ; and some are able to manufacture munitions of war on a fairly large scale. It will be for the delegations to declare the strength and weakness of their respective countries, and for the conference as a whole to say how far the deficiencies of one country can be made good by the actual or potential surplus of another. It is possible that in respect of certain items of supply no planning may be needed ; but there will, I believe, be room for planning and 'rationalization' over a very wide field. The conference clearly cannot stop short at recommending a comparatively easy exchange of raw materials and manufactured articles ; it will have to consider the position of the participating countries as a group and the best methods of making the group self-supporting. You may find when you come to consider the establishment of new manufactures, that it is convenient that one or more countries within the group should concentrate upon particular items, and that some general allocation of industrial responsibility will be inevitable. Again, you may find that all the countries in the group are short of certain essentials, and the means of securing these will have to be planned.

Expert Assistance Available

The procedure by which the conference will approach and solve these important problems is, of course, for the conference to decide. Many of the problems to be discussed are, in their detailed aspects, a matter for experts, and I should like to make it clear that my Government intends to make available to individual delegations and to the conference as a whole all the expert assistance at its command, whether of an official or non-official character. India is frequently described as a bureaucratic country, but we rely greatly both in peace and in war on the cooperation of organized industry, and I acknowledge now with gratitude the readiness and generosity with which Indian industry has responded to our wartime needs. The services of experts engaged in industry have been at our disposal from the first, and I am glad to think that so many of the gentlemen who have devoted so much time and thought to production problems since the war began have come to New Delhi to advise the conference and its various committees. Our own official experts are also available, particularly on the more specialized side of munitions production und I am sure that I am speaking for Sir *Alexander Roger* when I say that his very capable team will give all the help they can.

A Clear Enunciation of Policy and Principles

It would be idle to expect that the scheme to be drawn up by this conference will be so complete and detailed that it will leave nothing to be settled by the participating countries. It will, we all hope, be a clear enunciation of policy and principles, but there will inevitably be a great mass of detail to settle after the conference disperses. One of the objects of the conference is therefore to consider the establishment of a standing committee to see that the conference policy is acted upon with promptitude and energy. Whether this committee can be of real use,

as my Government believes, what countries should be represented upon it, and when it should be established are matters for the conference to consider.

Discussion on Wider Economic Issues

What I have said so far relates entirely to war supply and the conference will doubtless deal with war supply and nothing else. We know, however, that some visiting delegations desire to make use of the facilities available here for the discussion of wider economic issues, and my Commerce department will be most ready to undertake such discussions with them.

Knowledge of India's Capabilities

Before I leave you to your deliberations, let me add that if the members of any delegation desire while they are here to see something of this great country, with its great resources of raw materials and its growing industries, my Government will be only too glad to provide the necessary facilities. This is not an occasion for salesmanship or advertisement, and there is serious work ahead of us all. But some of those present may, as the deliberations of the war conference proceed, find it necessary to acquire at first hand some knowledge of India's capabilities ; and others who can spare the time may wish to carry away with them impressions not limited to the restricted circle of New Delhi.

Sympathy and Admiration for U. K.

I have said that there is serious work ahead of us all. The brunt of the war has so far fallen upon the United Kingdom, and our hearts go out in sympathy and admiration for the steadfast courage of its people, and of those who have been called upon to defend its shores. If this conference enables us to do more than we have yet done to protect the life of the Commonwealth, if within the next few months we are able to feel that our united efforts are enabling us to exert our undoubted strength to the full, then we shall not have laboured in vain. I am satisfied that we have it in our power, working together, to make towards the common cause a contribution which is destined to be of the greatest value and which may indeed prove to be decisive. But if results of the highest value are to flow from our joint endeavours, it is evident that our contribution must be timely as well as sufficient for, in war, speed is near to victory.

New Conception of Commonwealth Ideals

As I have already indicated it is a new conception of our Commonwealth ideals which will be reflected in your deliberations here. There is something significant, even dramatic, in the thought of Great Britain bravely bearing the brunt of the enemy's attacks while her kinsmen and associated peoples in the east are marshalling their forces for that ultimate victory which will bring an end to aggression and to that depravity of the soul which accompanies totalitarianism. Those empires of the past which have fallen have generally fallen from some inherent defect from within.

That is not likely to be the fate of the comity of peoples represented by the British Commonwealth. The British elements within that comity have a common heritage to defend, and the sister peoples associated with it also derive their aspirations from the traditions we seek to uphold. Together, we represent varying degrees of that political philosophy which permeates the whole, but the common denominator of all is faith in freedom and a belief in those things of the spirit which make peoples truly great. Thus what we seek to do here is not something that will redound only to credit as individual units of a world wide empire ; rather should it reflect the firm expression of our living faith in the splendid heritage which we enjoy as members of an association of liberty-loving peoples.

Delegation Leaders' Statement

New Delhi—25th. November 1940

The following statement was issued by the leaders of delegations to the Eastern Group Conference from New Delhi on the **25th. November 1940** :—

'With the meeting of the 25th November 1940, the deliberations in Delhi of the Eastern Group Conference come to an end, but the work which those deliberations have been designed to forward may be said only now to have been begun. The discussion that have taken place and the contacts that have been established

have been of the greatest value Our report, we trust, will prove to be the starting point on an intensive industrial war effort of very great importance. It is difficult to overestimate the value of the countries represented of the opportunity we have had of examining the supply problems affecting the countries of the Eastern Group Conference and of considering how best war effort can be forwarded over an area of such profound importance. Between them, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Nayasaland, Zanzibar, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Hong Kong and Palestine, have a population of 416 millions, and their combined imports and exports amount to £1300,000,000. Australia is already all out on an immense programme. India and South Africa are both on the same way and the various other participants are ready and willing to take orders for munitions of all kinds and use such machine tools and facilities as they have in their countries.

Interchange of Information

Already the interchange of information between the several delegations has brought to light important facts and promising opportunities of which most of us at the opening of our proceedings were entirely unaware, while during the weeks that we have been together it has already been possible, by correlating surpluses in equipment with the existing requirements, to supply important deficiencies without waste of time of undue call on the shipping space.

Appointment of Representative Standing Body

The report which we have prepared embodies our conclusions. But the work which the conference has begun cannot end with the submission of our report ; for a report can do no more than make recommendations and indicate the possible lines of enquiry. It is for that reason that we have recommended the appointment in India of a representative standing body, which would continue the work of the conference and, within a defined field, coordinate supply, plan production and assist in arranging new sources of production. Such a body can not be established by the conference itself. For our recommendation, like all other recommendations included in our report, is a matter for the consideration and decision of the participating Governments, though it is our hope as a conference that our proposals will meet with their support and acceptance.

We feel strongly, however, that it will not be in the public interest, or in the interest of furthering war effort that while our recommendations are under consideration the secretatiat organisation placed by the Indian Government at the disposal of the conference and already in being should be wholly dispersed. Pending a decision by the Governments concerned as to the establishment of the representative standing body which we have proposed, it remains important that there should be some temporary machinery to collect and to transmit information, to deal with the records of the conference, to handle enquiries relating to the conference and to its recommendations promptly and adequately, and above all to preserve continuity between our work and any representative standing body that may be established, which will, of course, set up its own secretariat and organisation apart from the Indian Government. We have carefully considered how best to ensure this. Few of the delegations are in a position to leave any of their members behind them in India. In the first place, no delegation is in a position to commit its Government to the acceptance of any particular recommendation of the conference.

Apart from that, many of the members of the conference have urgent and important work to do in their own countries where each, as his first duty, will report to his Government upon the particular subjects with which he has been specially concerned during the work of the various committees of the conference. In these circumstances, we have requested the Government of India to retain for the present such portion of the conference secretariat as may be needed for the purposes we have mentioned above pending a decision on the establishment on the representative standing body proposed. We are glad to say that this recommendation had been accepted by the Government of India.

More Effective Mutual Integration of Resources

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, in the inspiring message which he addressed to us on the opening day of our session, bade us look forward to the day when the forces created by our efforts, both East and West, advance together for the final overthrow of the powers of evil. Our object has been, again

in the Prime Minister's words, to plan the more effective mutual integration of the resources of all our Governments in the Eastern hemisphere. We realize to the full that in the short time available to us we may have fallen short in many respects of the ideal which we set ourselves. But we feel no doubt that this Assembly of representatives of so many widely scattered Governments can hope to make a contribution of real value to the furthering of war effort. The problems we have had to deal with have been of great importance and great complexity. We have done our best to make full advantage of the opportunity we have had. We are well aware that there may be many respects in which the proposals we have put forward will call on further scrutiny, for modification. But we are confident, for all that, that the work of this conference, the contacts established during it, and the greater understanding which emerge from it of the difficulties and the potentialities of all the participating countries, will be of deep and real significance and value in the prosecution of the war and the attainment of the ideals which are common to us all. And throughout our deliberations we have been profoundly conscious that, having regard to the general war position, speed in execution is a spirit essential in all that we have sought by our labours to forward.

(Sd.) Walter Massey Greene, Paw Tun, H. J. Huxham, G. C. S. Corea, Phillip Mitchell, D. J. Sloss, Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Northunt, Alexander Roger, J. Duigan, Major General G. Walsh, F. R. G. Hoare, Major General F. E. Harris.

British India and Indian States

All India States' Peoples' Conference

Standing Committee Resolution—Bombay—1st. July 1940

A resolution calling on the Rulers of the various Indian States to confer complete responsible government on their subjects was adopted by the Standing Committee of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference, which concluded its sittings at Bombay on the 1st. July 1940 under the presidency of Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru*. The resolution runs as follows :—

"The Standing Committee desires to draw the attention of the people and the Rulers of the States to the fast and revolutionary developments that are taking place in the world, which must inevitably lead to fundamental changes in the political and economic order. The old order is rapidly passing and empires are fading away giving place to changed conditions. In the new order that will emerge out of the bloodshed and horror of war, it is inconceivable that out-of-date feudal, political and economic conditions can continue in India or elsewhere. The time for petty changes and slow reforms in the States has passed and attempts to check the inevitable and far-reaching changes that are long overdue must lead to disaster.

"The present policy being pursued in most of the States is one of repression increasing in intensity under the pretext of war conditions and the Defence of India Act. Such policy displays a complete ignorance of the significant happenings in India and the world and must hasten this disaster. It (the Committee), therefore, advises the Rulers to accept without reservation the modern form of State, that is, a State, which is conducted by popular and responsible representatives giving effect to the popular will. Even the ideal of responsible government in the States may soon fall short of the goal in the ever-developing world situation.

"So far as the people of the States are concerned they must hold fast to full freedom and complete responsible government and not accept anything less than this. During these critical times the States' peoples must strengthen and organise themselves to face all the trials they may have to endure before they reach their cherished goal, freedom within the large freedom of an independent India."

By another resolution the Standing Committee requested the Baroda Durbar to hold a judicial enquiry with regard to complaints about interference on the part of State officials in the recent elections to the State Legislature.

The All India States' Workers' Convention

Annual Session—Poona—30th. July 1940

The Presidential Address

About two hundred delegates from about forty States attended the All-India States' Workers' Convention, which commenced on the **30th. July** in the Congress House, Poona, Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* presiding.

Inaugurating the Convention, Mr. *Nehru* said that Indians, whether they be subjects of Indian States or of British Indian provinces, could not be satisfied with anything less than complete independence. He emphasised that the States' people must strengthen their organisations and achieve responsible government. They had passed the stage of mere agitation. The problem of Indian States was interrelated to the question of Indian freedom.

Mr. *Nehru* pointed out that during negotiations with the British Government, the Indian National Congress did not refer to Indian States separately for the reason that they did not want the British Government to act as arbitrator in this matter. The States' people, he urged, must work for the ideal of complete independence for the whole of India including the Indian States.

Resolutions—Democratisation of States

Mr. *Kashinatharao Vaidya* of Hyderabad moved a resolution suggesting that peace and stability could only be established, when all nations were free and co operated together in creating a world order, and that even in the immediate future Indian freedom could only be maintained on the basis of Indian unity and close co-operation of free democratic units in this national freedom. There could be no such co-operation between democratic and feudal units, which would inevitably come to conflict with each other. The same measure of democracy and freedom must thus prevail in all parts of India, whether Provinces or States, and each unit must join a free Indian Federation on equal terms. Any delay in the democratisation of the States was not only injurious to the people of the States, but also to the freedom of India as a whole. The resolution hoped that the Rulers of States would declare their faith in Indian unity and freedom and would take steps to establish responsible government in their States and thus prepare and qualify them for taking part in a Constituent Assembly which would draw up free India's constitution. The resolution wanted to impress upon the States' people that real progress ultimately depended on their own organised strength and that they must prepare and organise themselves to share the burden and struggles during the days of trial through which India was passing.

The resolution was seconded by *Mr. K. T. Bhashyam* of Mysore, who observed that the Rules of States must read the signs of the time and realise that only by granting responsible government could States fit themselves into a scheme of future federation of a free India. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Programme of Work

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj then moved the following resolution :—

"The Convention, while feeling it difficult and even impractical to prescribe a common detailed progarmme of work and agitation for the various States in various stages of social, educational and political development, is clearly of the opinion that the struggles in different States have shown that the immediate need is to strengthen the people's organisations and to establish closer contact with the people of their respective States through a carefully planned constructive programme, which will emphasise Khadi in textiles, Swadeshi in other articles, and mass literacy and political education of the masses through peaceful propaganda of the issues involved.

"While this Convention does not want to hold back the people of any State who feel confident of their strength to take more advanced steps, it desires to impress upon the peoples of the States that a sustained struggle for their freedom inevitably demands fuller and greater preparation than has generally been evident till now."

The resolution was seconded by *Mr. G. Ramachandran* of Travancore, who explained to them his own experience in Travancore when they first started the movement in Travancore and the difficulties they had to undergo in the connection. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Many workers then spoke on the state of affairs in their respective States.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, in a short speech, impressed on the States' workers that the only way of getting independence was by determined organisation.

Acharya Narendra Deo also addressed the convention, which terminated after nearly four hours' discussion.

The Eastern States' Rulers' Conference

Second Session—Calcutta—2nd. July 1940

SUPPORT TO BRITAIN IN WAR

"As the destiny of India is indissolubly linked up with that of Great Britain it is the solemn duty of every one to render all possible assistance to the British Empire at the present critical juncture by organising the man-power of the country and by financially contributing to the success of the war". This opinion was expressed by the Council of Rulers of the Eastern States Agency, at their second session held at Tripura House, Calcutta on the **2nd. July 1940.**

His Highness the *Maharaja of Tripura* presided. Fourteen Rulers and twenty five Dewans were present.

The resolution on war which was moved by the *Maharaja of Tripura*, President of the Council, and seconded and supported by the Rulers of Mayurbhanj, Kalahandi, Patna, Seraikela, Korea and the Regent Rani of Gangpur, while viewing with grave concern the fast moving developments in the international situation and the threat of totalitarian domination over a large part of the world, expressed unalterable faith in the ultimate triumph of the cause of righteousness and placed on record that as the destiny of India was indissolubly linked up with that of Great Britain, it was the solemn duty of everyone to render all possible assistance to the British Empire at the present critical juncture by organising the man-power of the country and by financially contributing to the success of the war.

The Council urged His Excellency the Crown Representative to secure for the States all necessary facilities in the matter of arrangements for training and the supply of arms and ammunition so as to enable them to effectively carry out their obligations in maintaining the security of their States.

The Council decided to subscribe to the Defence of India three per cent bonds to the extent of one lakh of rupees.

A joint committee, consisting of members of the Standing Committee of Rulers and the Committee of Ministers, was appointed to devise methods for rendering effective help in the successful prosecution of the war.

The A. I. Trade Union Congress

18th. Session—Bombay—28th. September 1940

The view that the All-India Trade Union Congress should heartily co-operate with the Congress in 'the coming struggle' for freedom was urged by Dr. *Suresh Chandra Banerjee*, President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, in his presidential address at the eighteenth session of the Congress held at Bombay on the **28th. September 1940.** Delegates from all parts of India were present.

This session, according to labour circles, left an important landmark in the history of labour movement in India, for the National Trades Union Federation group with a total membership of 150,047 and 61 unions merged itself in the All-India Trade Union Congress which had 195 trade unions affiliated to it and a total membership of 3,74,256.

WELCOME ADDRESS

An appeal for unity in labour ranks was the keynote of the address of Mr. *S. C. Joshi*, M.L.C., Chairman of the Reception Committee. The aims of the trade union movement, Mr. Joshi said, was the establishment of a Socialist State in the

country, to work for socialisation and nationalisation of the means of production and distribution and bringing the people of the country in an indissoluble union. "All our energies", he added, "must, therefore, be directed to the various measures of political, economic and social emancipation of the masses and to securing for them freedom of the press, assembly and association and freedom from the enormous indebtedness and political subjugation". The basic test was to organise the workers for advancing and defending their rights and interests and to accomplish their object by collective bargaining and negotiations and by democratic methods as might be found expedient from time to time.

Mr. Joshi deplored the prohibition by the Government of unions of their employees from joining the Central Trade Union organisations. Mr. Joshi also deplored the apathy of the Congress towards labour.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The President in the course of his address said :—

"Practically, immediately after the outbreak of the war, the Government promulgated the Defence of India Ordinance. The object of that Ordinance was undoubtedly the prevention of anti-war activities. It was never meant to interfere with the normal day to day activities of the people. But the Bengal Government got this as a handy weapon wherewith to stifle practically all kinds of labour, peasant and Congress activities in the province. In accordance with the Defence of India Act and the Rules framed thereunder notices of externments began to be served on Trade Union workers. Of those thus served with externment notices, a few disobeyed them and courted arrest. The majority had to leave their fields of activity. Protests against indiscriminate arrests and externments were of course repeatedly made both on public platforms and in Assembly meetings. More than forty workers of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation were not only externed but also deprived of their services for no other offence than that of demanding a 25 per cent dearness allowance and removal of their other legitimate grievances. They had nothing to do with war or politics—still they became victims of the Act. The Bengal Labour Minister, Mr. *Suhrawardy*, often advises us to take the path of constitutional Trade Unionism. If the employers refuse even to talk with us on labour problems, then two courses remain—one, of constant class struggle and recourse to strikes, and the other, the forcing of employers to such talks and other processes of conciliation by legislation.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

The Trade Disputes Act of 1929 no doubt contemplates a Board of Conciliation to be appointed by the Government, but the appointment of such a Board is only obligatory for the Government if both parties (employers and employed) apply for reference of the dispute to such a Board and the Government is satisfied that the persons applying represent the majority of such party. The Bengal Government is taking full advantage of these loopholes.

"But, according to the Bombay Trade Disputes Act, 1937, there are to be some standing orders regarding dismissal of any employee, introduction of rationalisation, wages, hours of work, etc. If no agreement is possible then the party wanting change should forward to the Conciliator a full statement of the case within twenty-one days from the date of service of such notice. The distinctive feature of the Act is the introduction of compulsion in the matter of reference of disputes to conciliation for both employers and employees. The labourers, conscious of the justness of their cause, almost always want to have their disputes settled by conciliation.

THE WAR AND INDIAN LABOUR

"I have narrated in fair detail how the war has affected the condition of the workers in India. The most vital point to consider is what we should do about the war. England from the very beginning of the war has been declaring that she has been fighting for democracy. We in India bitterly know how false this declaration is. To us there is not much difference between Nazism and Imperialism. We consider them to be the two sides of the same shield. But the repeated requests of the Indian National Congress to England to establish democracy in India in the first instance as a proof of her sincerity, have all gone in vain. England has ignored the opinion of India and involved her in the war. What will the Trade Union Congress do in this fight ? Will it stand aloof, as it has done on many past occasions, or will it take a very active part, taking up the cause as its own. The aim of the Trade Union Congress is the establishment of a

Socialistic State in India. But how is the establishment of such a State possible without attainment of independence ? Again, how are the labourers in India, alone, few in number, scattered all over the country and ill organised to attain independence without the help of the teeming millions of other classes of their fellow-countrymen ? It is an open fact that the heart of the majority of the teeming millions is with the Congress. So, if the working class population of India is to secure the heart of these teeming millions, there is no other way but wholeheartedly to co-operate with the Congress in this its coming fight.

Other Problems

"In India the workers employed in a majority of the small unregulated factories are outside the scope of the Workmen's Compensation Act. The provisions relating to the amounts of compensation should be amended to increase the rates."

The President next referred to the questions such as 'dearness allowance', Provident Fund, maternity benefit, health and unemployment insurance and said :

"The Trade Union Congress is now a vast organisation, with its branches distributed all over India. My last all-India tour as President has taught me how its influence is rapidly increasing even in far off corners of India. If the ultimate object of the Trade Union Congress is to be realised, its different branches must feel and act as members of one body. I know that feeling is gradually growing. But the world situation and historical necessity demand that it must develop much more quickly."

Proceedings & Resolutions

Protest Against Leaders' Arrest

After the Presidential Address Mr. *Mrinal Kanti Bose* moved a resolution protesting against the policy pursued by the Government in arresting persons connected with Trade Union movement, particularly under the Defence of India Regulation and calling upon the workers to oppose such measures. Mr. *Ratikanta Sarkar* of Calcutta and Mr. *Bhagat* of Amalner urged the workers to defend their civil liberties. Mrs. *Maniben Kara* appealed to the workers to rally under the Trade Union Congress for the protection and preservation of their rights. Mr. *Kashi Prasad* of Cawnpore supported the resolution which was passed.

Repeal of Wages Act Ordinance

Mr. *R. A. Khedgikar* moved the resolution demanding the repeal of the Ordinance amending the Payment of Wages Act. Mr. *Zaman*, M.L.A., Bengal, supported the motion. The Speakers declared that the Ordinance militated against the spirit of the Payment of Wages Act and that undue influence was likely to creep in the collection of war funds. The resolution was passed.

The next resolution which was also passed by the Congress related to the Ordinance regarding conscription of labour.

Dearness Allowance

Mr. *R. S. Ruiker* moved the resolution on 'dearness allowance.' He criticised the attitude of employers as well as the Government towards this legitimate demand of labour. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Labour Legislation

Before adjourning for the day, the Trade Union Congress passed three more resolutions touching on labour legislation, amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act and on the settlement of trade disputes in Bihar.

The resolution on labour legislation under the Government to undertake a programme of legislation for a scheme of social insurance, reduction of hours of work to forty-eight hours per week and a minimum living wage.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Bombay—29th. September 1940

Non-Participation in War

The Congress concluded this evening after passing a resolution on the attitude of the Trade Union Congress with regard to the war. Mr. *V. V. Giri*, ex-Labour Minister in Madras, moved the war resolution which, *inter alia*, declared that "participation in a war which will not result in the establishment of freedom and democracy in India, will not benefit India, and much less the working classes of India."

Commending the war resolution to the Congress, Mr. *Giri* said that the objective of the Trade Union Congress was the establishment of a Socialist State which could not be achieved without political and economic emancipation. The war issue was a very vital political question on which, under the constitution of the Trade Union Congress, a decision could be taken only if three-fourths of the delegates voted for it. Mr. *Giri* repudiated the contention of British statesmen that the war was being waged for freedom and democracy.

Mr. *Mrinal Kanti Ghose* seconded the resolution. He asserted that the war was for neither freedom nor democracy and urged that the working class in India should work for their own destiny.

Mr. *Aftab Ali* (Seamen's Union, Bengal), moved an amendment which stated *inter alia* that in view of the fact that the Trade Union Congress consisted of representatives of various shades of political opinion, and the attitude to war was a vital question, the differing groups within the organisation should be allowed to advocate their own special view-point. Mr. *Aftab Ali* said that such freedom should be given in order to maintain the solidarity of the Trade Union Congress. He revealed that, in the course of discussions on the war resolution in the General Council, a note was circulated to the members which was in effect his amendment. The Council had approved of the note and he wondered why it had not been incorporated in the resolution. He pointed out that his amendment was nothing but what had already been decided upon by the Executive of the Trade Union Congress.

PLEA FOR LABOUR SOLIDARITY

Mr. *N. M. Joshi*, M.L.A. (Central), General Secretary of the T. U. C., in opposing the amendment, referred to the difficulties in the path of the T. U. C. The resolution, he said, was a compromise. The General Council was dominated by one idea only, namely, the solidarity of the Congress. The T. U. C. was composed of differing elements, Congress Socialists, Rightist Congressmen, Communists, Liberals, Forward Bloc members and those who were opposed to the National Congress. It was therefore very difficult to arrive at a compromise on such an important political question as the war.

Appealing to all the Trade Unions in the country to stand loyally by the resolution, Mr. Joshi assured Mr. *Aftab Ali* that the spirit of his amendment would be observed. He however appealed to him to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. *Aftab Ali* withdrew his amendment.

Mr. *V. B. Karnik* addressed the Congress on behalf of the Royist group and urged that India should unconditionally participate in the war against Fascism.

Mr. *Yusuf Meherally* urged the workers to strengthen the Trade Union movement. He supported the resolution.

Mr. *R. S. Ruiker* on behalf of the Forward Bloc wished that the T. U. C. had adopted "a firmer course."

The resolution was then put to vote and declared carried *nem con.*

The Congress ratified to-day the resolution passed by the National Trades' Union Fedaration yesterday regarding the merger of the Federation in the T. U. C.

Winding up the session, Dr. *Suresh Chandra Banerjee*, the President, appealed to the delegates to organise Trade Unions throughout the country and strengthen the Trade Union movements.

The Associated Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—Calcutta—16th. December 1940

H. E. the Viceroy's Address

A comprehensive survey of the Indian political field and of India's contribution to the Fmpire's war effort in terms of labour and supply was made by *His Excellency the Viceroy* when he addressed the annual meeting of the Accociated Chambers of Commerce of India in Calcutta on the 16th. December 1940. His Excellency said :—

"I am very glad to meet you again to-day. This is the fifth occasion on which I have had the honour of opening the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and I deeply appreciate your kindness in again inviting me to be present. I well know the importance of the body of opinion which you represent—an importance greater than ever when the business community is making so magnificent a contribution to the prosecution of the war.

"I would like, Sir, before going further, to thank you for your reference to the providential escape of Their Majesties from harm. We know the unsparing and self-sacrificing work of the King and Queen, and the deep affection and real gratitude that they have earned for their inspiring leadership. That they should have escaped these deliberate and repeated attacks by the German Air Force is a source of the deepest relief to us all.

'I would like, too, to associate myself, if I may, with the tribute you have just paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here to-day and to The Lady Mary Herbert. I know how much the great war effort of Bengal owes to their unfailing and active help and interest, and how much the Governor's extensive touring in his first year of office has been appreciated.

"Gentlemen, your Chairman in his speech this morning concentrated on matters affecting the war, and in my reply I propose to do the same. At a time when everything we do must be tested in its relation to the war and to its effective prosecution, we can well be proud of the help that India has given since the war began, whether in men (and I would pay a warm tribute to the response of the European community) ; in materials ; in money ; or in gifts such as the magnificent gifts for the purchase of aircraft which have come from so many Provinces and States.

"Much as we have done there remains still more that we can do, and the obligation upon everyone of us is to see in what way we can still further contribute to the successful termination of the war and the attainment of the ideals for which it is being fought. The great organizations which you, Gentlemen, represent here to-day have spared no pains in their power over the last fifteen months to organize war effort. I most deeply appreciate their help. I ask you, so far as it is in your power to do so, to increase it. I know that in making that appeal I shall get from you, and from those you represent, the answer that I want.

Wanton Aggressions

"You, Sir, in the speech you have just made have reminded us of the great events that have taken place since we met here a year ago. The last twelve months have been a period of profound and significant changes. None of us a year ago would have anticipated the collapse of France. Some of us may have anticipated the unprovoked German attack on the Scandinavian Countries, on the Low Countries, and the equally unprovoked and wanton attack made by Italy, with such little success we are glad to think to-day, on her friendly neighbour. Greece. But there has been a cynical opportunism about the policy of the Axis Powers in these wanton aggressions, in these renewed and aggravated breaches of international law, and of the sanctity of treaties, for which few of us would have been prepared. Equally, while a year ago we had much reason to anticipate the violence of the German attack on the United Kingdom, the intensification of submarine warfare and of the air offensive, we can to-day be proud and happy that that attack pressed home in disregard of every accepted convention of international law, backed by all the military might of a country that for years had been preparing in secret to take advantage of the trust of others in treaties and agreements, should have produced so little effect. Great material damage has been done, though little of it, very litte indeed of any real military significance or importance. Immense hardship and suffering has been caused. Before us as I speak there lies the probability, indeed the certainty, of many months more of warfare of the sternest character before the looked-for decision can be reached. At home our people are bearing to-day not merely the brunt of the German attack, but the strain of the inclement season of the year. For all that, they are as everyone of us knows, carrying their burden with a serenity, a confidence, a will to resist and to conquer, a readiness to respond to any call that may be made, that has never been surpassed in the whole history of our race. The toughness of spirit, the unity of purpose, of the Mother Country has commanded universal admiration, and the inspiring and courageous telegram that you, Sir, have just read to us from the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire, and the contents of which we all so deeply appreciate, is eloquent testimony of the resolution with which she looks to the future.

India's Readiness to help

"How can we best help those who are carrying so heavy a weight, and who carry it to so large an extent on behalf of India ? That is my constant thought.

Ever since the war began, I have lost no opportunity of making plain to the Secretary of State and to His Majesty's Government the anxiety of India to make the fullest contribution that she can, in whatever way His Majesty's Government consider most helpful to themselves. Our wish to do so they well know, and I can assure you, deeply appreciate. They are well aware of our readiness to raise men, as many men as His Majesty's Government desire and as we can equip—and I am glad to be able to tell you to-day that in those brilliantly conceived and executed operations which are taking place in North Africa, Indian troops have shown themselves worthy of their highest traditions, and have borne themselves with the utmost distinction. His Majesty's Government are aware of the immensity of our natural resources, the extent of the assistance that we can give both immediately and in the future by the provision of raw materials and in manufactured materials. They know, too, how ready we are in this country to relieve them if they so desire, of some of the burden of the manufacture of warlike goods and stores, of aeroplanes and of organized supply to the whole of the Eastern area in such a way as to secure the results most conducive to victory. But clearly it must be for His Majesty's Government, who alone can see the whole picture in its true perspective, to set the pace, to decide for themselves how we can best help them, to let us know at any time whether they want particular stores, whether we can assist them by establishing factories and the like in this country, whether and if so they can help us to set them up by the provision of the technicians, the machine tools, in certain cases the materials and machinery requisite for their operation. If there are ways in which greater use can be made by His Majesty's Government of the immense manufacturing potentialities of India, of her great resources in men and in material, India is ready and anxious to help, and His Majesty's Government well know it.

MR. BEVIN'S SCHEME

'How best to assist industry in India engaged on war production has been under constant scrutiny. The National Service Ordinance recently enacted aims at securing that the skilled labour at present available in this country shall be put to the most efficient use, and the technical training scheme that we have devised (and which is estimated to cost very nearly a crore of rupees) is designed to increase in a year our supply of such labour by no fewer than 15,000 men. Those measures are designed not only to assist the war effort. They have in view also the avoidance so far as possible of dislocation in those industries which in the main subserve civilian needs. Speaking to you, Gentlemen, with your great experience of industrial undertakings, I need not emphasize the difficulty of the problem of finding suitable instructors for so large a number. I hope that by far the greater proportion of the instructors we need will be found in India. But this country cannot meet the whole demand, and I appealed therefore to His Majesty's Government to help us by lending us a small number of men trained in the latest methods now in use in the United Kingdom, who could work with and assist instructors locally recruited. Though their own need is so very great, they readily agreed to comply with our request. They have indeed gone further. Thanks to the imagination and the generous help of *Mr. Bevin*, the present Minister of Labour, His Majesty's Government have given facilities for the training of a number of Indian artisans in factories in the United Kingdom. I have every hope that that experiment will prove a great success. I need not add how great will be the importance of the added experience which these men will bring back from their training in the United Kingdom both in the furtherance of our own technical training schemes to which the *Bevin* scheme is complementaty, and to industry generally,

"In your remarks, Sir, you touched on the contraction of the export markets due to the war. The policy of economic warfare followed by the Government of India in the closest association with His Majesty's Government and the Dominions Governments entails unquestionably hardships, and real hardships, on the commercial community and the only justification for it can be, as I know that you will all agree with me, that that policy is calculated, and is designed, to expedite the termination of the war. But while pursuing that policy in collaboration and in the closest liaison with His Majesty's Government, my Government are concerned to mitigate as far as possible the injurious effects which it inevitably involves. It is with that object that the Export Advisory Council has been established. I am glad to hear that you should lend your approval to the constitution of that body, and that you should feel that it can play a useful part in the solution of the difficult problems that in present circumstances must constantly arise.

"My Government have had under the closest investigation the possibility of alternative markets for products the export of which has been curtailed and for increasing India's exports to countries with which normal trade relations continue. A Trade Commissioner has been appointed for Australia and New Zealand, and that appointment will, I am sure, assist the growing trade between India and those two Dominions both now and in the post-war period. Consideration is being given to appointing Trade Commissioners elsewhere and to deputing Trade Missions to some of the countries in which there is a prospect of increased trade either in raw products or in finished goods. The impetus given by the necessities of the war has, I am glad to say, resulted also in the establishment of certain new industries, and I trust that we may look as time goes on for still further development in that direction. The researches of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, with which leading scientists and industrialists are associated have, I understand, already borne good fruit and the problem of utilizing their result so as to enable industries to be started is under active examination. I do not propose to go into the details of this industrial development. But I might touch on one industry which, being a key industry, is expected to be in full production very soon. I refer to the aluminium industry. The raw material is available in large quantity in this country. The facilities that are now being afforded by my Government are calculated to result in early production of a commodity which is most necessary and important for purposes of the war, and which will be of equal value after the return of peace. And the aluminium industry is only one of many of which I trust that it will be possible to say the same.

Supply Department

"I listened, Sir, with the closest attention to the references you have made to the work of the Department of Supply ; and I realize, and appreciate the spirit in which they are offered. Dissatisfaction with the performance of the Department is to a very great extent based, I think, I am right in saying, on the feeling that it has failed to plan forward and to put industry into continuous production. I would suggest, however, that that dissatisfaction arises to some extent from the fact that the functions and powers of a Supply organization, in India, as in any other country, are limited in certain obvious ways. No Supply organization decides or can decide for itself what articles are required for the Defence Forces. Its function is to meet the demands placed upon it. That, I am glad to say, we can claim that the Supply Department has at no stage or time failed to do. But many of the demands placed upon it come from abroad, many of them a stream of small orders, some of them demands very substantial indeed : and as you, I know, appreciate, it is not open to the Government of India to dictate terms to overseas authorities who desire to procure supplies (which we are only too glad to let them have to the maximum of our capacity) from this country. All that we can do is to urge as vigorously as we can on those authorities the need for a forward programme of production, and I am very glad indeed to let you know to-day that within the last few weeks our representations have borne fruit, and that the Department of Supply will now be able to go ahead on a firm and substantial forward programme for General Stores : while on the Munitions side. in the same way—munitions, incidentally, required in great part not for ourselves but for overseas—the indications are that we shall shortly be making a very heavy demand indeed on industry.

"Could we have reached that position at an earlier stage in the war, nobody would have been more happy than I myself. But that is an issue closely linked up with the relations between the overseas authorities who require our goods and ourselves. Large orders, on the chance of their being taken up later, but for which no authority was prepard at the moment to pay would not, I am certain, have been welcome to any business man, and it goes without saying that progress on a massive scale can be made only when there is a purchaser who is prepared to pay, and to pay for forward production.

Concrete Help

"For all that and despite the admitted limitations upon many of the activities of the Department of Supply its record since I addressed you a year ago stands scrutiny. As you Sir have just reminded us the business done by the two purchasing organizations under the Department amounted in the first year of the war to no less a figure than 56½ crores. By the end of 1940 we shall have supplied for war purpose 280,000 tons of Indian timber, at a cost of just over Rs. 273 lakhs,

cotton canvas and cotton jute union canvas valued at Rs. 270 lakhs ; 12 million garments costing something like Rs. 700 lakhs, and tents costing over Rs. 500 lakhs. The labour force employed on the making of Army clothing (to take one item alone) has risen from 750 before the war to about 18,000 to-day. Those are a few typical figures on the General Stores side. On the Munitions production side, we have supplied to His Majesty's Government 120 million rounds of small arms ammunition, nearly 400,000 filled shells of various calibres, large quantities of explosives, and very large quantities of engineering stores. We are also procuring naval craft at an estimated cost of Rs. 74 lakhs.

"I have tried to deal, Gentlemen, (and I know the importance that you attach to this matter and that is my apology for devoting so much time to it) with the basic criticism that there has been a failure to plan and to make full use of industry. But there are, as I know from conversations with many of you many complaints too about the working of the Supply organization in matters of detail. Many of those complaints are justified and the Government of India will do their best to remove their causes. We will welcome, too at any time any suggestions for improvement and any specific complaints and you may be certain that I shall see myself that any such suggestions and any such complaints are most fully and speedily investigated.

"War Supply administration, whether in India or in the United Kingdom, is not easy administration. Those responsible for it, like those responsible for war industrial effort, have to deal with conditions which change very rapidly. and with problems which present themselves without warning and which demand immediate solution. I make no attempt to justify any failure there may have been to keep pace with the requirements of the situation. But I know how disturbing in many ways war inevitably proves to commerce and industry, and I can assure you that difficulties are not confined to your side of that partnership on which all War Supply depends. I hope and believe that as both the Department and Industry settle down to the programme of forward production which we have throughout been so anxious to secure, the complaints I mention, the importance of which I fully accept, will disappear and you may take it from me that no effort is being spared, as I speak to-day to remove their causes.

ROGER MISSION

"Before I leave this vital question of War Supply, I should like with your permission to touch on one or two matters in the field of higher policy. Since I last addressed you, there have been two events of great importance, for both of which, I am glad to say, India can claim to have been very largely responsible. The first was the arrival in India of the Ministry of Supply Mission under Sir *Alexander Roger*, which will, I am confident, enable us to make much more rapid progress in the supply of munitions. The idea that such a mission should be sent to India originated in India many months ago, and, although I should have been only too happy had it come to fruition earlier than it did, and in the spring of this year, I am most grateful to the Ministry of Supply for their acceptance of it at a moment of critical importance.

"The arrival of the Mission preceded by a few weeks the opening of the Eastern Group Conference. This Conference, as you know, was called to consider the war supply problems of the Empire countries east of Suez. The suggestion that it should be held was sent from India, again many months ago, and I feel that it was not held too soon. Some of you gentlemen here to day took part in the Conference as Advisers, and I should like to pay a public tribute to-day to the great service done by the Advisers both in placing their experience at its disposal, and in collecting and arranging the available facts for final consideration by it. For reasons that you will appreciate I cannot to-day enter into the conclusions and the recommendations of the Conference. But it was generally agreed by the visiting Delegations, the Ministry of Supply Mission, and the Indian Delegation, that the Conference accomplished what it set out to do, and laid the foundations of a sound co-ordinated War Supply policy. The Government of India had no hesitation in accepting its recommendations, and I hope that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the other participating Governments will find it possible to do the same ; and that we shall be able to settle down without delay to give effect to its proposals.

"So much for India's contribution to the war in terms of labour and supply. I would add only that, while my Government is fully alive to the necessity of maintaining and developing industry in this country as part of the war effort, as

a corollary, it is most desirable that the off-take of man-power for the fighting services should not deprive industry of personnel vital to its existence. While we are pressing forward with our schemes of expansion of the Armed Forces of the Crown, and development of supply, the requirements of Indian industry in man-power are never absent from the mind of my Government.

THE POLITICAL FIELD

"Let me turn now to the political field. As I speak to you to-day we are faced in this country, to my deep regret, with a movement, supported by the Congress Party, which is open to grave misunderstanding outside. Leaders of the Congress Party have publicly started that they do not desire to embarrass His Majesty's Government in the conduct of the war. But they have claimed, at the same time, in the interest of the creed of non-violence, the right to urge the country not to help Britain's war effort with men or with money. You will have seen, Gentlemen, the correspondence that passed between Mr. *Gandhi* and myself last September in that connection. I made it clear that we in this country had no desire to suppress legitimate criticism within legitimate limits and I referred to the limits set by His Majesty's Government in the case of conscientious objectors at home. Broadly, the effect is that while a conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of trying to persuade others, whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort. But Mr. *Gandhi* was unable to accept this as adequate in the conditions of India, and when I asked him if he desired to be in a position to dissuade labour from working on war equipment he told me, as you will remember, that while he would not preach to workers at the actual works, in the endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment he thought it essential that Congressmen and non-Congressmen should be free to deliver addresses and otherwise to call on people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way that would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

"That is clearly not a position that we can acquiesce in. I have every respect for genuine conscientious objection and none of us in the world to-day can wish to see violence supreme, or wantonly resort to arms. But to arms taken up armed defence is the only answer deep and sincere as is the hatred of all of us for war. And we have a duty to this country to see that India's war effort, which, I am certain, has India behind it, is not in any way impeded, that not a single sepoy is deprived of the arms and ammunition that he needs, whether by speeches or by more active forms of opposition. I regret all the more that we should have to deal with a movement of this character at this moment, since I do not believe that it corresponds in the very least degree to the true feelings of this country. India, I am convinced, remains as united in its detestation of Hitlerism and of all that it stands for as it has been from the very beginning of the war, a detestation to which the utterances of political leaders of every party have borne eloquent witness.

CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

"Let me say a word now about the constitutional position. When I spoke to you a year ago I was fresh from my discussions with the principal political leaders. To my great satisfaction I had been able to bring Mr. *Jinnah* and Mr. *Gandhi* together for the first time for many years. I knew, too, the minds of the leaders of political India on the constitutional position. But I had to admit that the efforts which His Majesty's Government and I on their behalf had made were so far abortive ; and that the problem which confronted us and confronted India remained unsolved.

"I was for all that full of hope. I knew the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to help to solve that problem. I trusted that the stress of war, the growing appreciation of the attitude of His Majesty's Government, and of their sincerity, would produce its effect. Again I have to confess to failure and to disappointment. I will not weary you with the history of the last twelve months in the constitutional field. You know it only too well. It has been a history of continual initiative on our side. Everything possible has been done to remove misunderstandings, to set out in detail the proposals of His Majesty's Government, to bring home to Indian political leaders, and parties, and communities, that his Majesty's Government were only too anxious for their collaboration in the

Central Government in the prosecution of the war, only too anxious to transfer real power and real authority to them. I will say nothing of the numerous discussions I had throughout the year, time after time, with one prominent leader after another. But I will claim that the final proposals of His Majesty's Government embodied in the statement I made on their behalf on 8th August, represented a genuine, a sincere and a most generous offer, and it seems to me a sad thing that at a time such as this no advantage should have been taken of it by those for whom it was designed.

"Suggestions have been made that we may have not made our intentions clear. For that suggestion, Gentlemen, I can see no sufficient basis. Our intentions—our proposals—are crystal clear. No form of words could have made them clearer. They have been set out in my statement of 8th August. They have been debated in Parliament. The Secretary of State, on various occasions, in speeches of the utmost lucidity, has analysed and described them. I cannot believe that they have not been accepted because those to whom they were made did not understand their meaning.

TERMS OF OFFER

"Let me, at the risk of weighing unduly on you, again remind you of their terms. They reaffirmed first as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth.

"To remove all doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, they declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-government should, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her, be primarily that of Indians themselves ; and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.

"They repeated (and I can assure you from the conversations I have had with political leaders that this is a point of great importance) concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing that scheme.

"They made it clear, too, that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. (You, Gentlemen, need no emphasis from me as to the importance and the necessity of that guarantee. It would be foolish to imagine for a moment that any solution of the problems of India can be found by ignoring or burking the problem of the minorities. They are one of the most important things in this country to-day.)

"To devise the framework of the new constitution immediately after the war, His Majesty's Government were ready to see a body set up, representative of all the principal elements in India's national life. (We cannot clearly in the midst of a struggle for existence get down to the niceties of constitutional discussion ; nor can we, with the pressing claims of the war on our attention, hope to do justice to the intricate and complicated problems that the framing of a constitution involves).

"Pending the conclusion of the war, His Majesty's Government repeated that they were only too anxious to welcome and promote every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post-war body ; and about the principles and the outlines of the constitution.

"And, in the meantime, they proposed to expand at once the Government of of India by the inclusion in it of Indian political leaders ; and to set up a War Advisory Council which should contain representatives of the Indian States as well as of British India.

"Those were the proposals of His Majesty's Government. Those proposals, I venture to repeat, were as generous in character as they were sincere in conception. It has been a profound disappointment to me that they should have had no better reception. As, Gentlemen, you are all aware, there was no sufficient degree of general support from the major political parties in the country for those proposals to justify His Majesty's Government in going ahead with them at this stage. One important political party indeed rejected them out of hand, and with no indication of close consideration. Familiar as you are with the intricate problems of India

with the difficulties we all of us have to face, you will, I am certain, share my view that if there is to be any prospect of harmonious working in this country, there must be a sufficient degree of general agreement behind any constitutional changes that may be made, and a sufficient degree of general support for those changes. The reasons for which the great political parties rejected at this stage the proposals I have just mentioned were, as I told the Central Legislature recently, conflicting, and indeed in some ways mutually destructive. But the fact remains ; and it is that we cannot at this stage find that degree of agreement in this country, that degree of support for the scheme of constitutional advance, which would justify His Majesty's Government in proceeding immediately on the lines I have just indicated.

Offer Still Open

"Let me, however, again make it clear first, that His Majesty's Government and I remain as anxious as ever to see a solution. Throughout the whole of this constitutional discussion the initiative has come from His Majesty's Government and from myself. At no stage have any constructive proposals capable of realization in the conditions of India and in the conditions of the modern world been put forward to us. We have had to do our best, and we have done our best to find the largest possible measure of common agreement, and to endeavour to persuade the parties concerned to accept that largest measure of common agreement even if it meant some abatement of their own particular claims as against other parties in the interests of India. We have not been successful. But His Majesty's Government and I are satisfied that the proposals put forward by me on their behalf on the 8th August last remain the best solution of the problems of this country that can be found at this time. We are satisfied that, given those internal factors of which no wise statesmen can fail to take full account, they represent the most extensive measure that can be contemplated, and in those circumstance His Majesty's Government keep those proposals open. They hope that as time passes, as there is more opportunity for reflection on the real power and the real authority that their acceptance would transfer to Indian hands, there will be a greater readiness on the part of the principal political parties in this country to take advantage of them.

"Circumstances here, the background, the factors in the situation, are not the same as they are in the United Kingdom. It would be foolish to refuse to recognize that fact, to refuse to recognize that some adjustments of a particular character may be called for in dealing with the constitutional problems of India, in order to reconcile the conflict of view, the difference of culture. of tradition and of temperament, of the great communities and the great political parties. And I would add this. It is but natural in times such as these when in the different circumstances of English Democracy, the affairs of the State are being guided at this critical moment by a national government that the idea of a national government for India should have received the prominence which it has in this country. With that idea we all of us sympathize. But, Gentlemen, and I speak with a full knowledge of the background and of the difficulties, I am satisfied that the proposals of 8th August. the opportunity they gave for the participation in the Central Government of India and in the conduct of the war of the representatives of the leading political parties represent more closely than any other scheme that can at this time be devised a national government for India—a government, associated through the War Advisory Council with the Indian States, that will contain itself the representatives of those great parties and communities that will exercise full and real influence on the conduct of the war, leaving to the post-war discussions which I have already mentioned the final settlement of those intricate questions, whether between the communities here or between British Indian States, or between India and His Majesty's Government, which have got to be solved before the problem of India's future can be finally settled.

Initiative From Britain

"Gentlemen, speaking to you to-day I ask for your continued support, and for that help that you, with your innumerable contacts in this country, are in so good a position to lend, to assist India in the solution of these problems. I repeat that the initiative has throughout come from His Majesty's Government and from myself on their behalf. The fact that we have so far failed to reconcile those conflicting aims and objectives of the principal parties and interests in this country which have got to be reconciled before progress is possible does not deter us. Our objective remains to lead India to the proclaimed goal of Dominion Status, and

that as early as may be. There is nothing more that we can do than we have done. We are entitled to claim, we do claim, and I claim to-day, that it is for the Indian parties themselves, for those communities, interests and political leaders concerned to get together and to see what they can do by way of reaching an accommodation with one another against the background which I have just mentioned. It has not been the fault of His Majesty's Government that matters are not further forward to-day. They have done everything in their power. For the suggestions that are being made from various quarters that Indian political leaders and Indian political parties should at this point come together and seek to reach agreement among themselves, His Majesty's Government have nothing but the fullest goodwill and the fullest sympathy.

Gentlemen, I will not keep you longer. These are indeed stirring and anxious times. Your Chairman referred in most friendly and flattering terms to the extension of my Viceroyalty. A further period in this great office, the burdens of which I can tell you from experience over a period so eventful as that for which I have held it, are crushing in their weight, is no light thing for any man to contemplate. But if, in that further period by which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend my term, I can continue to assist in however small a degree in the effective and active prosecution of the war, in India's contribution to war effort, if I can give India a direction, which will enable her more fully to express the anxiety of her peoples and herself to give that help which it is so abundantly clear that they are passionately anxious to give to the achievement of our ideals, then indeed I shall be a happy and a fortunate man.

"Gentlemen, I thank you again for your friendly welcome to-day, for those words of encouragement which your Chairman has spoken, and above all for the assurance which he has given me of your continued support and understanding. There is nothing, I can assure you, that I more deeply value, and nothing that could be of greater assistance to a Viceroy so shortly about to enter on the sixth and the final year of this great office.

The Indian Economic Conference

Twenty-fourth Session—Mysore—28th. December 1940

Maharaja Mysore's opening Address

"The Sovereign Nation State, exalted by metaphysical theories of the State, often exploiting racial prejudice, resting on economic self-sufficiency, organised for strategical purposes, using powerful weapons of modern science for destructive rather than constructive ends, based on mass ignorance and inertia, and supported by the intellectuals—that is the primary cause of the European tragedy", observed *His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore*, opening the joint session of the All-India Economic and Political Science Conference at the Jagan Mohan Palace Mysore, on the 28th. December 1940.

Therefore, continued His Highness, a new world order in which peace and security should prevail would not follow automatically the defeat of the Axis Powers. The enemy within the gates should be defeated, and the source of the present difficulties of Europe, a political structure which had outlived its utility, should be removed. The sovereignty of the Nation State should go. The masses like the dwarf in the story, who accompanied the giant on his adventures and paid in limb after limb for each success of his partner, were suffering and paying heavily for the crime and folly of their rulers. It was certain they would not tolerate after the war a regime that would again expose them to the evils of political conflict and economic insecurity. Unless they were assured that a new order would be established in harmony with their hopes and needs by peaceful and constitutional means, the millions who were bearing in patient hope the uncertainties and the horrors of the present war, would turn to those who made insidious promises of a short cut to Utopia through revolution.

Concluding, His Highness opined that the task of those who would build a new world from which war and poverty should be banished was two-fold. They

had to prepare plans for the new order of things, political and economic, which could be demonstrated to be possible as well as urgent and desirable. The other part of the task was to enlist the feelings of men and women on their side, to make them willing and eager to adopt their proposals. Not only should the minds be instructed, the hearts should also be enlarged. The first was the task of economists and political philosophers. For the performance of the second, mankind should turn to the psychologists and the educationists, perhaps to the prophet and the seer, who alone could make the blind see and the deaf hear, students of economics and political science, who had to bear a large share in the task of world reconstruction, would supply instruction and enlightenment, hoping that god in His wisdom would send inspired leaders who would lead mankind from the valley of tribulation to the kingdom of peace and happiness.

Mr. D. R. Gadgil's Address

In the course of his Presidential address *Mr. D. R. Gadgil* of the Gokhale Institute made the following observations:

"It has been a common practice of my predecessors in office to pass under review during the course of the annual presidential address a large number of questions of current interest. I intend, however, to depart from this practice and to take up a single, though somewhat wide, theme as the subject of my discourse. The theme I have chosen is the consideration of the manner in which the economic policy of the State in India should be moulded."

"Laissez Faire" Policy

After discussing the controversy between the "pure" economics and applied economics, *Mr. Gadgil* proceeded: "I do not desire to detain you long with a discussion of the familiar theme of the operation of laissez faire in India during the last 100 years. The fruits of what may be called the obviously 'interested' version of this doctrine represented of old by the cotton excise duty and in recent times by the 'economic safeguards' lie outside the scope of my subject. I shall further not talk about policy in relation to trade and industry where also 'interest' may be said to have entered to a greater or less degree, but shall deliberately choose for illustration one or two extensive field where laissez faire may be supposed to have been worked without any bias or prejudices. The development and the working of the rural credit system in India offers a specially instructive example. We can here witness the results of a rapid transition from conditions of restraint imposed by laws and by social conventions to a state where there was complete liberty for the borrower to ruin himself and for the creditor to exploit him mercilessly. The classic description of the debtor-creditor relations created by the joint operation of laissez faire and the British judicial and administrative system is that conta ned in the report of the Deccan Riots Commission. This is the first vivid official account; later studies in various parts of the country have added to it much in detail and the elaborateness of analysis but the essentials of the problem remain as then disclosed. The fundamental factor in these relations is the great disparity in knowledge and economic power between the two parties; so that, where the disparity is the greatest the results are the worst. It is in the more precarious and poverty-stricken tracts that the money-lender is decisively dominant; and where, as in the case of the aboriginals, these conditions are accentuated by habits born out of a traditional primitive life the borrower is often no better than a serf. The failure of a policy of laissez faire to generate corrective forces, even in the very long term, is only too obvious over the whole field of Indian rural credit.

Period of Transition

After pointing out how the technological revolution was influencing the course of Indian economic development, *Mr. Gadgil* proceeded to lay down suggestion for easing the difficulties of the transition. He suggested poor relief and unemployment insurance over the entire gamut of the Indian economy.

Proceeding, he said, I do not think that it is necessary to argue the case for the urgent need for the introduction of some general system of poor or unemployment relief in India. The question, however, is rarely mentioned except sometimes in connection with industrial labour; and the method or the cost of such a measure are subjects which have not yet been adequately discussed. I am personally led to think that the best way of meeting the problem is to follow the same methods as those devised by the famine relief administration. Instead of framing programmes of relief works whice are restored to only occasionally there should be conti-

nuous schemes of annual public works which would afford the necessary employment and relief. The provision would be necessary chiefly in the off-season of agriculture. There should be no dearth of suitable items for such a public works programme. The extent of the construction of roads, embankments, wells, tanks, or work of afforestation, etc., that could be usefully undertaken in rural India is very considerable and this is work that will enlarge in a productive manner our capital equipment. Obviously, the scale on which these annual works are provided would be very much smaller than is usual in a year of famine; they would also not be large concentrated works but local works scattered over the districts. I do not also think that their cost would prove them uneconomic. In other countries where the policy of relief through public works has been found costly that has been largely because of the need of adapting labour, which was mainly industrial, to work to which it was unaccustomed and in some respects unsuited. With us, however, labour seeking work on relief works would be accustomed to the work it would have to do. The provision of work along these lines would obviate many of the difficulties in the way of the administration of relief or insurance schemes on the western model; and this seems to me the best way in which to begin to tackle this problem.

Public Relief Works

"I am aware that the cost of such a continuous public relief-works would be considerable; but I am convinced that whatever the cost it must be borne. For, this is a primary responsibility which the society must recognise and the state should take upon its shoulders. It will be realised that what I propose bears no relation to the concept of a national minimum. It falls short even of a general system of poor relief. It is merely the belated generalised acceptance of a responsibility for providing work to those seeking it which even the laissez faire Indian government of the last century accepted as falling on itself during times like that of a famine. The effects of the changes of the last century have not been uniform; some classes have prospered greatly owing to them while others have suffered. The least that can be expected in a social group is that those who suffer are saved at least from complete starvation. It will of course, be no use undertaking this responsibility if it means a further increase in the burden on chiefly the agricultural classes and I take it as axiomatic that in any future reconstruction of our economy a correction of the regressivr nature of our tax system will be the first to be attempted. There are many other incidental advantages, which I consider will follow the adoption of such a public works felief policy. I, however, advocate it here mainly on the ground that it represents the beginning of an essential step in the formation of the economic policy for a changing India.

"The second point to which I would draw attention is the regulation of the pace of the transition. It is obvious that the future direction of technological change is unpredictable and the area that it may at any time cover cannot be foreseen. It is, therefore, not possible to keep society in a state of preparedness for the impact of the next set of changes. Further, given the distribution over area of the population, the training for particular vocations imparted to men and the investment in durable capital goods the extent of change to which economic society can adapt itself during a given period of time is limited. The costs of a rapid transition are both material and psychological.

Control of Investment

"If the State itself controls investments likely to be affected by new inventions it is usually prompt in controlling them. The best instance of this is, of course, the attitude adopted by all governments which own railway systems towards the extension of mechanical road transport. The Indian Government, faced with the new means of transport, talks readily of the dangers to public investment; but it does not yet recognise the corresponding responsibility where the traditional mode of living of millions of people is similarly endangered. The extent of the suffering involved in the process of transition is yet very inadequately realised. The artisans and the agriculturists have undoubtedly suffered the most. The history of the fortunes of the handloom industry is a continuous record of partial stabilisations followed by ever fresh periods of disaster. I can vouch from the findings of detailed studies of conditions in centres like Sholapur and Poona for the precariousness of the equilibrium in the industry and the appalling conditions of work and living obtaining within it. And yet governments have attempted little to remedy or to alleviate the situation. Whether it was on account of a general belief in the

wrongness of governmental help or latterly because of a belief in the unworthiness of an industry using machine yarn, the handloom weavers as a body have been left much unto themselves. Theirs, however, is merely the outstanding specific example of a large genus."

"Lastly, I should like to refer to another aspect of national economic policy, that relating to the location of industry. Ours is a vast country and the problem of location is of particular importance in it. In recent years we have had a controversy regarding the location of sugar factories and the permissible extent of the development of the sugar industry in the country. The report of the Tariff Board on the heavy chemicals industry pointed to the great advantages of a concentration of that industry. But its purely negative policy would not allow our government to do anything in this regard. I may also draw attention in this connection to the claim made by the Iron and Steel industry in India in respect of "freight disadvantages." This claim was allowed by the Tariff Board but it raises an important question of principle which needs careful consideration. The claim of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., in effect means that even a single monopolist concern, wherever situated, ought to commandeer the whole of the Indian market. At the same time, under our present policy, such a monopolist concern would be under no obligation not to indulge in rate-cutting to prevent the emergence of a competitor even in a distant part of the market. I have, of course, no intention of implying a judgment on the merits of the claim and mention it here merely to indicate the type of problems that have necessarily to be considered.

Problems of Location

"I would also draw attention to problems of location of a somewhat different character. One of the main reasons adduced for a conscious direction of economic development has ever been the danger of a lopsided growth in any region. The need for diversity in forms of economic life has been emphasised during the last decade in particular. Even in a comparatively small country like England the obdurate problem of the "distressed areas" showed the vital need for a balanced regional economy and the report of the recent Commission on the location of industries has accepted the principle of "regionalism" in these matters. Considerations of this character have even greater force in a vast and a comparatively much less homogeneous country like India. In addition to other things we have suffered during the last 100 years from too great centralisation and an almost entire neglect of local needs and circumstances. I am aware that there is a feeling in some quarters that emphasising the claims of the region or the locality is tantamount to encouraging particularism and is, therefore, anti-national. I am afraid, however, that a lot of this talk is interested and arises form the desire of powerful groups to be allowed to exploit without obstruction or regulation the entire resources of this continent. While vested interests in India are too ready to seek support of arguments that would obtain for them a field free from external competition they often show themselves extremely impatient of the logical extension of these arguments, viz., internal regulation. An undue concentration of industries in one region is bound to accentuate the difficulties in other regions and a pure laissez faire attitude towards internal financial and industrial exploitation is likely to give rise to forces making for economic and social disintegration over large areas. While it is true that the claims of the regions can be carried to absurd limits we are yet far from any extremes in this country."

The Political Science Conference

Mysore—28th. December 1940

The Presidential Address

Professor *Beni Prasad* of the Allahabad University, in the course of his presidential address at the Political Science Conference held at Mysore on the 28th. December 1940 stressed the need for a Federation of Social Sciences to facilitate the search "for the root causes of the present distempers and their remedies." He stressed the importance of a rational approach to the problems of society. Continuing, he said : "Indeed, never was the need for a rational and dispassionate comprehensions of affairs so urgent as at present. At the root of the many ills which afflict the world to-day lies a deficiency in the development of reason, a deficiency in appreciating its proper role and a deficiency in its application in a systematic manner to the activities of social life."

Discussing the genesis of war as a "psychological maladjustment", Mr. *Prasad* said : "It is now a truism that the modern methods of production, with less than a forty hours' week, can provide enough food, clothing, shelter and entertainment for every man, woman and child in the world. It is no longer necessary that a people should hold down others in order to keep up a high standard of life for itself. As an economic device, war is to-day an anachronism. It persists because of the strength of tradition and the systems of hatred, animosity and exploitation which are, in final analysis, a legacy from the erstwhile pain economy. Civilisation is still overburdened with an inheritance from feudalism—the conception of property in territories, and with an inheritance from the still older institution of slavery—the conception of property in populations. They appear as colonialism, subjection and imperialism. These survivals from older conditions are a denial of the dignity of man as man and stimulate rivalry and turn the power of the state in a direction which leads logically to war.

Genesis of War

"War is not an isolable phenomenon ; immediate motives apart, it is integral to an order of things which rests on an imperfect conception of justice. It is a method of pressing claims, a way of resolving disputes, an instrument of policy, natural to a scheme of things which admits the validity of violence and is grounded, in part, in the exertion of force by group upon group. War is often the projection of an internal injustice into an external affairs in an intensified form. It will disappear only when men have reasoned themselves out of the concept of property in men and in their habits. War will not die of reaction to its own horrors ; these will only evoke new precautions and new feats of organisation, endurance and heroism. War will persist and the most carefully constructed peace will turn out to be a short armistice so long as any group of mankind, in Asia, Africa, Oceania or elsewhere, are looked upon as fit only to minister to the needs of the so-called advanced races. There is something inhuman in the very idea of the Haves and Havenots of Lebensraum, a place in the sun—it pertains to territories which can rightfully belong neither to the satiated nor to the unsatiated power but only to their own indigenous inhabitants. To exploit and perpetuate a peoples' weakness, instead of making it fit for higher life, is to prolong the era of grab and rivalry with the added horrors of modern mechanisation. A great effort of reason is needed to bring home to all that the present world order is freighted with war and that durable peace depends on its revision into conformity with the new economic possibilities and moral ideals. War has permeated social and political organisation, literature and outlook so deeply, force and fraud are still writ so large over associated life, that they can be eliminated only through a great intellectual and moral awakening.

"If disputes have been settled on the plane of force, it is because social life has been moving on the corresponding planes of hatred, frustration and exploitation. Force implies intense co-operation in a narrow area and antagonism beyond it. It is exerted by a number of wills in unison. It is inevitable consequence of the change of scale that the narrow area has been steadily widening until the exertion of force is now a function of big states, empires and coalitions."

Future of Nation State

Mr. *Prasad* then proceeded to estimate the future of the Nation State. "It is now patent that the small or the mediumsized state can no longer defend itself ; it is a logical corollary that the big state will stand helpless before bigger ones. They can survive only as component units in a vast federation. That much is

implied in the recent revolutions in the technique of war ; it is really the culmination of a long train of development, specially in the economic field, which had been set in motion by the Industrial Revolution. How and when the final step will be taken, whether the big states or empires will think themselves into a world federation or be bombed into it, depends on the amount of intelligence and goodwill that we can mobilise."

Mr. *Prasad* also visualised the formation of a large confederation after the experience of this war. "Experience suggests that international organisation, inevitable after the war, be based not on the sovereign nation state, like the first League of Nations, but on the idea of confederation, a common government for specified purposes. It is symptomatic of the trend towards large-scale organisation inherent in modern developments that modern political doctrines—Socialism, Communism and Fascism for instance—have an international setting. Political science, as a discipline, has been prevented so far by traditionalism from moving decisively to the international plane but it is taking ever increasing account of international affairs."

Stressing the importance of education Mr. *Prasad* said :

"The problem is how to convert the formless, dispersed, inchoate popular power—the raw material so to say—into an efficient and enlightened democracy. If the problem is not solved in a rational way, popular power may turn out to be a self-cancelling business and destroy itself. The solution lies in the diffusion of education and the permeation of social, specially economic and political organisation, with the educational principle. Secondly, opinion tends to follow social cleavages and if these turn on accidents of birth, race or religion, opinion remains sectional and never attains to the rank of Public Opinion. The approximation of opinion to the ideal of Rousseau's General Will depends largely on the approximation of society to the standards of social justice."

Representative Government

Mr. *Prasad* finally proceeded to discuss the problems of Government. He said, "As a process, the state is too plastic and too dynamic for rigid formulas and admits of infinite variety in modes of organisation. The purposes which it represents embody value and justice at varying degrees. Given the requisite conditions for its operation, representative government has the merit of making revolution unnecessary, or rather of fanning and regularising revolution. The change from negative to positive government renders it very necessary to arrive at as large an agreement on ends as possible. Representative government is a contrivance for facilitating that agreement through creative discussion and compromise, more or less, in terms of social justice.

"Dictatorship has been the most striking phase of the political response to large-scale transition and dislocation during the last twenty-three years. It is by no means improbable that it may encompass other states in the immediate future. But even if it were to become universal, it is not likely to be more durable than the Greek tyrannies of the sixth or the fourth century B. C. or the modern despotism of Oliver Cromwell and Napoleon Bonaparte. Its militancy and regimentation do not accord with the principle of growth which must sooner or later assert itself. It is likely to fade away with the bridging of the acuter phases of the transition, the appearance of a fresh adjustment on the horizon, the abeyance of war through weariness or reasoning and the improvisation of a parliamentarism grounded in a better understanding of psychological realities and administrative requirements. Attention to the last factor, indeed may yet save many a state from and atavistic relapse into dictatorship. It raises the whole problem of social accommodation."

Essentials of Democracy

After stressing the need for organisation for the effective working of representative democracy, *Mr. Prasad* also prescribed certain other precautious measures. He said : "The auto-limitation of public opinion must be accompanied by a self-denying ordinance on the part of the modern legislature. During the long transition from autocracy, monarchic and oligarchic, to constitutional and popular rule, the legislature attempted a detailed formulation of policy, a vast amount of purely executive business and a minute supervision over various departments of administration. Perhaps the nature of the executive and the state of public opinion left it no alternative but the recent breakdown of parliamentary government suggests that the legislature attempted too much and attempted it in too dilatory a manner. It misjudged its powers and failed to grasp the imperative need of

associating science with government and of committing administration to trained expertise. Reform of parliamentary procedure, so as to make for greater thinking and greater despatch, is one of the most urgent tasks that confront statesmanship in countries that have not yet swung to dictatorial regime. It must be tackled by every state in the light of its own conditions and large allowance may still be necessary for transitional stages. But two generalisations suggest themselves: firstly, government is an organic whole and has to function effectively and expeditiously and cannot afford the network of checks and balances that seemed to accord with the intellectual atmosphere dominated by Newtonian physics. Secondly, the legislature has to be not merely a will-organisation but also a thought-organisation, to take affairs in the large-scale perspective of human purposes, and to restrict itself to ends and policies.

"A Receptacle of Ideas"

It must be a receptacle of ideas and be surrounded by organisations which would work out projects for its consideration and which would play an advisory role without detracting from its responsibility and celerity of action. Already the creative element in legislation, as in administration, comes largely from beyond the regular mechanism of government. It is desirable to regularise and replenish the supply. Thus the second chamber can represent functional associations and ventilate their ideas. It may be the open of an hierarchy of functional organisations—central, provincial and local—which, besides sustaining pride in the craft and looking after the interests of their members, can assist the formulation and adaptation of plans of economic welfare. An advisory economic council can bring ministers and leaders of functional unions into touch with experts. Something like a chamber of sociologists can project social engineering in the long-range perspective. States which are subject to racial or religious bickerings may set up Boards of Referees at the centre as well as in the provinces, partly or entirely elected by the various denominational organisations, authorised to declare whether any legislative or executive projects violate any legitimate interests of any group and what is more important, to offer constructive alternatives. The apparent complexity of these arrangements is hardly an argument against them; our complex civilisation requires a complex political constitution; an over-simplified machinery is a crime against it. Besides, advisory bodies, while letting in a flow of ideas, do not deprive the legislature or the executive of any part of its responsibility.

Principle of Rationalisation

"Similarly, the modern executive calls for reorganisation in accordance with the principle of rationalisation that is permeation with boards of experts, not of mere civil servants, but of trained, scientific experts. Here we touch one of the cardinal errors of democratic government and one of the most potent causes of its eclipse during the last twenty years. It acquiesced in a system of administration adapted to negative, aristocratic government of the pre-industrial era. It was content to be mainly a corrective to despotism and oligarchy. We are now realising that the determination of ends should be followed by the selection and execution of means by experts and that the Cabinet should normally confine itself to general co-ordination. The modern executive has to comprise autonomous boards—Planning Commissions, Investment Boards, Railway Transport, Electricity, Marketing, Agricultural, Education Boards, and others. It may be pointed out that experts are to be entrusted with departments of administration not with the determination of ends and higher policy. The requisite technique is already in evidence in medical and transit departments in several states and awaits general application. It is also feasible to extend the system to associating Advisory Councils with various departments and their branches to ensure day to day criticism and fresh suggestion and to educate public opinion.

"Such an executive should represent the principle of reason. It is, in fact, the entire range of social regulation that has to be informed by the scientific spirit.

"It is obvious that highly technical administration does not lend itself to popular control. But this does not imply a wooden, red-tape bureaucracy. Administration would presuppose a dispassionate survey of social conditions and formulation of economic policies by boards of social scientists and their execution by scientifically trained officers. Already, progressive administration has demonstrated that the genuine role of the civil service is that of a learned profession.

British Policy in India

Viceroy's offer of Enlarged Executive

New Delhi—7th August 1940

In the course of a statement issued from New Delhi on the 7th. August 1940, his Excellency the Viceroy stated that his Majesty's Government had authorized him to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join the Executive Council. The following is the text of the Viceroy's statement :—

India's anxiety at this moment of critical importance in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression to contribute to the full to the common cause and to the triumph of our common ideals is manifest. She has already made a mighty contribution. She is anxious to make a greater contribution still. His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that that unity of national purpose in India which would enable her to do so should be achieved at as early a moment as possible. They feel that some further statement on their intentions may help to promote that unity. In that hope they have authorized me to make the present statement.

Governor-General's Executive Council

Last October his Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorize the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a consultative committee. In order to facilitate harmonious cooperation it was obvious that some measure of agreement in the provinces between the major parties was a desirable prerequisite to their collaboration at the centre. Such agreement was unfortunately not reached and in the circumstances no progress was then possible.

During the earlier part of this year I continued my efforts to bring political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to his Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

Expansion Should no Longer be Postponed

It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as his Majesty's Government regret this they do not feel that they should any longer because of these differences postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the central Government. They have authorized me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorized me further to establish a war advisory council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

Doubts About Govt. Intention

The conversations which have taken place and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned make it clear, however, that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of his Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. There are two main points which have emerged. On these two points his Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

Position of Minorities

The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last

October does not exclude an examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of his Majesty's Government. It goes out with saying that they could not contemplate the transfer 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. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government.

MACHINERY FOR NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SCHEME

The second point of general interest is the machinery for building, within the British Commonwealth of Nations, a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.

His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which his Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility.

It is clear that the moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But his Majesty's Government authorize me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree.

Meanwhile, they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement; firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions and, secondly, upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself.

They trust, however, that for the period of the war, with the central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council, all parties, communities and interests will combine and cooperate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake. Moreover, they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

Mr. Amery explains Viceroy's offer

House of Commons—14th August 1940

In the House of Commons, initiating the India Debate, on the 14th. August 1940, *Mr. Amery*, the Secretary of State for India said, "I hope I may claim the indulgence of the house this evening not only because this is the first time after a long interval of years that I have spoken at this box, but also because of the importance and difficulty of the subject with which I have to deal. To keep one's balance steadily along a knife edge on ice in the high Alps is a much easier task than threading one's way without stumbling or offence through the intricate pitfall-strewn maze of the present Indian situation."

Mr. Amery continued : "So I trust that the members, before they enter upon a discussion of the important statement issued by the Viceroy last week, will bear patiently with me while I endeavour to say something about the back-ground of the political controversy and the deadlock which has led up to that statement. For, I think, it is only in that way that the full significance and purport of *Lord*

Linlithgow's initiative and of the decision of His Majesty's Government in this matter can be rightly understood.

THE DEADLOCK IN INDIA

"Five years have passed since the passage of the Government of India Act. That measure, the fruit of a long series of commissions and conferences, as well as of many stirring debates, represented remarkable efforts of constructive statesmanship on the part of this House. So far as the provincial part of the Act is concerned it presently came into operation and is still being worked successfully in four out of the eleven provinces. If it is temporarily suspended in the other seven, that has not been due to any failure on the part of Provincial Ministries to carry out the responsibilities entrusted to them, or to any conflict between them and the Provincial Governors or the Central Government, but to purely extraneous causes, of which I shall have something to say in a moment. Whether the Central provisions of the Act might have worked equally well if they could have been put into operation promptly may be an open question. What is certain is that the delays involved, inevitable as they may have been, have afforded occasion for the development of a volume of adverse criticism and opposition in the face of which their enforcement could no longer serve the purpose for which they were originally devised. What is, however, essential to keep in mind is that this opposition comes from different quarters and indeed is based on opposite reasons.

"The constitutional deadlock in India is not so much between His Majesty's Government and a consentient Indian opposition as between the main elements in India's own national life. It can, therefore, only be resolved not by the relatively easy method of a bilateral agreement between His Majesty's Government and representatives of India but by the much more difficult method of a multilateral agreement in which His Majesty's Government is only one of the parties concerned. There is, first of all, the Indian National Congress. Its leaders have repudiated the Act of 1935 in its Federal aspect as a denial both of India's right to immediate complete Independence and of the principles of democracy. It is in pursuance of that repudiation, because India's consent was not formally invited before she was committed to the war, that they called out the Congress Ministries in the Provinces. Their demand has been that India's Independence should be recognised forthwith and that Indians should devise their own constitution in a Constituent Assembly elected by universal adult suffrage over all India, including the territories of Indian Princes.

"In the last few week they have declared their willingness. in the meantime, to join in the war effort through a National Government commanding the confidence of the elected Assembly. The Congress leaders are men inspired by an ardent national patriotism. They have built up a remarkable organisation, by far the most efficient political machine in India, of which they are justly proud. They have striven to make the organisation national and all-embracing. If only they had succeeded, if the Congrss could, in fact, speak, as it professes to speak, for all the main elements in India's national life, then, however advanced their demands, our problem would have been in many respects far easier than it is to-day.

MUSLIM CLAIMS

"It is true that they are numerically the largest single party in British India. But their claim in virtue of that fact to speak for India is utterly denied by very important elements in India's complex national life. These other elements assert their right to be regarded not as mere numerical minorities but as separate constituent factors in any future Indian policy entitled to be treated as such in any discussions for the shaping of India's future constitution. The foremost among these elements stands the great Muslim community of ninety millions strong and constituting a majority both in north-western and north-eastern India but scattered as a minority over the whole sub-continent. In religious and social outlook, in historic tradition and culture, the difference between them and their Hindu fellow-countrymen goes as deep, if not deeper than any similar difference in Europe. That need not, and does not, prevent pleasant social intercourse or fruitful political co-operation. It has not, in fact, prevented individual Muslim taking an active part in the work of the Congress Party. But, as a body, the Muslims have stood aloof. Their quarrel with the scheme of the existing Act is not that it fails to give that clear majority rule which the Congress asks for but that it would give too great powers to a Hindu majority at the Centre. They will have

nothing to do with a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly elected by a majority vote in geographical constituencies. They claim the right, in any constitutional discussions, to be regarded as an entity and are determined only to accept a constitution whose actual structure will secure their position as an entity against the operations of a mere numerical majority.

DEMANDS OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES

"The same, though in a lesser degree, perhaps, applies to the great body of what are known as the Scheduled Castes, who feel, in spite of Mr. *Gandhi's* earnest endeavours on their behalf, that, as a community, they stand outside the main body of the Hindu community which is represented by the Congress.

"INDIAN INDIA"

"The Indian Princes, again, with territories covering a third of all India and including nearly a quarter of its population, constitute another entity, or group of entities, which refuses to be assimilated to the simple democratic formula propounded by the Congress. They object to the existing scheme as interfering too greatly with their existing powers. They naturally object even more strongly to the proposed Constituent Assembly or to any constitution which might emerge from it. Yet they are an essential element in any Indian Federation. What is more, they can make a valuable contribution to it. In many ways their territories are the most characteristically Indian part of India. They have equally much to gain from a closer contact with the rest of India in the constitutional as well as economic development, but it is idle to suppose that such a development can take place overnight or must be forced upon them before they can be allowed to play their part in a Federal scheme.

"It is essential to keep these differences in mind when we talk of finding a solution for India's constitutional problems; they are at the moment still un-bridged. I refuse to regard them as un-bridgeable. Underlying them there is, after all, the fact that India is a self-contained and distinctive region of the world. There is the fact that India can boast of an ancient civilisation and of a long history common to all its people, of which all Indians are equally proud. Is there any Indian who is not proud to be called an Indian, or any Indian or any community who has not felt a thrill of pride to be a fellow-countryman of a man like *Rabindranath Tagore*, whom Oxford has just honoured in so unique a manner? Underlying them, too, is the unity not merely of administration but of political thought and aspiration which we here can justly claim to have contributed to India's national life. India cannot be unitary in the sense that we are in this island, but she can still be a unity. India's future house of freedom has room for many mansions.

UNITED IN OPPOSING NAZI AGGRESSION

"In no respect has the essential unity of India's outlook been shown more clearly than in the attitude which all parties and communities have, from the outset of the War, taken up in detestation of Nazi aggression and in the endorsement of our common cause. The greater our difficulties, the graver the disasters that befell the allied arms, the clearer has been the realisation, in the minds of the Indian public that our cause is India's cause, the stronger the wave of sympathetic emotion for this country in its single-handed fight, the more widespread the feeling that a purely political deadlock affecting the issues of to-day and to-morrow should not be allowed to stand in the way of India's contributing a united and wholehearted effort to the cause upon whose victory depends the preservation of all her ideals and the fulfilment of all her aspirations.

"It is in this atmosphere that the Viceroy felt that the moment had come for an initiative which should, at the same time enlist all the elements of political leadership in India behind her war effort, and also make at any rate a beginning in breaking down the existing political deadlock and so pave the way towards an early achievement of that goal of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which, to quote the concluding words of his statement, is 'the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament'.

VICEROY'S OFFER AND CONGRESS DEMAND

"The immediate offer contained in the Viceroy's statement is that of an expansion of his Executive Council as Governor-General, so as to include in it leading members of all political parties as well as the establishment of a wider War

Advisory Council on an all-India basis, associating with the conduct of the war representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. The enlarged Executive Council will, of course, under the existing Constitution, still be responsible to the Governor-General and cannot be responsible in the strict constitutional sense to the Legislature. The Congress have asked that a provincial National Government should be constituted at the Centre, which, though formed as a transitory measure, should be such as to command the confidence of all elected elements in the Central Legislature. In inviting a certain number of representative Indians to join his Council, the Viceroy will naturally take appropriate steps to ensure that the new members do, in fact, reflect the opinion of the parties from which they are chosen. If, however, the Congress claim is that members of the Viceroy's Council should be dependent on the support of elected members of the Legislature, it is, in fact, a demand for changing the whole basis of the Indian Government in the middle of the war.

"THE VICEROY WILL GO AHEAD"

"More than that, if the House has followed the analysis I have attempted to give of the attitude of the different elements in India to the constitutional problem, it will realise that it is a demand which really raises the whole unresolved constitutional issue and prejudges it in the sense favoured by the Congress and rejected by the minorities. There can be no agreement on a Government responsible to the Legislature until there is agreement upon the nature of the Legislature and upon the whole structure of the Constitution. The Viceroy's offer, on the other hand, presents to the Indian leaders an opportunity of taking an effective and important part in the Government of India and bringing their influence to bear on the conduct of the war without prejudice to their several positions. They will have committed themselves to nothing except working together in the present emergency for the safety and good of India and for the common cause in which they all believed. In spite of the discouraging attitude shown in Congress quarters, I still hope that they will all be willing to take their part. If that should unfortunately not prove to be the case, *Lord Linlithgow* will, of course, still go ahead prepared to work with those who will work with him and with each other.

WHAT 'DOMINION STATUS' STANDS FOR

"The Viceroy's immediate offer does not, however, stand by itself. His initiative has been concerned, as I said just now, not only with India's fuller participation in the actual present war effort but also with paving the way towards a speedier attainment of the goal at which we are aiming. May I say a word about that goal? Dominion Status, as it has commonly been described, or as I prefer to describe it, is a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. It is not, as is so often implied when Dominion Status is contrasted with full Independence, an inferior or dependent status. The status in the Commonwealth of the Dominions—or of this country for that matter, for our status is the same, though not, perhaps, our stature—is indeed superior to that of nations that perforce stand alone. How many so-called independent nations are really free to live their own lives as they will, even when they are not directly overrun or dismembered by more powerful neighbours? We of the British Commonwealth enjoy something more. We enjoy the security, the prosperity, the friendship and, I would add, the enhanced dignity in the eyes of the world which come to each of us as a result of our free and equal association.

"There is no higher status in the world than that and that is the status which we have declared to be the goal of our policy in India. Our declarations, however, have apparently still left in certain quarters doubts as to the sincerity of our purpose and have raised, not unnaturally, the question both of the time when, and the methods by which, we mean to fulfil them.

"STATUS" AND "FUNCTION"

It is to that question that the Viceroy, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, has now given an answer, which marks, I think, a notable step forward on the path to the accepted goal. May I quote here the most significant passage in the Viceroy's statement: 'There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme' (that is, the new constitutional scheme for India) 'should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian

life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility.'

"The recognition of the obligations is not an impairment of the status but only a recognition of facts, historic or geographical, which differentiate the present position of India from that of other Dominions. As the late Lord Balfour pointed out, in his remarkable exposition of the nature of British Commonwealth relations in the Constitutional Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926, 'the principles of equality and similarly appropriate to status do not universally extend to function', and instanced in particular the functions of Defence and Foreign Policy. It is in respect of these, for example, that the position of India, both in virtue of her historic military organisation and of her geographical position differs from that of the Dominions. But the difference that arises from these and similar obligations is one of degree and not of kind. For, in the case of every Dominion, there has always been some measure of adjustment, formal or informal, to British obligations.

"Subject to these matters the desire of His Majesty's Government is that the new constitution of India should be devised by Indians for themselves and should —may I quote the words again—'originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life.''

ANOTHER BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY

"That task is to be undertaken with the least possible delay after the war by 'a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life'. That means a body constituted in agreement between the representatives of the elements. It does not mean a body set up on the lines which may commend themselves to one particular element, however influential, but may be regarded as wholly unacceptable to the minority elements. 'His Majesty's Government have made it clear that they could not contemplate the transfer 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.' In this matter, too, there is no departure from the principles which have governed the coming into existence of every Dominion construction. In every case in the Dominions there has been antecedent agreement not only between the geographical units but also between the main racial elements—English and French in Canada, British and Boer in South Africa—both as to the method of framing the constitution and as to the constitution itself.

"Agreement, or consent, is indeed the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy. A decision by majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as a practical convenience which pre-supposes, for its proper working, an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. It has indeed in most federal constitutions been limited in various ways in order to safeguard the separate interests of the federating elements. To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not a veto by any element but compromise and willingness to compromise, in India as elsewhere, is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which a free government must be based. On the other hand, within the limitations imposed by the necessity of securing agreement the whole constitutional field is open to re-examination. It may indeed prove to be the case that it is by entirely novel departures from the existing scheme, whether in the relation of the Centre to the Provinces or to the States or in the methods of election and representation, that an agreement can be reached which is unattainable within the framework of the existing Act, based as it is on the traditions of India's administrative past and on our customary British constitutional conceptions.

QUESTION OF DATE DEPENDS ON INDIANS

"So much for the question of method. There is the question, no less insistently asked, as to the date. Here the answer given by the statement is also clear. The decisive resolution of these great constitutional issues, the actual setting up of a new system of government, cannot come at the moment when we are all engaged in a desperate struggle for existence. How soon it can come after the war is essentially in India's own hands. The experience of every Dominion has shown

that these fundamental issues are not lightly or speedily settled. What I have told the House of the complexity and difficulty of India's peculiar problems does not suggest that her experience in this respect will be essentially different from that of others. There is always an immense amount of preliminary discussion, inquiry and negotiation which has to be got through before the real decisive meetings take place. There is absolutely no reason why any of this indispensable preliminary work should wait for the end of the war. The more completely and thoroughly it is done now, the wider the agreement reached now as to the form of the post-war representative body, as to the methods and procedure by which we should arrive at its conclusions and as to the principles and outlines of the constitution itself, the more speedily can everything be settled after the war is over.

"So far as His Majesty's Government are concerned, they have offered to welcome and promote in any way possible such preliminary friendly discussion and investigation and have equally promised to lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters when it comes to the subsequent task of finally settling the Constitution. They can do no more. The responsibility for securing a speedy as well as a satisfactory result rests upon Indians themselves. I submit that the Viceroy's initiative represents a sincere effort on our part to make such contribution as we can towards the smooth and speedy attainment of the desired goal. Others must also make their contribution. No one element or party can hope to get all that it wants or at least to get all at once. If we agree upon the end let us all work for it with sympathy, understanding, patience and goodwill towards each other. That, at any rate, is the spirit in which His Majesty's Government are resolved to persevere in the carrying out of the policy which they have now defined.

Britain Proud of Her Contribution

"So far as we, in this country, are concerned, we have every reason to be proud of what we have contributed in the past to the history and to the life of India. But I, at any rate, believe with Lord Macaulay that the proudest day of our history will be the day when we see India joining, a free and willing partner, in the brotherhood of the British peoples. As for India she will give, I know, her effective answer to tyranny and aggression in the field of war. But she can give an even more conclusive answer in the field of constructive statesmanship. In a world threatened by all the evil forces of hatred and destruction, of partisan and racial intolerance, there could be no more hopeful portent, partisan and racial intolerance, there could be no more hopeful portent, no more assured omen of the ultimate victory of our cause, than that the leaders of India's millions should, in peaceful agreement, resolve not only their own perplexing discords but also afford yet one further example, within our British Commonwealth, of the power of goodwill to reconcile freedom and unity and, through our Commonwealth, to bridge the age-long gulf between Europe and Asia. Then, indeed, could we say with justice that the dawn of a better day for world was heralded in the East."

Mr. Ammon (Labour) said that the Viceroy's statement went a good way in the direction of establishment of a stable government in India, acceptable to the Indian people. If the door was partly open, it was for India to push it still farther and to show her capacities of leadership. She had the right to ask that the number of Indians appointed should be sufficiently numerous to ensure proper representation of Indian opinion and to give confidence to the Indian people. They must be welcomed, not as poor relatives but as honoured members of the family circle, especially representatives of the Congress Party. Let them seize the opportunity presented to them—an opportunity which might not present itself again—and go forward in the spirit of *Mr. Amery's* speech to larger and wider experience of co-operation and comradeship (cheers). Our friends in India would do well to bear in mind that, should Great Britain not emerge fully successful from this struggle, then all hope of India's freedom would go. The Congress and all other parties in India would disappear from any active participation in the life of India.

Was it unfair to point out, *Mr. Ammon* continued, that the struggle in which this country was engaged almost alone was India's struggle as much as ours? We, therefore, had a perfect right to ask that India should accept her share of the responsibility, fully and whole-heartedly, in order that when the time came, they might enter into full and equal partnership in the Commonwealth.

Mr. Graham White (Liberal) said that there rang through the speech of the Secretary of State the best answer that could possibly be given to those elements

of suspicion still lurking in some quarters in India. A great opportunity lay before the communities of India if they could find a basis of agreement.

Sir Hugh O'Neill (Conservative) said : The fact that His Majesty's Government had accepted the principle that framing of a future scheme should be the responsibility of Indians themselves was a tremendously important advance.

Sir Frederick Sykes congratulated the Government on the Viceroy's statement. In India, the response had not been whole-hearted but criticism had been more concerned with its terms than with its spirit. *Sir Frederick* added there had been wide recognition of the deep sincerity and value of the Viceroy's appeal for unity in India as an essential condition to India's welfare and development and the urgent need for her to share in the struggle for the preservation of those ideals upon which her future, like our own, depended. By adopting the statement of policy whole-heartedly and supporting its spirit and practical proposals consistently, we should best be serving India's interests. The war had spread to the Middle East, but the battle of Egypt had not yet begun. It was a truism to say that the frontiers of India were now on the Suez Canal. The time and the need were now. We should send a clear message to India that we needed her help as she needed ours. The safety of India and the British Commonwealth were inseparable.

Mr. Sorensen (Labour) said that the time had arrived for bolder and more courageous advance.

Sir Alfred Knox (Conservative) said that he sincerely hoped that the Congress Party would accept Government's proposals.

Mr. Vernon Bartlett (Independent) said that, whereas Great Britain must be the centre from which we fought the war west of Gibraltar, India would be the centre from which we fought the war, east of Suez. We could not afford a break-down in India.

Sir Stanley Reed (Conservative) asked the Secretary of State to consider whether he could not state now that the essential principles of the new constitution of India which would be framed by the representative body, forecast in his statement, would be implemented by Parliament.

Replying to the debate, Mr. *Amery* said : "With regard to the numbers, composition and powers of the Executive Council I have been asked a number of questions. As regards the numbers, that of course must depend to some extent upon the nature of the response which is made to the Viceroy's offer, but, in any case, it does involve an appreciable enlargement of the present numbers of the Executive. The new members of the Executive will be on a footing of entire equality with the existing members of the Executive Council. They will hold definite portfolios. (Cheers.) They will exercise the responsibilities both of their important department work and of the influence which they will naturally exert in the collective discussions of the Viceroy's Council. They are not, of course, the nominees of the parties, but, on the other hand, it is obviously implicit in the whole purpose of the Viceroy's policy that they should be representative of the parties form which they are selected and they will, no doubt, be selected after discussion and consideration of the names informally submitted, (Cheers.)

"They will not, in the strict constitutional sense, be responsible to the Assembly, but clearly, if there is that response which the Viceroy hopes for and if all the leading parties are represented in the Executive, then clearly that Executive will naturally enjoy a wide measure of confidence and support in the Assembly. On the other hand, I cannot accept the suggestion that the enlarged Executive can be converted, at a time like this, into a Parliamentary Ministry responsible to the majority in Parliament. That involves a complete inversion of the present Indian situation and, what is more, prejudices all the constitutional problems which are still entirely unresolved as between the parties. Therefore that is not, in the present circumstances, a practical suggestion.

"As to what is to follow in the case of the Provincial Councils, that naturally, must depend again very largely upon the nature of the response at the Centre and the way the new development works out. That would clearly have its effect upon the Provinces and must be judged in the light of the result at the Centre.

WAR ADVISORY COUNCIL

"The War Advisory Council would be a considerably larger body of some twenty or more. Its function will be to bring together a wide range of experience

and special knowledge from all over India in order, on the one hand, to inform and advise the Government of India as regards the conduct of India's war effort and the development of India's resources and, on the other hand, to go away from these consultations in order severally to stimulate that war effort in the various fields, geographical or industrial, from which the members of the Advisory Council will be drawn."

Sir Hugh O'Neill, interjecting, said. "Will they be purely Indian members ?"

Mr. Amery: "Obviously the European industrial and commercial community in India is of considerable importance and would naturally be considered for representation on this wider body. The great thing is that this wider body should assemble for the Government of India their knowledge in every important field of India's national life and in turn exercise influence upon the war effort in every field.

Framing the Constitution

"Many questions have been asked on the nature and constitution of the future body which is to consider and frame the Constitution of India after the War. The matter is described in the White Paper and I pointed out in my speech that it is most important that the body should be arrived at by agreement.

"It is not for me here to prescribe the nature of that body. I would certainly say that there is no type of body which is ruled out, provided it is agreed upon by these principal elements and is, in that sense, representative of those elements."

Mr. Amery then read from the White Paper a statement regarding the body and added: "That would not mean that this body would be merely a Round Table Conference or Commissions whose views may or may not be taken into serious consideration. The whole intention is that the work of this body should be taken seriously and that it should provide the main framework of the future Constitution of India."

Sir Alfred Knox interposed: "The recommendations will finally come before this House ?"

Mr. Amery: "Exactly as in the case of the various Dominions. Our endeavour is to bring India on practical lines on the same method as has been followed in the case of the Dominions. In every case their constitutions have after a certain amount of discussion and consideration, come before this House and given the constitutional ratification this House has undoubtedly to give.

"Regarding the future position of the Princes, these obligations, in so far as the Princes have not fully entered into the new Constitution scheme, will, of course, remain in effect. These are standing obligations just as in the Dominion of South Africa there were obligations which continued after the creation of the new Dominion.

"As to the preparations for the meeting of that body, I have been asked whether the members of the large Executive were to be the body to begin that preliminary work. They certainly have not been selected for that purpose. But for the very definite and important duties they are to perform. What is hoped is that, in the atmosphere of co-operation in war effort by a large Executive and by the War Advisory Council, the differences which have been intensified by what I might call the long-range political canonading of the parties at each other, may get another perspective and may seem less or their surmounting seem more desirable in the light of the greater consciousness of India's unity and India's place in the world. If that test of investigation. of study and discussion is begun now, the further it is carried, the more thoroughly it is worked out, obviously the more speedily can the actual reconstruction of government of India take place after the war. This is a matter which must rise out of agreement among the Indians themselves.

Mr. Amery's Appeal

"That does not mean that I entirely agree that we should sit aside. We shall certainly make every effort to encourage the horses to go to the water but it may not always be in our power to make them drink. That brings me to one note that ran largely through the speech of Mr. Sorensen. I entirely agree with him that it is our business to try and understand India's outlook and point of view and deal with it, not from the point of view of a superior dealing with an inferior, but as equals. On the other hand, I think that he greatly oversimplified the problem when he suggested that this was a question of imposing the will of this

country on the will of India. It is far more, believe me, a question of reconciling the conflicting wills of India. At present that conflict of wills is still unresolved and still very serious. We must not under-estimate the seriousness of those difficulties or believe that they can be brushed aside by treating them as if India were a homogeneous country like this and as if its great elements, the elements of tens of millions, could be regarded merely as those continually fluctuating minorities with which we are accustomed to dealing in this country. They are separate factors, entities which have got to be fitted somehow into the composite mosaic of India's future constitution."

Mr. Amery concluded: "At the same time I do believe sincerely that there is enough of wider patriotism and of statesmanship in India to resolve those difficulties and differences. It is to that statesmanship in India that we have got to look in these matters; we can contribute, I hope, our share of statesmanship, of goodwill and of understanding. I am well disposed to believe that India will also contribute her share and that out of our joint efforts there may emerge something of which the Briton and Indian alike can be proud for generations to come and it may make this contribution not only to the permanent strength and prosperity of our own British Commonwealth but also, by its example, to the regeneration of a distressed world."

Mr. Amery on Indian Constitutional Deadlock

London—25th. September 1940

Regreting that the leaders of the Indian National Congress had rejected the Viceroy's offer was expressed by *Mr. L. S. Amery*, Secretary of State for India, in a speech at the Overseas League London, on the 25th. September 1940.

Mr. Amery after references to India's magnificent war effort asked: What of the moral and spiritual side? Where does India stand in the struggle against the forces of tyranny and oppression? Where are her sympathies enlisted, with which side are her interests identified? On this point there certainly is no divergence among the leaders of Indian opinion whatever other differences there may be between them. They know that the defeat of the British Empire and the victory of the dictatorships would leave India defenceless against inevitable aggression from every quarter by land, sea or by air. They know more. They know that it would mean the end of all their cherished hopes of constitutional progress within India and in India's relation to the outside world.

INDIA'S IDEALS OF FREEDOM

'Whatever the domestic political difficulties that confront us in this period of transition in India, it is a bond of union between Indians and ourselves, and for us a source of legitimate pride, that the ideals of freedom which animate them have had their fountainhead here. Their political traditions and aspirations like those of the Dominions or, for that matter, like those of the United States go back to the Magna Carta and to the whole age-long growth of social justice and constitutional liberty in this little Island. For them, as for us, a Nazi victory would be a deathblow to all they care for in world politics. But India's choice in this matter goes even deeper than the domain of political ideals. It goes to the very heart of all that she values in the spriritual field.

INDIANS REALISE NAZI MENACE

'It has become commonplace to point out that the Nazi creed with its denial of any rights to the individual against the State or the party or gang in control of the State, with its denial of any rights to any nation or race outside the chosen German people, with its contempt for justice and for intellectual truth is a barbarian revolt against all influences ancient and modern which have created our western Christian Civilization. But it is more than that. It is a direct attack upon the spiritual basis of all religions. It is as profoundly opposed to Islam with its insistence on equality of all men before God and on the supreme virtues of justice and mercy or to Hinduism with its deepseated hatred of violence and cruelty as it is to Christianity. The Nazi onslaught threatens the soul of Indians, it threatens ours and there is no Indian who does not realize that menace.

SYMPATHY WITH BRITAIN

'Linked with the consciousness of this underlying identity of material and moral interest there is more directly personal sympathy for this country in its hour of danger

and admiration for our singlehanded stand which has found expression even in quarters where political criticism of the present Government of India is most vocal. Whatever else the Indian press may say about public affairs, it has never failed to pay its tribute to our fighting forces or those who in civil life here are bearing the brunt of the war. The greater our difficulties and anxieties here the more keenly have the peoples of India given expression to their sympathy. One form in which that sympathy has been expressed has been in contributions which have poured in spontaneously from Indians in every walk of life from the ruling princes to the working men, some giving lakhs of rupees, some only a few annas, both to the Viceroy's general war purposes fund raised in this country for purposes connected with the war. Not far off a million and a quarter has been subscribed in this way.

Political Deadlock

'Of the sums given for specific purposes over £ 285,000 has been given for purchase of aircraft but large amounts have also been contributed to King George's Fund for sailors, St. Dunstan's Institute for those blinded in war, to the Red Cross for ambulances, for the evacuation of children and in these last few days to the Lord Mayor's Fund for victims of air attack. Many letters accompanying small sums involving real sacrifices for their donors give simple but poignant expression to the sender's devotion to the common cause. How comes it then, you may well ask, that we hear so much of political crisis and political deadlock in India? Why is it that the leaders of Indian political parties have not been able to sink their differences with each other or with the Indian Government in order to help wholeheartedly in their country's war, or why has Government for its part failed to meet India's aspiration by concessions which might secure the mited cooperation of all parties and elements in India's national life?

No Common Platform

"The answer to these questions could be easier if there were any common platform upon which these elements could agree either with regard to the immediate present or the future. It would be easier if India were a homogeneous country in which the majority could fairly be entitled to speak for the whole nation and carry with it the assent, even if reluctant, of the minority. It would, in fact, be easy enough if nature and history had not made the Indian national life and the Indian Government conplex structures which they actually are.

One attempt to deal with the complex problem of Indian self-government was made in the Government of India Act passed five years ago. The fruit of years of enquiry and discussion to which the best brains in India had made no small contribuion, it represented a genuine constructive effort on the part of Parliament to balance the claims of different elements within India itself as well as to find during the period of transition a workable compromise between the responsibilities which the British Government had inherited from the past and the responsibilities which India was destined to shoulder in the future.

Objection to Federation

"In its provincial aspects it has worked successfully and is still working successfully in four out of eleven provinces which have not been affected by the calling of the Congress party ministries.

If it had been found impossible to apply it in its Federal aspect to India as a whole, it is not because there is geneal agreement among Indians that its provisions retain too much British control but because there is a vehement disagreement between Indians themselves as to the general control which it gives to Indians over each other. The Congress party objects, on grounds of egalitarian democray to the influence which the Act concedes to autocratically governed states. The states on their side have shrunk from the extent of interference in their affairs conceded to the elected majority in the Central Legislature. The great Moslem community refuses to entrust its fate to the control of permanent Hindu majority.

'These are none of them trivial or factitious objections. They are all sincerely held and deeply felt. Each of these major elements in India's national life—the Congress, the Moslems, the princes, not to speak of the representatives of elements and parties within the Hindu community but opposed to the Congress—has a case of righteousness of which it is convinced. Nothing is more remote from truth than the suggestion that the British Government has deliberately magnified or even encouraged these differences as an excuse for delaying constitutional progress.

On the contray it is precisly the prospect of constitutional progress that has intensified these differences by raising a question which lay dormant under autocratic control.

On the other hand it would be equally wrong if the British Government ignored them and forgetting the responsibilities which the course of history has imposed upon it in India, light-heartedly accepted some constitutional solution which would inevitably be rejected by large and important elements in India's national life and only lead to confusion and chaos.

DIFFERENCES REAL BUT NOT UNBRIDGABLE

'The fact is that India's internal structure is complex and difficult and no plausible formula but only patience and genuine willingness to compromise can find a solution. The differences are real but I refuse to regard them as unbridgable. Fortunately there is a real underlying agreement as to the goal at which we are all aiming. We all wish to see India freely conducting her own affairs at peace within herself and with the world outside. I believe the agreed goal can best be achieved within the free and equal partnership of the British Commonwealth. There are some in India who would wish to see that partnership dissolved, at least in theory, for none of them would be willing to dispense with it in practice in our day or are prepared to suggest a better alternative. In any case the ground for agreed advance is there.

INDIA'S FUTURE CONSTITUTION

'It is in the light of that situation that his Majesty's Government has made it clear in the statement issued by the Viceroy on Aug. 8 that subject to fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her, it is our wish to see the framework of India's future constitution devised by Indians for themselves in accordance with Indian conceptions of social, economic and political structure of Indian life and through the instrumentality of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life.

OPEN TO RE-EXAMINATION

'The Act of 1935 was still in essentials the work of the British Government and Parliament and was based on the existing structure of Indian Government and inspired by British ideas. The main permanent framework of the future constitution of India as a Dominion is now, "a matter for the Indians to settle for themselves. The whole constitutional field, the relations of the various parts and elements in India to the whole, the methods of election and representation, all these matters are open to re-examination. Only, as in the case of every Dominion or for that matter of any federation in the past, there must be that measure of agreement. Of consent—and necessarily, therefore, of compromise—between the main constituent elements that have in the future to live and work together, which is a preliminary condition of free self-government."

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION

'In this matter the British Government have now made clear one essential of the implications of India's future status while imposing upon Indians one of the first responsibilities of that status. It is obvious that a change so far-reaching both in structure and in the very basis of authority of India's Government, cannot take place at a moment when the whole of the Commonwealth is in the throes of a struggle for its existence. But that need not of itself involve any delay. If the actual body which is decisively to resolve these issues cannot meet until immediately after the war, there is bound to be immense amount of preliminary investigation, discussion and negotiation which must precede any agreed conclusion and which is bound to take time. There is no reason why this work should wait for the end of the war.

EXPANSION OF VICEROY'S COUNCIL

'The more completely and thoroughly it is done now on informal lines, the more speedily can everything be settled after the war is over and the earlier the date at which India's new constitution can enter into effect. Meanwhile, the Viceroy has offered to expand his own Executive Council in order to take into it leading men of all parties and elements in British India as well as to set up an all-India War Advisory Council on which the Indian States as well as other interests in the national life of India as a whole will be represented. The new members of the Viceroy's Executive will be heads of great departments of state,

Their individual responsibility and collective influence will be something very real and far-reaching and no greater mistake can be made by anyone here or in India than underestimating the present importance or future significance of this offer.

Executive Responsible to Governor-General

'It is true that under the existing constitution the enlarged Executive will still be responsible to the Governor-General and cannot in the strict constitutional sense be responsible to the Legislature. Any other course would not only mean complete change of the whole basis of Government during the war, but change to a new basis as to which the fundamental prerequisite of agreement is still wholly lacking. The Congress recently suggested in an offer which it has since withdrawn that it would join in a 'national Government' at the centre which should command the confidence of the elected members of the present Legislature. But that at once raised all those issues upon which an agreement has yet to be sought.

'For there can be no agreement on a Government responsible to and subject to the moods of a Legislature until there is an agreement, which there is not today upon the composition and nature of that Legislature. Lord Linlithgow's offer avoids these difficulties. It is no bar to a harmonious cooperation between the Executive and the Legislature. It is no bar to fruitful cooperation between members of the Executive among themselves. But it commits nobody to an irrevocable position. It enables all to work together for the immediate issue of winning the war without prejudice to their position and claims when the fundamental issue of the future constitution have to be raised.

Regret at Rejection of Viceroy's Offer

'I regret, sincerely, that leaders of the Congress have rejected the Viceroy's offer and are not prepared to take before India and the world the great practical opportunity of exercising real responsibility and contributing directly both to India's immediate effort in the war and to her constitutional advancement. They have chosen instead to follow Mr. *Gandhi's* advice to concentrate on a policy of non-cooperation based on the principle of non-violence, in other words of refusal to take part in the war or in any form of force as such. I fully recognize the sincerity of Mr. *Gandhi's* pacifist convictions. The practical question is how he is to reconcile his demand on his own behalf and on behalf of the Congress for freedom to voice those convictions with his own statement, which I sincerely welcome, that he does not wish to embarrass the Government in its conduct of the war.

Forthcoming Viceroy-Gandhi Interview

'That is an issue which he is to discuss with Lord Linlithgow in the next few days and it is naturally one which I do not wish to prejudge. One can only hope that the outcome of the discussions may be an agreement consistent both with Mr. *Gandhi's* conscientious objections to war in general and with the Viceroy's no less conscientious convictions and duty to allow nothing to stand in the way of India's whole-hearted effort to play her part in the struggle which concerns her present welfare and security and all ideals which her peoples hold dear.

What of the Future

"So much for the present situation. As for the future, it is for the Indians themselves to consider how and by what new exepedient or by what compromises they can arrive at a solution of their own problems. They can count, at every stage, upon the willing cooperation of the Government to help in expediting progress.

'Meanwhile, I do not belive that Indian differences in the political field will be allowed to obscure the genuine desire of India as a whole to make her worthy contribution to the victory of a cause which is India's cause as much as it is our own. And I sincerely hope, to quote the closing words of Lord Linlithgow's recent statement, "that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the imperial Crown and the British Parliament".

India's Part in War Effort

Secretary of State's Statement

House of Commons—London—20th. November 1940

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 20th. November 1940, Mr. *L. S. Amery* said :—

For months now our attention has inevitably been absorbed in the contest around and above us and in the immediate problems which it has created. Here and nowhere else the first decisive issue of the war has been fought and won, But if this battle of Britain has closed a chapter it has certainly not closed the story, The actual menace of invasion is still there in the background. We certainly cannot afford to disregard it. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly clear that our enemies, foiled in their hope of destroying us by an early fatal blow at the heart, mean to strike directly at every vital artery which they can reach. The battle of Britain is leading up to a battle of the Empire. It is leading up to it in more than one sense.

For, it is not only on and over fields and seas remote from here that the fate of the world will yet be decided, but it is only by resources and resolution of a united empire that the ultimate victory can be assured. That is why my Rt. hon. friend, Lord Winterton, has done well to ask that we should now devote a day to a discussion of that part, at any rate, of the Empire's effort for which this House is in the last resort responsible, and I am glad to have this opportunity of telling the House something of the contribution which India and Burma have made and are preparing to make to our common cause.

A War of Machines

Before doing so 1 hope I may be pardoned if I draw the attention of the House to one feature of the situation which has governed and conditioned our effort, here and even more in the countries of the Empire. The war of to-day is essentially a war of machines. The increasingly complex equipment of a modern army cannot be improvised in haste.

Even in the most highly industrialized countries months and even years are required to set up plants with which that equipment can be made. We know what we are suffering here for our well-intentioned unwillingness to realize the greatness of the danger which threatened our freedom and that of the world. If we here are still struggling to make good our deficiencies, our other partners in the Empire have even more lee-way to make up, because their preparation began even later and because the equipment of their forces has of necessity been postponed to more urgent demands here where we have had to meet the enemy's first onset.

India's Part in Last War

India played a great part in the last war. Her first divisions brought an invaluable reinforcement to our thin and war-spent front line in France in the winter months of 1914. (Cheers.) Indian troops bore the whole brunt of the Mesopotamian campaign. Her cavalry played a conspicuous part in Lord Allenby's great cavalry sweep and her infantry exploited it by their amazing march from Jaffa to Alexandreatta, In all she put over a million and a half trained men into the field. She can do so again, if so many are needed, if once the equipment is there. There is no scarcity of willing recruits. Some 25,000, indeed, of those who have offered themselves have had to be temporarily relegated. The other day an announcement of 300 vacancies in the Indian Air Force Reserve brought in 18,000 applications. Let me in passing emphasize the point that India's fighting forces are all composed of volunteers. There is in force a limited measure of compulsion for Europeans in India and for Indian technical munition workers—in each cases not for lack of volunteers, but for the sake of fairness and more efficient organization. But the men who are fighting for India are men who have joined of their own free will. There is no shortage of them either in numbers or in quality. But for the moment equipment governs everything and it is upon the equipment situation that the expansion of India's war effort has depended and will continue to depend.

I shall come back in a moment to what has been accomplished and what we look forward to accomplishing in that direction. Meanwhile, I should like to draw the attention of the House to what India has already achieved or is in the process of achieving in regard to the actual expansion of her fighting forces.

Army in India

The army in India consists in peace time of 160,000 men of the Indian army and of some 50,000 British troops. The Indian army is being rapidly expanded, as a first step, to a force of something like 500,000 men of all arms, trained, equipped and mechanised on a modern scale. As a first step, over 100,000 recruit have already been taken on of whom a large proportion are by now fully trained. Not the least of the problems of such an expansion is the provision of officers and of training facilities. New officer cadet units both for Indian and for British cadets have been established. There has been a continuous multiplication of schools for advance training in all branches of military knowledge and in the use of new weapons. Mechanical transport of the Indian army has been brought up from 5,000 to 32,000 vehicles, a figure which will be doubted next year. Every credit is due to *Sir Robert Cassels*, the Commander-in-Chief, and to his staff, as well as to Viceroy and members of his Council, more directly concerned, *Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar* and *Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan*, for laying down and getting under way the difficult initial stages of an expansion whose full results will only be seen as the war continue.

Of this force, India's first army, some 60,000 are already serving overseas. From the very beginning India has reinforced and is continuing to reinforce our garrisons in Malaya and Aden and our army in the Middle East. The Indian transport contingent which showed such admirable steadiness and discipline in France is now playing an active part in the defence of this island. Indian troops won well-deserved praise for their gallantry in Somaliland and have recently played a leading part in the operations at Gallabat. Both in the Middle and Far East those Indian troops are very directly contributing to India's defence. They are securing her bastions both west and east. Meanwhile, there is no neglect of the ever-present problem of India's own immediate frontier defence, and as fast as formations are sent overseas new formations are raised to replace them.

Indian State Forces

No statement about the Indian army would be complete without a reference either to the military forces of Indian States or to those of the kingdom of Nepal. The importance to India of being able to draw freely for recruits upon the splendid military material of Nepal's Gurkha fighting men needs no stress. All I need say is that we can rely with confidence on the help that our old and loyal ally can afford in that direction. As for the ruling princes of India, they have their own great martial tradition and a long record of loyalty to the Imperial Crown. Not only their forces, but they themselves played worthy part in the last war. I remember so well the meeting at our corps headquarters at Merville in November, 1914, between *Lord Roberts* and that splendid old warrior and comrade-in-arms of his, *Sir Protab Singh* of Jodhpur. 'Well, old friend, what have you come to do here ?' asked the great little Field-Marshal. 'To die, I hope, for my King,' was the simple reply, and if he failed to achieve that object it was not for want of trying. In the present war the forces of Indian States are being steadily enlarged and brought to a higher state of efficiency. Some 36 units are serving with his Majesty's forces in British India and that fine body, the Bikaner Camel Corps, is already in the Middle East. Ruler after ruler has placed his personal service and resources of his State unreservedly at the disposal of the King-Emperor. (Cheers.)

Indian Air Force

The Indian Air Force was started on a small scale in 1932 after the first batch of Indian cadets had been trained at Cranwell. Schemes for expansion were put into force immediately on the outbreak of the war and the existing training facilities greatly enlarged. There is great enthusiasm for the air service in India, and young Indians, with their quick minds and sensitive hands, take naturally to flying. Not a few Indian pilots are already serving in the Royal Air Force and a batch of keen Indian pilots arrived here only the other day to complete their training. Nothing, indeed, except the imperious limitation imposed by the more urgent demand for machines here and in the Middle East stands in the

way of a far greater response to India's eagerness to develop an air force comparable to her army. That same inevitable limitation has hitherto prevented immediate realisation of India's widespread demand for the starting of an aircraft industry of her own.

ROYAL INDIAN NAVY

Last, but not least, comes the Royal Indian Navy, the lineal descendant of an Indian naval service which began as the East India Company's marine as far back as 1612. Reorganised on a small scale in 1934 it, with its auxiliary services, has been more than trebled since the outbreak of the war and is being steadily increased by new vessels in construction in India, in Australia and in this country. Indefatigably occupied with the task of escorting convoys and keeping India's ports and coasts clear of enemy mines and submarines, the Royal Indian Navy is worthily maintaining the high traditions of its past. The sinking of the 'Pathan' last June by enemy action afforded an occasion for a display of exemplary coolness and discipline on the part of all concerned under peculiarly trying conditions. It is some evidence of the efficiency of its work in co-operation with the Royal Navy that since the outbreak of the war a continuous stream of troops and military supply ships have sailed without a single casualty from Indian ports to the Middle East (cheers) and that the Red Sea is being kept open for pilgrim traffic to Moslem holy places.

A word, too, is due while I am on the subject of sea, to the faithful and efficient service of India's merchant marines, the lascars who form so important a part of the crews of so many of our great shipping lines.

SUPPLY AND EQUIPMENT

May I now revert to what I made clear at the outset is the dominant factor in the whole situation, the factor of supply and equipment ? In this respect India, like the Dominions, is far more advanced than she was in 1914. She has always been a great producer of foodstuffs and raw materials, and her resources in this respect, too, have been greatly developed. But she is also today one of the world's great industrial countries. She has highly developed textile industries in cotton, in jute and in wool. She has an iron and steel industry developing rapidly both in its volume, which now amounts to 2,250,000 tons a year, and in the range of its products.

At the present moment, over and above supplying the Middle East, Iraq, and East Africa with steel, she is sending substantial quantities of pig iron to this country. The railway works and many of her civil engineering establishments are on a great scale and equipped on modern lines. She has considerable resources of hydro-electric power. Her Government ordnance and munition works had also developed in many directions before the outbreak of the war, and have been utilised to the full and greatly expanded since. India already makes her own rifles, machineguns, field artillery up to six-inch guns, and six inch howitzers, propellants and ammunition of all sorts, as well as saddlery, boots, tents, blankets, uniforms and miscellaneous equipment of all sorts. Of some 40,000 items which go to the equipment of a modern army she already supplies more than one half. She is beginning the manufacture of armoured plate and expects to armour armoured vehicles next year.

Lord Winterton (*Cons.*): Can *Mr. Amery* say whether in the near or immediate future it will be possible for India to manufacture tanks ?

Mr. Amery: That is one of the matters which is being closely considered by the Delhi conference and will be discussed with the Ministry of Supply.

Mr. J. C. Wedgwood (*Ind.*): Is there any manufacture in India at present of internal combustion machines ?

Mr. Amery: I think not.

In respect of something like 90 per cent of military supplies India will soon be self-sufficient so far as the requirements of her own forces are concerned. Over a very large range of suppliers, indeed, she can furnish for more than her own requirements. To quote only a few instances; she has sent overseas 180,000,000 rounds of small arms ammunition and 400,000 rounds of gun ammunition, 1,000,000,000 sandbags, 1,000,000 pair of boots, and 30,000 tents. Broadly speaking, she is aiming, in cooperation with the Dominions and Colonies east and south of of Suez, at a meeting, in respect of a very wide and steadily increasing range of the whole field of military equipment, all the needs of our armies in the Middle and Far East to whatever number of divisions they may be raised.

Even so there is still abundant room for the further expansion of India's war effort. She still has great reserves of industrial capacity which could be harnessed to war purposes, if they could be matched up with a certain modicum of imported materials and with certain types of machine tools and organised on lines which we have worked out here.

Sir A. Roger'r Mission

In order to afford India the benefit of our latest experience in this direction, as well as to furnish the Ministry of Supply here with a revised picture of India's potentialities and of the help required to convert them into actualities, the then Minister of Supply sent out some three months ago, at my suggestion, a strong technical mission under the leadership of *Sir Alexander Roger*. I believe that with Sir Alexander Roger's drive and vision, and with the eager cooperation both of the Government and of private industry in India, the mission will be able to initiate a substantial advance, both in volume and in range of production, the fruits of which will become increasingly apparent as the war continues. The mere reorganisation of plant will not produce results without trained workers. I have already referred to the fact that a limited measure of compulsory service has been introduced by the Government of India in order to enable skilled technical workers to be transferred to where their work will be most valuable. This is being done through the Indian national service labour tribunals in the interests of fairness as well as efficiency, and with appropriate guarantees for the security of the worker's original employment after the war. In India itself arrangements for training additional skilled workers are being taken in hand on a large scale and it is hoped, by the use of technical colleges and institutions as well as with the help of private industy, to train an additional 10,000 men in the next few months. Meanwhile, my Rt. hon. friend, the Minister of Labour, and myself have been concerting arrangements both for the despatch to India of an additional supply of competent instructors and for bringing of young Indian workers over here where, working side by side with British workers, they may learn not only our most up to date methods but some thing of the spirit of British industrial organisation as displayed in its cooperation with war effort.

In reply to a question as to whether in the jute industry trade union standards are encouraged, Mr. *Amery* said : Within the limits of Indian conditions, which, of course, are very different from here, the Government of India is very sympathetic to trade union organisation.

Mr. Gordon MacDonald (Labour) ; Do I understand here is an element of industrial conscription applied in India to get these trainees ?

Mr. Amery : Yes, I explained when introducing a Bill some months ago that it was not from lack of volunteers but to secure fairness in the distribution of work and that fairness is specially safeguarded by labour tribunals.

Mr. Sorensen (*Labour*) : Do I understand the Minister to say that a certain number of Indian workers will be brought here ?

Mr. Amery : Yes.

Mr. Sorensen : Will they be employed side by side with British workers at trade union rates ?

Mr. Amery : That is a matter to be worked out. They will work side by side with British colleagues, but the fact is that they are trainees. I do not think I can answer on details of a matter which is being worked out with the Minister of Labour.

Mr. Sorensen : Has the Trade Union Congress been fully consulted in the matter ?

Mr. Amery : I imagine the Minister of Labour is quite capable of watching that aspect of the question. (Cries of 'hear, hear'.)

India's Moral Sympathy

So much for the material aspect of India's share in the common effort against the common enemy. What of the moral and spiritual side ? Where does India stand in the struggle against forces of tyranny and oppression ? Where are her sympathies and on which side are her interests identified ? I shall be dealing later this afternoon with a statement which has just been made by the Viceroy in the Indian Legislature and which is now available as a White Paper, as well as with the political issues raised by the attitude of the Congress. But on the main issue, at any rate, there is certainly no divergence among leaders of Indian opinion, whatever other differences there may be between us or between themselves,

They know that defeat of the British Empire and victory of the dictatorships would leave India defenceless against inevitable aggression from every quarter by land, by sea or by air. They know more. They know it would mean the end of all their cherished hopes of constitutional progress within India, and in India's relation to the outside world. For them, as for us, a Nazi victory would be a death blow to all they care for in the world of politics.

One form in which that sympathy has been expressed has been in the contributions which have poured in spontaneously from Indians in every walk of life, from ruling princes to working men, some giving lakhs of rupees, some only a few annas, both to the Viceroy's general war purposes fund and to every fund raised in this country for purposes connected with the war.

Of the sums given for specific purposes, about £1,500,000, including £290,000 from Hyderabad alone, have been given for the purchase of aircraft. But large amounts have also been contributed to King George's fund for sailors, to St. Dunstan's Institute for those blinded in war, to the Red Cross, for ambulances, for the evacuation of children, and, more recently, to Lord Mayor's fund for the victims of the air attack here and to the cause of Greece. Many of the letters accompanying small sums involving real sacrifices for their donors give simple but poignant expression to the senders' devotion to the common cause.

BURMA DEFENCE FORCES

From India let me turn for a moment to the subject of Burma. When the war broke out Burma had been in existence as a separate entity for only about two and a half years. Her defence forces at that time consisted of two British regular infantry battalions and four battalions of the Burma rifles as well as six battalions of the Burma Frontier Force. Since the outbreak of war these forces have been very largely increased. A number of other technical units, sappers and miners, signals, transport, anti-aircraft, machine-gun units, etc., have been added since the outbreak of the war. Compulsory service has been introduced for Europeans, both for military purposes and for the general war effort.

The reserve of officers has been greatly expanded and arrangements have been completed for the initiation of an officer cadet training unit in which both European and Burman volunteers will be trained side by side. Here again, as in the case of India, while every effort is being made to modernise the equipment of forces in Burma, much depends upon the supplies which can be secured from the United Kingdom or from India.

Before the war, Burma had no naval or air forces of her own. Immediately on the outbreak of the war, however, three local vessels were taken over for mine-sweeping duties and a Burma Royal naval volunteer reserve created. Several naval patrol craft for minesweeping are now in the process of completion, and the Government of Burma have arranged in consultation with the Admiralty for the building for the Royal navy of some minesweepers and anti-submarine vessels. So far as air force is concerned a Burma auxiliary air unit open to both Burmans and Europeans in Burma has been started, but is as yet, only at the initial training stage.

BURMA'S PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

Burma's main productive capacity is, of course, in the direction of raw materials. She is a great producer of oil as well as of valuable minerals like lead, zinc and wolfram, and of timber and foodstuffs. Her manufacturing capacity, on the other hand, is limited, but her possibilities of munitions production will no doubt be fully considered by the Delhi conference of which I shall have a word to say in a moment.

Meanwhile, Burma, like India, has shown her moral support of the common cause by the readiness with which contributions of every kind have poured into the war fund. A Burma fighter squadron of the R. A. F, has been provided by these funds, which in all, up to date, have amounted to over £ 210,000. It is interesting to note that £60,000 of this have come from the Shan states, partly from their federal fund and partly from individual chiefs, and that, within this capacity, tribal chiefs from remote hill districts and municipalities in upper and lower Burma have freely offered their contributions of gifts or interest free loans.

In February and again in June, the Legislature and the Council of Ministers have made plain their wholehearted support of the British Government in its stand against the forces of aggression and its struggle for freedom of small nations.

So far I have spoken of India and Burma as self-contained units. But they

do not stand alone. They stand geographically at the centre of that greater half of the British Empire—greater in area and far greater in population—which from the Cape to New Zealand, lies in a vast semicircle round the southern ocean. Strategically they form the direct first reseve not only against an immediate threat to our position in the Middle East but against any possible threat to our position in the Far East.

Between that eastern and southern half of Empire and this country, the normal highway passes through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. At the moment that I took office the Italian threat to that vital link was already obvious—the doubling of that menace by the defection of France followed only a few weeks later. It was clear to me from the outset that in a large measure the defence of the Empire east and south of Suez as well as of the middle eastern front itself would have to rest upon its own resources. It was equally clear that those resources, in man-power, in industry, in raw materials, were immense if they could be effectively combined and matched with each other.

Delhi Conference

I naturally lost no time in communicating my views to the Viceroy, who throughout has shown the keenest interest in all questions affecting India's war effort. I need not tell the House how glad I am in that connection that Lord Linlithgow has consented, at no small personal inconvenience, to carry on the good work he is doing for an additional year. Promptly converting a general conception into a concrete working plan, Lord Linlithgow conceived the idea of inviting all the Governments concerned to send to a conference at Delhi representatives of their departments of military supply and equipment. The Viceroy's initiative met at once with an eager response, and for nearly three weeks now representatives of the Governments of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, East African colonies, Palestine, Burma and Malaya have been conferring with Sir Alexander Roger's mission. Their immediate object is simple, if important. It is to see how in cooperation they can contribute, for their own defence and for the common cause, the very maximum of those elements of supply and equipment upon which the expansion of the Empire's armies must depend. In this respect they are, if I may quote from the Prime Minister's inspiring message to the conference, engaged in calling into being a new world of armed strength to redress the balance of the old. It may well be that Delhi is laying the foundation of that army of the Empire whose first contingents are defending the Middle East today, but which is destined in its ultimate plentitude of power to march in the van of a liberated Europe.

This aspect of the Delhi conference, important as it is, is not the only one. It is of the very essence of our conception of the British Commonwealth to-day that it is not of the nature of a solar system with a central sun and the satellite planets revolving round it, but of a partnership of free and equal nations girdling the globe.

Its activities, the spirit of unity which binds it together, do not reside in any one part or depend upon any central member of the Commonwealth where such action can best further the causes to which we are all dedicated. From India's point of view too this is a most significant gathering. It is a conference of the Empire held in India, under the presidency of an Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive, Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan. That is a fact which is both a practical recognition of India's growing status in the Commonwealth, as well as a contribution between India and her British neighbours in the southern hemisphere. Last, but not least, its outcome is destined to be that growth in India's ability to provide her own defence, and that enrichment of her productive power, which are the real sources of a true independence, and which will do more than anything else to strengthen her claim to that full and equal partnership for mutual security and mutual welfare to which we in this House wish to see her attain.

India's War Effort

Earl Winterton said that nobody could have listened without emotion to the recital of facts and figures covering gifts for war causes, offers of service from 400,000,000 people of India and Burma, the Colonial Empire and the Crown Colonies. Giving an instance, he said : 'In Bengal there are formed war purposes committees in every town and village. Similarly, former enemies on the north-west frontier are coming forward to join us. If we develop the resources of these vast Imperial areas in two or three years we shall not suffer by comparison of

man power and material with the United States and Russia. If we lose the war the fate of India, Burma and the colonies is certain. All except the West Indies which the United States would protect would come under one or the other of the totalitarian Powers and become slave states. We have on our side a quarter of the world's surface and a fifth of the world's population.' The minimum requirements were a field army of three million persons of British descent including a million and a half in India and Burma. The war was going to be fought out on land and the empire needed overwhelming superiority of man power.

MR. AMERY AS VICEROY

Mr. Gordon Macdonald (Lab.) appealed to *Mr. Amery* to drop the idea that the Congress was taking advantage of the present emergency to force on the British something in which they did not believe. He could not understand why the White Paper was issued. He wished the Viceroy had consulted Congress leaders before exercising his prerogative and wished also that *Lord Linlithgow* had not been asked to serve a further term and Mr. Amery had gone out as Viceroy. He was satisfied that India would make a handsome contribution if the British showed sympathy with her aspirations and granted Dominion Satus.

Mr. Graham White (Lib.) said that a situation had arisen in India which was an offence against sound and good government. The Government statement must not be regarded as the last word. Having made every allowance, it was a fundamental mistake to declare that India was at war without preliminary discussions. The idea of complete independence could not be entertained during a world conflagration nor could the Moslem League domand for the territorial partition of the country. But he was anxious that steps should be taken to bring these elements together. If *Mr. Amery* would go to India, it would be with the goodwill of everybody and the house.

'SAVAGE SENTENCE' ON MR. NEHRU

Mr. C. G. Ammon (Lab.) wished that *Mr. Gandhi* and his colleagues would accept the Viceroy's offer in good faith and goodwill. On the Viceroy's Council leaders of opinion might find a large measure of agreement. Within Dominion Status India would find the fullest scope for freedom. A great deal of harm had been done by the savage sentence on *Mr. Nehru*. A thing like that was woise than wicked, it was stupid.

INDIA, ECONOMIC LEADER OF THE EAST

Mr. Robert A. Carry (Cons.) said that with India with them it was possible that Britain would win the war decisively and India's contribution may in many respects have to succeed their own. Economic leadership in the East belonged to India and not to Japan. 'We have got to use this war to guarantee India that leadership. We have got to support India in all she does in the economic sense. One of the tragedies of India is that we often hear what the politician wants to do but never what the businessmen of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras or agricultural and forestry experts in the provinces are doing to try to improve the assets of their country.'

INDIA'S FUTURE

Replying to the debate, *Mr. Amery* referred to the Viceroy's speech to the Indian Central Legislature and said that it represented the very most which with a sincere desire to hasten forward India's constitutional development was practicable, consistent with the actual circumstances, external and internal of the Indian situation. Let me differentiate between those two aspects, the external aspect of the relationship of India to British control in the past and the measure in which that can be released, and the internal relationships of the elements in India's own national life. Take the first of those two aspects. So far as the future of India's constitution is concerned we have declared our willingness that the framing of India's future constitutional life should be primarily the responsibility of the Indians themselves, and so far as our own control is concerned, it shall only be limited by due provision being made for those historical responsibilities which our long connection with India imposes. The most important of those responsibilities is the responsibility for defence and consequently for foreign policy. I do not believe there is any Indian who does not know perfectly that even if the independence of India were declared tomorrow India would still have for a considerable period of years to make use of the British framework in the Indian army, of the British troops now in India and the main body of the British Air Force,

while the Indian Air Force grows, and also of the British Navy. Is it conceivable that this House would be prepared to put these forces in India at India's disposal without assuring itself of some guarantees as to the use to be made of these forces both in India's external relations and in her internal administration ? That at any rate is the limitation which does not result from our reluctance to concede more power but is inherent in the situation and can only be modified as India is, as I hope she will rapidly be, in a position to defend herself.

Offer still open to Indians

Let me turn to the more immediate object. Does anyone suggest really that as a practical measure in the middle of a great struggle for existence the whole basis of administrative and legislative power in India should be changed over and that the administration of India's war effort should be placed entirely and unreservedly in the hands of an entirely new executive responsible to the legislature elected for a very different purpose and under very different conditions ? On the other hand, what is it we have offered ? What is the offer which is still open to leaders of political opinion in India ? It is that they should come to the Viceroy's Executive Council not as mere advisers but as ministers responsible for the great departments of State, and to come into that Council in such numbers as to constitute a substantial majority over the European members of the Viceroy's Council.

Surely, a body of that sort, even though its primary responsibility is to the Viceroy and not to Parliament, is the body which must carry great weight with all sections of Indian opinion, the Viceroy and with this House, a body of that sort working unitedly together for carrying on of India's war effort would be dealing with great issues.

More than that, a step of that magnitude once taken remains. Once the principle is established that the Viceroy's Council must consist of the majority of Indian members that principle naturally remains. I regret deeply from the point of view of the relations between the British Government of India and the future government of India which will be established, that the Congress should have rejected so great an opportunity of real power and responsibility. There remains the no less important and far more difficult problem of the relationship of the various elements in India. The future constitution of India must emerge from agreement between the main elements in India's national life.

Congress Attitude Examined

Mr. *Amery* continued : I would again point out that to attempt to set up at this moment an Executive Council composed of ministers responsible to anyone else but the Viceroy would at once raise all those constitutional problems which are yet unsettled. I must remind the House that the resolution passed at Delhi on July 7, for which Congress representatives were responsible, not only asked for an unequivocal declaration of complete independence for India, but as an immediate step for a provisional national government at the centre which should be such as would command the confidence of all elected elements in the Central Legislature and in closest co-operation with the responsible Governments in the provinces. To be perfectly frank, that means a ministry in fact under the control of the same Congress executive that called out the Ministers to go from the administration of the provinces which they would have been quite content to go on administering to this day.

No Moslem leader would have been prepared to serve under such conditions. Therefore, the only solution at the moment, until we have got nearer to agreement on principles, is one in which as individuals, political leaders would join the Viceroy's Executive Council uncommitted as regards the future constitution of India and without prejudice.

Those proposals were rejected out of hand by the Congress. The attitude of the Congress in this matter is one of 'all or nothing'. It means not merely unqualified recognition of India's independence of India governed by the Congress on Congress lines. To accept that position or even to move towards it would at once create infinite trouble in India and would go far towards threatening all hopes of bringing about a self-governing India united in some measure at any rate within itself. Other elements in India have accepted and welcomed our general proposals as to the future shaping of India's constitution. Even as regards the more immediate policy of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council it was not rejected by any of them in principle but only broke down on detail. In the case of the

Moslem League they broke down because they asked for more places on the Executive Council than the Viceroy was prepared to concede and because guarantees demanded against the Congress changing its mind and coming into the Executive Council later without the League's approval also in his view went too far. In the case of the Mahasabha, an orthodox Hindu organisation, they too put their claims too high as a rejoinder to the Moslem demand, although I believe they were prepared to modify them afterwards.

At any rate these proposals, apart from the intransigient attitude of the Congress, have made a real substantial difference to the general outlook in India. At the same time in view not only of the Congress objection but of the hesitant attitude of other parties the Viceroy was put into a position of no little difficulty. It was, of course, always possible for him to fill up an enlarged executive somehow with individuals of high character and ability. But that would not have carried out our clear desire to associate political leaders of India more directly with the Government of India during the war.

It would have closed the door for a considerable time to come and the Viceroy's desire is to leave the door open. Consequently, he came very reluctantly to the decision of the Executive Council and the formation of a war advisory council for the time being. After all the Viceroy's object can be attained as soon as sufficient representative elements show their readiness to come in. Meanwhile, our wider declaration as to the future still stands. There is nothing today to prevent serious-minded and responsible leaders of the Indian nation coming together and beginning to think out among themselves the great problems of India's constitution.

Mr. Gordon Macdonald.—Provided they are not in jail.

Mr. Amery—That depends upon their action but even there they will have plenty of opportunities for correspondence and study. At the end of the war they could bring forward a constructive thought-out plan upon which Indian public opinion could work, which could then be converted into actuality with the minimum delay.

GANDHI'S PACIFISM AND WAR EFFORT

Any such effort we are only glad to welcome and promote but it is in the main a matter for the Indians themselves.

Perhaps I may now return to the action of the Congress. That body under *Mr. Gandhi's* leadership has decided to express its dissatisfaction by a campaign of defiance of law by instalment. I want to be quite sure that this is not a campaign merely to preach the doctrine of pacifism. The Viceroy was willing to concede to *Mr. Gandhi* and his followers the same rights of expressing conscientious opinion about the war in general as we concede in this country. That, however, is not, apart from the attitude of *Mr. Gandhi* himself, the attitude of his colleagues. What they have demanded is the right to urge Indians not to recruit, not to work in munitions factories or to contribute voluntary contributions to the war committees which, as the noble Lord opposite said, have been established in almost every village in India. That is a campaign which here or in any other country no Government could entertain in time of war. It was launched by an earnest and philanthropic follower of *Mr. Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave,* who was sentenced to a short term of imprisonment. It was to have been followed by Pandit Nehru, however, who outstripped *Mr. Gandhi* both in time, and I believe, in the character of the speeches he made. These speeches were violent and deliberately provocative, and were deliberately aimed at hampering the war effort and did so in effect as well as in intention.

Lord Winterton.—Pt. Nehru challenged the Government to arrest him.

Mr. Amery.—His speech caused the gravest anxiety to the Government of the United Provinces. I ask the House whether it would have been fair that Government should have allowed such speeches from a man of Pt. Nehru's eminent position to go unpunished while punishing a lesser fry. Would it have been fair to Indian Ministers in the neighbouring provinces who are still carrying under the act of 1935 and are loyally helping forward the war effort and have dealt firmly with seditious activities ?

MR. NEHRU'S SENTENCE

In any case Pandit Nehru's sentence was a matter not for the executive but for the law. If the sentence is judged by him to be excessive he has the right of appeal. In any case he has been in prison under the "A" category under which he is allowed books, his own quarters, company of others, frequent letters, personal interviews and a great many compensations which deprive him a little except of liberty

to go about repeating the speeches he has recently made. I would only say in conclusion that no body regrets more than the Viceroy and myself that we should have to deal with this matter. But we have our duty to maintain law and order particularly at the present time, and ensure that nothing is done to prejudice the war effort. After all India at this moment is, as we are here, fighting for her very existence. For any Government to submit inertly at such a time as this to a deliberate attempt either by an individual or a political organization, to weaken the war effort, kill recruitment or hinder production would mean in India as it would here an abdication of all claim to be a Government and would mean an abandonment of the cause which is India's cause as well as our own.

DOOR STILL LEFT OPEN

Subject to that, the Government of India have no desire in any respect to change their policy either towards the Congress or towards any other party. Our proposals are on record in two White Papers and have been widely recognized as generous, and I cannot see in what direction we could have gone further and carried India with us. Our offer remains open. It is for Indians themselves to decide how far they can go in order to avail themselves of the opportunity for power and responsibility presented to them.

Mr. Macdonald :—Are we to take it from this statement that his Majesty's Government in this country are not going to make any further effort whatever to ease the situation ?

Mr. Amery :—The door is open all the time.

Mr. Edmund Harvey :—Is it not possible that the rt. hon. gentleman himself might make an effort for which an appeal has been made from more than one quarter of the House. The great difficulty is suspicion and misunderstanding and this cannot be removed by White Papers or a governmental pronouncement but it might be removed by the personal influence of the Secretary of State himself. (Interruption).

There are suspicions and I think so on the part of the Moslem League. These suspicions cannot be removed by formal Government statements. It might be possible that if the Secretary of State would make a visit to India and meet informally in the simplest way leaders of Indian opinion he could be the means of creating confidence which is at present lacking and the lack of which we all deplore.

Mr. Amery :—I am afraid that what I have said this afternoon will have been in vain if I have not made it clear that the difficulty lies and suspicion goes deeper, as between different elements in India, than it does between India and the British Government, and while the situation is unchanged, I think it would be only a fruitless and embarrassing visit for the Secretary of State to pay.

Kindred Ideals of Britain and India

Mr. Amery Raises Watchword of 'India First'

London—12th. December 1940

Mr. *L. S. Amery* applied the slogan 'India first' when speaking at a luncheon in London on the 12th. December 1940. 'It is of the essence of politics', he said, 'in our democratic age that it is largely governed by slogans, by simple words or phrases, which sum up a principle, a method or purpose which can be applied to almost every situation and which gain strength by constant reiteration. Is there such a slogan or watchword which can effectively be applied to the affairs of India in this present difficult juncture and applied not only by Indians of every community or section in their relations to each other or to the British Government, but also by Englishmen whether here or in India in their outlook upon the Indian problem and afford equally helpful guidance to all of us ?

WATCHWORD OF 'INDIA FIRST'

'I believe that there is and I am going to be bold enough to submit it for your consideration here and not for your consideration only, but also, if my words and their sincere purpose carry that far, to Indians in their own country. That watchword is 'India first'. Let me say to begin with what I mean by the word 'India.' By India, I mean India as a whole, India as nature and history have shaped her : India with her infinite diversity and underlying unity ; India as she

is today and as we wish her to be in the years to come. India like our own island was subjected to many influences from without. Wave after wave of invaders has swept down upon her through her north-western gateway, no doubt, even before the days of the fair-skinned northern pastoralists who gave to most of India her Aryan speech and her most characteristic religious philosophy. For a thousand years, Islam penetrated and permeated India not only as a conquering but as a proselytising force.

External Influences on India

'None of these influences found any natural barrier to arrest them. They remained strongest, no doubt, in the regions they first entered but in varying degrees they spread in every direction to India's furthest confines. Hinduism and Islam in very varying proportions are coterminous over the whole sub-continent. What is more, in the process, history has created in India, in spite of infinite variations in detail, variations everywhere shading insensibly into each other her own distinctive human type and in a large measure her own distinctive way of life. The last but in some respects the most potent of all these external influences has been that of this country exercised upon India, now for nearly 300 years. Its effect upon India's racial composition and internal social structure has been negligible. But in the political domain, the effect has far exceeded that of any of its predecessors. Every previous rule in India had inevitably attempted to extend its authority over India as a whole.

Benefits of British Rule

'The British rule alone succeeded in giving India that political unity which is the indispensable condition of her free and peaceful development. It gave to India what the Norman conquest gave England a strong ordered administration. It gave what England won for herself in the Magna Carta, the reign of law and a legal system which Indian judges and lawyers have progressively contributed to administer and to enrich. It gave above all in the English language not only a common medium but a common foundation of political thinking among Indians of every class or creed. In that sense at least the British influence in India has become an integral part of her national life and India and England are today in political outlook and aspiration, if not in race, members of one political family. What I want to emphasize is that in these things the political unity of India and the development in India of British conceptions of individual freedom and national self-government are intimately connected.

Need of Unity

"The internal unity and peace enforced by the strong hand of our early Norman kings and the external security afforded by our insular position were in no small measure responsible for the growth of freedom in this country, just as the absence of clearly defined frontiers, racial or geographical, has fostered autocracy and militarism in central Europe.

'Once broken up into separate and independent entities, India would relapse as it did in the decline of the Mogul empire into a welter of contending powers in which free institutions would inevitably be suppressed and in which no one element would have the resources with which to defend itself against external attack, whether by land or by sea.

Watchword Explained

'I have tried to explain what I mean by India. What then do I mean by 'India first' ? I think that I can best convey my meaning in alternative ways, putting myself in the place first of one and then of another of those to whom I wish to commend this watchwrd. Let me begin by placing myself in the position of a British Indian, and member of the Hindu community, a believer in Indian freedom from outside control and in democracy—shall I say a follower of the Congress or of the Hindu Mahasabha ? What should 'India first' mean for one in that position ? How in that case should I interpret it for myself ? Would it not be in some such sense as follows ? 'If I put India first, then must I not win over to my conception of India's future my Moslem neighbour who is as essentially and necessarily a part of India as I am ? I may prefer a democratic system on the simple majority basis that prevails in England and a closely knit centralized constitution. But should those preferences stand in the way of some compromise which would enable him to feel that his community will as surely enjoy in

the future India as real a freedom and as full a development of its individual, communal and cultural entity as my own ? I may dislike autocracy. But should I therefore exclude from Indian unity Indian autonomy States which are an indispensable part of that unity and which in their way of life and traditions are the most characteristically Indian parts of India, rather than welcome them and trust to time and example to bring about the changes which I might desire ?'

Watchword and Indian Moslem

'On the other hand, if I put myself in the shoes of an Indian Moslem, how should I then interpret 'India first' ? Would it not be in some such wise ? 'Bound as I am to assert the right of my own community to be recognized as a permanent element in India's national life and not as mere numerical minority, am I entitled to put that claim to the point of imposing a veto on all political progress except at the cost of a complete break-up of Indian unity, which would be equally disastrous to us both ?'

"What again would be the meaning of 'India first' to the ruler of an Indian State ? Would it not be something to this effect : Much as I prize the privileged and secure position assured to me by my treaty with the Imperial Crown sincerely as I believe that my long-established methods of government make for the welfare of my people, have I not a special obligation as a natural leader in India to make my contribution in Indian unity by the sacrifice of some of my sovereign powers and by such reforms in the internal constitution of my own state as will bring it more nearly in harmony with the political life of India as a whole ?'

'From every element in India the watchword 'India first' demands comprehensive tolerance and compromise ; acceptance of the real India as it exists to-day, not the uncompromising insistence upon the immediate and complete realization of the theoretical India which any particular element or party has inscribed upon its banner . So far I have spoken of the issue as affecting the relations between the different elements within India itself.

India and Britain

'What of the relation between India and Britain ? what should 'India first' mean either to an Indian in relation to the British Commonwealth or to an English man in his relation to the affairs of India ? Should it for an Indian mean partnership in that Commonwealth or severance from it ? Let me answer that question by first putting another. What would Britain first mean to me as an Englishman ?

'My own immediate duty is to my own country to do what I can to make Britain prosperous, secure, honoured among the nations and exercising her influence for freedom, peace and progress in the world. At the same time, I know that nothing can contribute more to everyone of these objects than the continuance and development of that free cooperation with nations essentially kindred in outlook and ideals which is the foundation of our British Commonwealth.

'The maintenance of that Commonwealth means for us the enlagement, as severance would spell the diminution of our freedom. Is it otherwise with India ? Is that security which 'India first' implies ever possible for India except in assured reliance upon some wider partnership ? And where could India find a partnership more effective in its support, less exacting in its demands and above all more concordant in its character with India's innate spiritual outlook as well as with the political outlook which the centuries of British influence have implanted in her leaders ? Nor is there any conflict between the claims upon my conduct or that of any other Englishman in his relation to Indian affairs, of 'British first' and of 'India first'. Believing as I do that the highest interest of Britain lies in the strength and permanence of the British Commonwealth, I khow that the strength of that Commonwealth and the permanence of that Commonwealth can only be based on the fullest freedom, the fullest developments, the fullest variety of individual life in each of its parts.

'I think I can claim in all sincerity that it was from that point of view that the Viceroy made a memorable statement three months ago. That statement outlined the procedure by which Indians can arrive at the agreed framework of India's future constitution. It offered to Indian political leaders as an immediate instalment as wide an effective participation in the government of India as is practicable under the conditions of the present struggle for existence and with the basis for an agreed constitution still wholly unsettled. That offer has for the moment been rejected, not because it was in itself inadequate but because the spirit

of 'India first', the spirit of agreement, of compromise, of a recognition of realities, was not strong enough to overcome the insistence on unpractical demands on one side or undue suspicion on the other. I am not prepared to believe that this will be India's final reaction to the offer which is still before her.

'There must be many of every party and every community in India, younger men with ideals and yet wide-eyed for reality, men of ability prepared to grapple with the sheer intellectual difficulties of the problem, practical men of affairs accustomed to give and take, who between them, by patient study and frank discussion, should be able to find a way out of a deadlock between contending Indian claims which cannot serve either India or that common cause in the present conflict which every Indian knows is as much his own as it is ours. It is to them above all that I would commend the watchword of 'India first' which I have made my theme to you here today.'

Sir Tej Bahadur's appeal to British Statesmen and Indian Leaders

In November 1940 *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* issued a statement in which after discussing the situation that had arisen in the country suggested that *Mahatma Gandhi* and *Mr. Jinnah* should meet and have a discussion with a determination to come to some sort of a settlement; that they should also invite one or two leaders of the Hindu Sabha, the Sikhs and the depressed classes, etc.; that they should see the Viceroy and press him to reconstruct for the period of the war his government so as to give it in substance the character of a national government, to appoint an Indian as Defence Member, to start heavy industries in India, particularly those connected with war, at as early a date as possible, to revive ministries in the provinces or, if that be not possible, to associate non-official advisers with the administration of the provinces and to establish a War Board representing British India as well as the Indian States. The following is the text of *Sir T. B. Sapru's* statement:—

Rapid Deterioration

In this statement I propose to draw attention to the situation in India as it has unfortunately developed in recent months. It is not my intention to refer in this statement to some of the features of *Mr. Amery's* speech delivered at the luncheon of the English-Speaking Union, as I propose later on to deal with some parts of it which call for very serious attention, not because he has made any affirmative remarks about the future constitution of India, but because he has thrown out hints and suggestions, some of which must cause grave anxiety in the Indian mind.

The Indian press has been lately drawing pointed attention to the rapid deterioration of the internal situation and among the newspapers in India no two papers have written more emphatically and more appealingly on the necessity and urgency of re-establishing an atmosphere of harmony and cooperation than the two leading Anglo-Indian dailies of Calcutta and Bombay. It is somewhat significant that *Mr. Fazlul Huq*, the Premier of Bengal, has made a public suggestion to the Muslim League for exploring avenues for rapprochment between parties which have unfortunately fallen out, but which should in the highest and abiding interest of the country do everything that lies in their power to remove the miasma, which has so much poisoned the body politic.

Signs of the Times

It will do no good either to India or to England to ignore the signs of the times. Englishmen, who think that the challenge, which has been thrown at this juncture by certain advanced politicians, who are courting arrest and imprisonment —many of whom are occupying the highest position in the public life of the country and some of whom until last year were running the machinery of the government in seven provinces—is not affecting the Indian mind at large, that the masses at large are indifferent to what is happening in the country, seem to me to be at best taking a very narrow view of the situation. The sentence passed on *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* has not only attracted attention in Parliament but is the subject of general comment nearly everywhere in India. Similarly, I maintain that Indians, whatever their political affiliation or political creed, who believe or affect to believe that the challenge which has been thrown out to the British Govern-

ment at a juncture like this, is going to do any good to the country, or that it is going to bring us nearer the day of the fulfilment of our political aims and objects, are, to my mind, deceiving themselves and sacrificing the permanent interest of the country at the altar of certain political shibboleths, which howsoever good in themselves, are full of dangerous possibilities in times like these. The, tragedy of the situation is that so far as Nazism and Fascism are concerned. Indian opinion has unequivocally condemned them and indeed it may be said that not a few of the leaders, who find themselves behind the prison bars, have not only condemned Hitlerism and all that it stands for but have in some of their speeches expressed the hope for the victory of England and the defeat of Germany. It, therefore, seems to me all the more deplorable that the issue on which they should have decided to fight the Government should be the issue of the freedom to preach slogans against war effort. While, therefore, I maintain that no government in the world—foreign or national—can afford to permit speeches or slogans calculated to interfere with their war activities, I also feel that the situation which has been created by mistakes on one side or the other, or probably both, should be remedied and as the 'Statesman' said the other day, 'sooner or later there must be a settlement, a new approach on bigger and more hopeful lines'. To allow the present state of things to continue indefinitely is to confess the failure of Indian leadership and British statesmanship alike. I have no hesitation in saying that both have failed us on this occasion.

Bigger and more Hopeful lines

From this side issue, on which relations have broken down, I think we must revert to the 'bigger and more hopeful lines'. So far back as May last, I ventured to suggest that the time had come when the different parties in India should arrive, for the period of war, at a minimum amount of agreement and the one issue on which they could unite was that we must do the best that lay in our power to win this war and thus secure the safety of India. In my humble opinion this could only be done by the formation of a national government. Now a national government might be a government responsible to the legislature or responsible to the Crown. In the existing circumstances I did not put forward the idea of a national government responsible to the legislature, particularly because no responsible government could be formed in the true constitutional sense of the word upon the existing franchise and with important elements kept out of the legislature. I thought that a national government, though technically responsible to the Crown during the period of the war, was certain to command great influence and weight with the legislature as a precursor of things to come. I was glad to notice later on that so far as public opinion was concerned this idea of national government held the field. It had the support of influential organs of public opinion and a few months ago I understood that weighty non-official British opinion also favoured it. Of course I did not know as to how this proposal was viewed in important official quarters in India or in England. It was, however, abundantly plain that so far as the official world was concerned, the idea of an expansion of the Executive Council at the centre was being entertained as providing the most hopeful way out of the present difficulties. I should have preferred to call it a reconstruction of the government.

Expansion of Executive Council

In August last it was understood that important negotiations about the expansion of the Council were going on between the Viceroy and some leaders and hopes were being entertained in high quarters that the idea would materialise at an early date. Then the news began to trickle down that not only the biggest political party in the country had turned it down but that the Muslim League also was not prepared to accept it. It was a matter of common knowledge that they were anxious to know as to how many of the new portfolios would fall to their share, what the total strength of the Executive Council would be and whether the Defence portfolio would continue to be reserved or would be transferred to the control of an Indian member. Similarly the Hindu Sabha had their own doubts as to whether they were going to get their proper share of representation in the government. While I realise the importance of political talks at initial stages being kept confidential, I cannot but regret that no opportunity was given to public opinion to consider the scheme as a whole, to understand its implications and its potentialities and the whole thing proceeded as if it was a matter of bargain or settlement between three or four parties and the rest of the country

was not interested in it. Possibly if out of an Executive Council of nine members, seven were going to be Indians that would be the nearest approach to a national government so far as the members went, but if this was going to be the basis of the new scheme it was also necessary to tell the public as to whether this extended Executive Council was going to work on the basis of collective responsibility even though that responsibility might for the time being be to the Crown, or whether the individual members of the Government were to function in the words of Mr. Amery 'not as mere advisers but as Ministers responsible for great departments of States'. It is not in recent times only that emphasis has been laid on collective responsibility. One could trace its history back to the sixties of the last century when Sir Charles Wood expressed the opinion that the members of Council should follow the rule of the British Cabinet and even a Secretary of State like Sir Henry Fowler (afterwards Lord Wolverhampton) insisted that the Government—whether in India or in England —must act as a homogeneous body. Why has this point not been made clear so far ? To reduce the Executive Councillors to mere 'heads of great departments of state' is a dangerous principle in constitutional practice and it cuts across the entire system of the working of the Executive Council which had been followed until very recently and which, I hope, will still be followed though the times are different.

An Indian Defence Member

There is no doubt in my mind that every section of Indian politicians—advanced or moderate—would expect that under any new scheme of reconstruction of the executive government, particularly at this juncture when everybody is agreed that the defence of India should be strengthened and its resources so developed as to be serviceable to England at least in the Middle East, which, we are told, is going to be the determining and the decisive factor in the fortunes of the war, an Indian member should be appointed to hold the Defence portfolio. It is possible to say that it would be most dangerous to transfer the control of the Defence portfolio to an Indian member specially in times of war as it might affect the position of the Commander-in-Chief and his undivided responsibility. It would, however, be by no means impossible to adjust the relations between the Defence Member and the Commander-in-Chief so as to secure cooperation, harmony and speedy work. The assignment of the Defence portfolio to an Indian would have a moral value of its own and strike the imagination of the people as very few other things can. I refuse to concede that there are not some Indians, who could rise equal to the responsibility of the position.

I put forward the idea at the time of the Round Table Conference in a speech of mine and received a substantial measure of support from unexpected quarters. In a joint memorandum which the Rt. hon. Mr. *M. R. Jayakar* and I submitted to the Government in England at the conclusion of the second Round Table Conference, and which is now printed in the proceedings of the third session, we suggested that during the period of transition the Army Member, though appointed by the Governor-General and responsible to him, should be selected from among the members of the Legislature representing British India and the Indian States and we ventured to express the opinion that this could not be regarded as an undue restriction of the discretion of the Governor-General. Later on I repeated the same proposal in a separate memorandum, which I submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and this was further emphasised by the joint memorandum of the other Indian members which was presented to the committee after I came away from England. The Joint Parliamentary Committee, however, say in their report with regard to the suggestions of the British Indian delegation 'that the Governor-General's choice ought not be fettered in any way and he must be free to select the man best fitted in his opinion for the post'. It must be remembered, however, that the report was written at least five years before the war when there was no occasion to face the situation which has now arisen in India and in England. It will, however, be noticed that under the scheme of the extended Executive Council all the Ministers would be responsible to the Crown during the war and not to the Legislature and, therefore, the British Government would not, in my opinion, be incurring any grave risk. On the contrary the moral advantages of such a step would be much greater than the Government here or at Whitehall realise. No one can say what further taxation may be necessary in India, but it is obvious that it would strengthen the position of the Government in the matter of taxation if people could know that they had their trusted representatives not

merely in the Legislature but also in the executive Government. I maintain that if ever there was a time when public opinion could be roused on the necessity of the defence of the country and the support of the army, it was this.

Position in Provinces

Today the position is that in seven provinces of India there are no legislatures, no ministers and not even members of executive council, as was the case up to 1937. Indeed, we have been relegated in some provinces to the position such as it was before the Minto-Morley Reforms. At the centre we have an Executive Council with three Indian members as against four English. There is a jaded and stale Legislature, which meets fitfully and works in a mood of suspicion, distrust and even open hostility to the official point of view. Its ranks may be thinned still more by the time that it meets again in January or February. So far as the Executive Council is concerned, it is obvious that the necessity for its expansion has been felt or conceded by the Viceroy and his Majesty's Government.

I personally have always regretted that the governments of these seven provinces tendered their resignation and I have held, and still hold, that it was a first class mistake which the party in power committed and that mistake in its turn has unfortunately led to many more. When, however, the question of national government was pressed in Parliament, Mr. *Amery* said : 'To be perfectly frank that means a ministry in fact under the control of the same Congress executive that called out the ministries from the administration of the provinces which they would have been quite content to go on administering to this day'. As a debating point perhaps Mr. *Amery's* answer might appear to some as telling, but in my opinion it also betrays a deplorable lack of vision and constructive statesmanship.

Collective Responsibility

In the very next sentence Mr. *Amery* went on to say : 'No Muslim leader would have been prepared to serve under such conditions. Therefore, the only solution at the moment until we have got nearer to agreement in principle is one in which as individuals political leaders would join the Viceroy's Executive Council uncommitted as regards the future constitution of India and without prejudice.' The emphasis laid on political leaders joining as individuals entitles, I think, one to conclude that the idea of collective responsibility was ruled out in the absence of the agreement on principles. Of course everybody knew from the press speeches of Mr. *Amery* and others in high quarters that the future constitution of India was not going to be drawn up now and that whenever it would be drawn up by Indians themselves a certain measure of agreement would be necessary, but surely Mr. *Amery* could not mean that it was beyond his powers or those of his advisers to secure a working agreement on certain principles so as to enable the newly expanded Executive Council to work on that principle of collective responsibility which it has always been required to follow and which, I hope, it does follow even now. All that we have been told is 'that the door is still open'.

Regrettable

Nothing has pained me more than the remark of Mr. *Amery*, which I should not have expected from any Secretary of State, that 'there is nothing today to prevent serious-minded and responsible leaders of Indian nation coming together and beginning to think out among themselves the great problem of India's constitution'. When Mr. *G. MacDonald* interjected the remark, 'provided they are not in jail', Mr. *Amery* is reported to have said : 'That depends upon their action, but even there they will have plenty of opportunities for correspondence and study'. Coming as this remark does from the Secretary of State at a juncture like this, it is, to my mind, wooden and indefensible. I am no believer in civil disobedience—mass or individual—but in fairness to those among my countrymen from whom I differ—and differ very strongly—I maintain that a remark of this character is not calculated to pour oil over troubled waters. The question of law and order is one thing and the discussion of political problems is another. It is not on this plane that one would expect in these times or at any time even the Secretary of State for India to speak. It is somewhat remarkable that in his own speech after saying that the attitude of the Congress with regard to the proposals was 'all or nothing', Mr. *Amery* himself said that 'other elements in India have accepted and welcomed our general proposals as to the future shaping of

India's constitution. Even as regards the more immediate policy of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, it was not rejected by any one of them in principle but only broke down in details. In the case of the Muslim League they broke down because they asked for more places on the executive than the Viceroy was prepared to concede,' and because guarantees demanded against the Congress changing its mind and coming into the executive later without the League's approval also went in his view too far. If the 'other elements' were so reasonable and if the breakdown of the proposals took place only on questions of detail, then it is all the more regrettable that while blaming one political party for adopting the attitude of 'all or nothing', Mr. *Amery* should have allowed himself to adopt the attitude of 'take it or leave it' and that is mainly the reason why I hold that if Indian leadership has been a failure, British statesmanship has also been an equally great failure on this occasion.

NOT TOO LATE TO MEND

Surely even now it is not too late to retrieve the lost ground. All those who are anxious that the energies of this country should not be dissipated in theoretical discussions or manœuvring for positions or in trying to save the prestige of one party or the other, including the Government, are anxious that something should be done to repair the mischief which has already been done. I am, therefore, glad that the suggestion has emanated from Mr. *Fazlul Huq* that the Muslim League should take the initiative in trying to bring about rapprochment. As one who believes sincerely in the necessity of a rapprochment—and a genuine rapprochment—between the Hindus and the Muslims, I welcome this move. I believe that when the interests, not of this party or that party, but of the whole country are involved, both the *Mahatma* and Mr. *Jinnah* will recognise that they owe it to the country at large that they should meet each other at least at this critical juncture and try to remove those misunderstandings which are in the main responsible for our present position. Intermediaries on an occasion of this character cannot be so useful as direct personal contact. This is not an occasion in my opinion when either of them can refuse to meet the other and talk to each other in that large-hearted fashion, which the best interests of the country require them to do. If once they meet and come to any definite conclusions, I see no reason why both of them should not seek to remove the misunderstandings with the Viceroy or why the Viceroy himself should not take the initiative. I can recall a similar situation having arisen as far back as 1921. I remember that it was during the progress of the non-cooperation movement that a conference between the then Viceroy, Lord Reading, and *Mahatma Gandhi* and certain other leaders was to take place. It is unfortunate that it did not come about, but the point is that it was to have come about while non-cooperation was in full progress. Similarly in 1930 conversations were again started with the full knowledge and consent of Lord Irwin between *Mahatma Gandhi*, then in the Yerovada jail, and certain other distinguished leaders and from stage to stage Lord *Irwin* was kept fully apprised of them. The documents of that time are now public property. Again in 1931 when the Irwin-Gandhi Pact or Agreement was issued on the 5th of March. 1931, the first article said that 'consequent on the conversations that have taken place between his Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. *Gandhi* it has been arranged that the civil disobedience movement be discontinued.' It was only in 1932 that Lord *Willingdon* in reply to a letter of Mahatma *Gandhi* said that as the latter had been away from India, he believed that he had personally no share in the responsibility for, nor that he approved of the recent activities of the Congress in the United Provinces and in the North-West Frontier Province. 'If this is so', said the letter of the private secretary to the Viceroy, 'he is willing to see you but his Excellency feels bound to emphasise that he will not be prepared to discuss with you that measures which the Government of India with the full approval of his Majesty's Government have found it necessary to adopt in Bengal .....' Instances of a similar character could be multiplied both from Indian history and English history. I have ventured to refer to them only because I hope that the fact that the Mahatma has decided—and as I frankly think most unfortunately decided—to start individual civil disobedience will not influence decisions in high quarters.

SUGGESTIONS

My suggestions, therefore, are :—

(a) That the Mahatma, in whom all the powers and functions of the Congress are at present centred and Mr. *Jinnah* should meet and meet promptly and discuss

things in a free, open and large-hearted manner with the fixed determination that they must come to some sort of a settlement ;

(b) That not only should they meet between themselves but they should also invite one or two leaders of the Hindu Sabha, the Sikhs and the depressed classes, etc., and I would make an earnest appeal to them just as I would to Mr. *Jinnah*, that in the larger interests of the country the spirit which should permeate them in their discussions should be different from that which permeates in public discussions. It will do no good at this juncture and certainly not promote the objective of unity or settlement to ask whether it is right or wrong to make the future of India dependent upon the will or the vote of the minorities. We must take the situation as it is at present.

(c) They must also see the Viceroy and press on him

(i) to reconstruct for the period of the war his government so as to give it in substance the character for a 'national government'. From a practical point of view it is entirely immaterial by what name you call it, whether you call it a 'national government' or a 'national executive' or merely an 'executive council', the essence of the whole thing being that the number of non-official Indians, who command the confidence of large sections of the people, in whose honour and judgment the country can trust, should be preponderantly large.

(ii) That with the advent of the new Commander-in-Chief or even before, an Indian Defence Member should be appointed as the moral effect of that on the imagination of the people will be immense, and in my opinion Government in agreeing to it will be reviving the faith of the country and removing the sense of frustration, which in the last analysis is affecting the entire psychology of the country.

(iii) They should press on the Viceroy that heavy industries, particularly those connected with the war, including the manufacture of aeroplanes, should be started at as early a date as possible even though Whitehall may be unwilling for one reason or another, and tell him plainly that the plea that technical experts are not available or cannot be got from elsewhere is looked upon even by the friends of Government as a plea of obstruction or delay, which can bring no conviction to the Indian mind.

(iv) They must also draw attention to the present constitutional position in the provinces and tell him that if the old Ministries cannot be revived or cannot work smoothly an attempt should be made with the goodwill of all to establish mixed or coalition ministries and even if this attempt fails nonofficial advisers should be associated with the administration of the provinces simultaneously with the reconstruction of the central Government, and lastly, that the War Board, which alone can at this stage bring British India and Indian States together on a common platform be established provided it is going to be a live and active board.

Educational Progress in India

July—December 1940

The All India Educational Conference

16th. Session—Udaipur—27th. December 1940

The Presidential Address

The following is the text of the Presidential Address delivered by the Hon'ble Sir *Shah Sulaiman*, M.A., LL.D., D.Sc., Judge, Federal Court, and Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh University, at the Sixteenth All-India Educational Conference (under the auspices of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations) held at Udaipur on the 27th. December 1940.

Chairman of the Reception Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen :—

It is both a privilege and an honour to be elected to preside over the All-India Educational Conference at Udaipur, historic town of great antiquity, which is justly proud of its glorious past. The holding of its Session at this beautiful and picturesque city has attracted Delegates from all parts of India in large numbers. The invitation so graciously extended to the Conference is evidence of the patronage of His Highness the Maharana, who is the most revered of all the Ruling Princes of Rajputana. All the Delegates are particularly grateful to the Reception Committee for the lavish hospitality so kindly offered. Our special thanks are due to Dewan Bahadur Sir *T. Vijayaraghavacharya*, M.B.E., who combines in himself the qualities of a scholar, an educationist and an administrator of great ability, and no less to the other organizers of the Conference.

I feel that the responsibility of presiding over such a distinguished assembly is heavy. But I count on the support of so many expert educationists, who at great inconvenience to themselves have come here today from all over the country, to discuss the numerous intricate problems vitally affecting the education of India's younger generation. These important problems need a more careful examination here than anywhere else in the world. Expert knowledge and technical ability are required to prepare a well-planned scheme for their solution. This great burden must naturally fall on this representative body. An august gathering of expert educationists like yourselves is in the best position to tackle and solve the various difficult problems that have arisen. The resolutions passed by you are bound to carry great weight with all whom they will concern. An All-India institution like this Conference can command a general outlook over the entire field of education, evolve a scientific method in education, systematize accepted principles, and yet leave the minor details to be worked out differently by men on the spot according to the varying needs of the various Provinces and States.

We are meeting today under the shadow of a great war, started by a lust for aggression on all weaker countries, that have the misfortune to lie in the neighbourhood of the aggressor. To our shame, the first half of this Century, notorious for two major wars, will go down in history as an age of false propaganda, terror and blackmail. The future historian in analysing the genesis of these World Wars will visualize the modern world as a helpless victim of a rule of brute force and aggrandizement. India is, indeed, very fortunate in being far away from the scenes of brutal conflict. But when world events are moving so fast, and circumstances changing so rapidly, our duties are by no means light, and it is not difficult to see what our obligations must be.

We have known the problem of educating the young to vary from generation to generation, but we now find that it varies even from country to country. Educational policies have not only been readapted to the changed conditions of the environments, but have been altogether moulded by the varying whims of dictatorial minds. To our horror, we notice that in some countries education has been made subservient to transient political doctrines, political ideas have been introduced as accepted tenets, and adherence to party programmes enforced in the education of the youth of the country. The whole aim of education there is to regimentize the young, and a determined effort is made to ensure that this end is achieved. All ideas except those which fit in with the political theories in force are sedulously excluded, and only such notions as can harmonize with the promulgated dogmas are allowed to be instilled into the minds of the younger folk. In this way the advance of a particular political cause is secured, and also fully assured for the future. The excuse for such totalitarian methods is the proclaimed aim

that education means a preparation for true citizenship, so that the period spent in schools must be a period of apprenticeship. Individual interests are brushed aside in the attainment of such a national object, and individuals sacrificed in the interest of the nation as a whole. In such a rabid scheme, development of individual talents, growth of individual ideas, liberty of thought and freedom of expression are completely denied and effectively suppressed. A rigid uniformity, based on coercion, and if necessary actual physical force, is systematically enforced. Schools have been converted into centres of milltary training, and are run with no other object in view except to ensure fitness for ultimate military service.

It is needless to state that education is the greatest concern of the people of a country, as its future destiny must largely depend on the system of education designed for it. Education is undoubtedly an inseparable part of the entire national life of a country; it is an integral part of the whole social and political fabric. During the last decades the Science of Eucation has developed to a remarkable degree, and become a big Scince in itself. It is now comprehensive enough to embrace most of the arts and sciences in a general way, with special attention being focussed on the main question how those subjects can best be taught.

India is a sub-continent, inhabited by nearly four hundred million people, and though rich in resources, it has the misfortune of being considerably hampered by an appalling degree of illiteracy prevailing among its people. Our increasing population, with its expanding needs, multiplies the educational problems facing this country, and even humanity at large. It is an ambitious idea to think of laying down one common form of education for all the classes of people and for the whole country. The time-honoured system which sufficed for the past generation may not necessarily satisfy the needs of the present generation. Perhaps a new and specific programme for the education of our children and our youths, is now called for, which would equip them better with knowledge and training to face the hard struggle of life that lies ahead of them. The problems confronting us today are varied, and in some respects different from those which were solved years ago. In the light of the new complexities in which we are now involved, a new angle of vision is required from which they must be examined, so that their solutions may be thought out anew. The method of evolving a new system must necessarily be difficult; and so long as the experiment has not been tried, honest differences of opinion can prevail, and views can be even widely divergent.

Life today is fuller and more varied than it was when the old policy of education was formulated. The old system designed for a different purpose has now become absolutely out of date, and is incapable of meeting the requirements of modern Indian conditions. It has therefore to be replaced by a national system of education more suited to the genius of the people of this country. But while a drastic change in the educational policy of India may be urgently required, it does not necessarily follow that there should be a complete change in the system all at once. Sudden and abrupt break with the past has its own peculiar disadvantages. The old system was the result of an evolution and long experience. Undoubtedly, it has failed in many respects; but it has, nevertheless, produced men of learning and ability, who have become leaders of renown in many walks of life. In launching a new scheme we should not be overenthusiastic, but must proceed with caution and restraint. No forward step should be taken without the realization of its full implications.

As a non-professional, I feel that it would be presumptuous on my part to express dogmatic opinions on the great questions which are exercising the minds of the educationists of the country, on which there may not be unanimity. I therefore need offer no apology for departing from the usual practice, and for attempting to refrain from expressing categorical opinions, and only formulating a few problems to provoke discussion and invite considered thought.

Pre-School Education. Considerable attention is naturally being focussed on that part of education which is in the hands of teachers, whether in schools, colleges or Universities. But the foundation of education is really and truly laid in the homes, long before children grow up to be admitted to schools. The importance of pre-school education is not fully realized, as it is considered to be solely the task of parents, whose primary duty it is to bring up their children in healthy surroundings, with a background of good habits and noble traditions. Even after joining school, children unlearn a great deal of what they are taught, if they are not well looked after in their homes. The chief reason for the low standard of our primary education is the poverty and illiteracy of the average parent, which

accounts for the insanitary housing conditions and unhygienic modes of living. If we are anxious to reach the ignorant parents, a big programme of Social Service, sponsored and worked by enthusiastic bands of selfless devotees, prepared to go from home, even on the countryside, is wanted. If that is to be the aim, then the enormous magnitude of the task will call for an All-India effort, embracing a countrywide activity. The Indian States, which comprise one-third of this great country and which have such close geographical, economic and cultural relations with the Indian Provinces, will not like to be left alone. We have to pull together all available resources in men and money, direct a uniform progressive policy, under the control of a central organization, with branches all over the country. Experts who have devoted considerable thought to such social service and gained experience of the actual working would be in the best position to settle the details of a scheme to be launched.

Primary Education. Vocational bias has undoubtedly to be given to primary education in the new system ; but literary and vocational training have to go hand in hand, as vocational training can be no substitute for literary training. Of late years, a distinct impetus has been given to vocational training in the new primary schools. But has not vocational bias in the scheme, that was recently introduced, been over-emphasized at the expense of literary instruction ? Is not the whole conception of making primary schools either self-supporting, or able to cover the major portion of their expenditure, entirely impracticable ? Will not an excessive stress on the economic value of the articles produced by the young children lead to the exploitation of their labour ? Would not that impel teachers to show a good output by over-working young students ? We must guard against allowing the school atmosphere to become over-saturated with the economic aspect to the prejudice of the cultural and the educational. Schools are not to be converted into little manufactories employing child labour. I an conscious that chief criticism on purely theoretical grounds is easy. So let there be a fair trial before the final decision is reached.

Adult Education. The problem of primary education cannot be satisfactorily solved without tackling at the same time the equally important problem of Adult Education. If we want to get rid of illiteracy, even by a scheme of universal compulsory primary education enforced at once, it will take several decades before we can succeed. Illiterates forming ninetythree per cent. of this vast population cannot be educated by a simple extension of primary education, unless we approach the adults as well. Should not Adult Education be worked in co-ordination with and as a necessary part of the primary education scheme.

In spite of the great efforts that have been made during the last few years, the Adult Education movement has not been such a great success as was expected.

May it not be that to achieve real success the scheme should be run on vocational lines ? It is essential to create an interest in the adult so that their enthusiasm may not fade away. Would not their interest be kept up if the books written for them relate to special occupations in which individual students are prrticularly engaged ? Should not books therefore be specially prepared for adults, very much different from those for young boys and girls, as the mental attitude and capability of the two types markedly differ ? Our everyday experience shows a clear distinction in rural and urban outlook. Should not different kinds of books be prepared for adults who are to be taught in urban and rural areas ? The All-India Adult Education Conference, over the first Session of which I had the honour to preside, stressed the need of a strong vocational bend being given to the scheme of adult education. If organizers of this great movement work with energy and enthusiasm needed for the task, there need be no doubt that the scheme will soon make headway and prove a landmark in the educational uplift of this country. But the work to be done is so great and the ambit of activity so vast, and above all the difficulties and obstacles so enormous, that we should not expect an easy or early return, nor should we be discouraged by failures and disappointments. Our immediate need is the careful preparation of a comprehensive plan suited to modern requirements. That is the first essential, as our future success will depend on the merits of our programme no less than on the sincerity and enthusiasm of our works.

Secondary Education. A reorientation is equally needed when we pass beyond the primary stage. Vocational instruction in the secondary schools is undoubtedly appropriate. Multiplication of industrial schools is therefore badly needed. The existing schools have been catering for those wishing to prosecute their studies up to the University standard, but the majority cannot afford to do so. Government

offices can no longer absorb all the Matriculates that are turned out. Attention must accordingly be directed more to industrial, agricultural and commercial activities. All this means education of a new type altogether. But this cannot be brought about by a wholesale conversion of the existing High Schools into Polytechnics. By giving vocational education we would certainly be qualifying boys and girls for various occupations after leaving school. But would that not disqualify them for prosecuting their studies further ? As it is, the standard of general knowledge possessed by Matriculates is very low for training at a University. Would it not make things worse if a good deal of time now spent on literary and scientific education were cut out and devoted to technical instruction ? Is not the only practical course to have a set of parallel institutions, one giving literary and scientific education on the existing lines, and the other purely vocational education ? Undoubtedly, this will mean a bifurcation in the secondary stage. But is there really any other option, when the aim of education differs according as the object is to enter life for earning a living or to pursue knowledge further ?

Intermediate Colleges. The position of the Intermediate Colleges raises another controversial question. When the older Universities were first established they had charge of Intermediate classes as well. So long as the number of students remained limited, there was a particular advantage in such a system, as a better class of teachers were entrusted with the teaching work. When the number became large particulary so in Bengal, the Intermediate classes became unmanageable. The Calcutta University Commission made elaborate recommendations for reforming the system of Secondary and University education in Bengal. The Calcutta University itself, for which the recommendations were meant, did not accept them at all , nor has it adopted them in great haste, and in some cases perhaps with later regret. The recommendations were taken over en bloc without thoroughly examining their suitability to the different Provinces. The modern tendency certainly is to take away the Intermediate classes from the Universities, and form them into separate Intermediate Colleges. But has not the removal of the Intermediate classes from the University atmosphere inevitably lowered the standard of University education itself ? Can the separate staffs required for the Intermediate Colleges be as efficient as the University staffs, who are of course better qualified and more highly paid ? Will not the salutary influence of association with advanced students disappear, and Intermediate Colleges tend to become glorified High Schools ? Is not the period of two years left for an ordinary University Degree too short for a student to benefit from the University training and culture, and to imbibe a true University spirit ?

A middle course is to split up the Intermediate classes, transferring one to the schools and adding the other to the University. Just as in the past a large increase in the number of students necessitated the establishment of Intermediate Colleges at various centres, away from the Universities, a similar increase may in course of time necessitate the adding of the eleventh class to the Schools. This will not only raise the standard of school education, making Matriculates better equipped for employment, but also allow at the same time a period of full three years for stay at a University.

Universities. University education furnishes varied problems on which there are marked differences of opinion. On the one hand, there is an insistent demand that education up to the highest stages must be thrown open free to all persons wishing to prosecute their studies. On the other hand, we are warned that in view of the huge population to be dealt with, such a course would be impracticable. Even if one per cent, were to be given higher education, we would have to find accommodation in our Universities for some thirty lacs of students ! How are they to be employed afterwards ? We are face to face with the bitter truth that for a big country like India free University education for all, the rich and the poor alike, imparted at the expense of the State, is a sheer impossibility. A line has to be drawn at some stage up to which the State must bear the whole cost, and at another stage up to which three fourths of the cost must be paid, and a stage where about half the cost should be met. With the growing number, the burden of bearing half the expenses of University education must fall on the parents and guardians of the students themselves. At the same time, when private benefaction on any large scale is lacking, no University in India can maintain itself without generous Government or State help.

At present there appears to be no definite policy of fixing a proportion of the total revenue for expenditure on education ; nor is there any allocation of propor-

tionate grants for the three grades. For a country like India, with its meagre resources, the scale of expenses is much too high. The cost of education is going up year after year and is bound to increase steadily. All the same the fees paid by students are still low as compared to the fees in Europe ; and yet salaries of the higher teaching staff are comparable. The expenses per student which the Universities have to incur are disproportionately high when the total number of students that are taught is considered. The figures when worked out for some departments would show that a very much larger number of students can be educated if scholarships were awarded for study elsewhere, where there are special facilities, instead of maintaining those departments.

There is an incessant claim of a large section of students for a reduction in fees, but the scale of fees that are to be charged has to bear some relation to the scale of salaries of the teaching staff. Fees cannot be reduced until Government grants are increased, or rich philanthropists make large endowments, or there is a drastic reduction in the expenses. It may take a long time before we have in this country private benefactors offering generous help in a large measure to compare with any such trust as the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Science. What is then the solution ? Is the present system of offering the same facility to all classes of students really sound ? Should every student, no matter whether he has proved his worth or not, receive the same encouragement ? Can there be three scales of fees—freeships for first class students, half freeships (equal to the existing scales) for those of the second class, and even higher fees for those of the third ?

With the re-organization of university education and the establishment of so many residential Universities, the system of tutorial instruction has been introduced universally in all the departments. In theory there can never be any doubt as to its great utility ; its excellence cannot be denied. But in practice its success depends only on the smallness of the groups taught at a time and the reasonable frequency of their being taken. It become a farce if the turn of a group comes once in several months. The whole benefit is then lost, and the time spent on the tutorial classes almost wasted. In India we have to deal with a large students population and yet owing to financial difficulties we cannot afford to provide a very large teaching staff. While one Professor can lecture to a class of 50 students in one period, five Professors are required to take tutorial classes in groups of ten. Does not the economic aspect of the new system need a re-examination ?

The multiplication of Universities in India is sometimes unhesitatingly condemned ; but can that be avoided when the number of students is so large, and long distances make Universily centres inaccessible to the poorer students ? To cut down expenditure the remedy of reducing the number of departments is suggested. But is there really so much duplication ? In most Indian Universities the number of subjects actually taught are strictly limited, and constitute the essential branches of knowledge difficult to dispense with. When compared with the very large variety of subjects taught at big Universities like Oxford and Cambridge, they are very few indeed. Can any of the important subjects be omitted from the B. A. Syllabus ? As regarts post-graduate research work, there may perhaps be some scope for specialization at separate University centres. For such higher work, cannot the Universities by mutual arrangement decide how much should be common to all and how much special to some ?

The profession of law is already over-crowded and there is no prospect of a demand by the profession for the production of a large number of law graduate year after year. Most students flock to the law classes as a last resort, simply because there are no other openings for them. As the law departments are a good source of income, no restrictions are placed on the admission of students to these classes. In contrast with this, the demand is bound to increase for trained teachers. With the expansion of primary and secondary education, many private institutions will spring up ready to absorb trained men and women. And yet strict restrictions are imposed on admission to the training classes. Even the Benares and the Aligarh Universities, although enjoying an All-India status, and drawing men and women from all over the country, restrict the number, and do not increase the staff. The figures for any year would show that hardly 1/8th ot the total numer of applicants are admitted. The rest are refused training on the excuse that there is no room for them in the profession of teaching. The candidates are the best judges of their own interests, and they offer to pay full fees in advance, if necessary, just to be allowed training for one year. And yet professedly for the sake of efficiency we deny to them the opportunity of improving their qualifications.

Efficiency is good, but should it be coupled with a denial to our young graduates of the chance of getting themselves trained ?

The test of efficiency is applied in a curious way. If there are 600 candidates applying for admission to the B.T. classes, they are first subjected to a fresh examination and also an interview ; and then after a strict selection about 60 candidates are finally chosen. They are made to undergo a very intensive training for a whole year, both in theory and practice. And yet the results are surprising. Most of the Training Colleges pride themselves on the idea that just two or three students manage to get a first class, and they look down upon institutions where a larger number secure 60 per cent of the marks. Is it a matter of pride or regret that, in spite of the strict selection and in spite of hard work, the teaching staffs fail to make even half a dozen students secure 60 per cent of the marks ? Should we feel elated, or rather make a frank confession of failure ?

One frequently hears the remarks that the standard of University education has gone down, but this is true in one respect only. There has been a deterioration in the knowledge of the English literature and the command over the English language ; but the reason is obvious. The present system had its origin in the old days when at first the main object was to produce English knowing graduates, and only later the model of the big Universities in England was followed. English literature has continued to be a compulsory subject up to the B. A. standard. The Government services can no longer absorb all the graduates. Specialization in other subjects also has therefore become necessary. With the introduction of vernaculars as the media of instruction in the schools, the teaching of English has suffered ; as vernaculars displace it in the higher classes, it will suffer still more. For proficiency in English, the modern student, who is devoting more time to other subjects, cannot compare with those of the older generation who prided themselves on their knowledge of English.

English language is certainly necessary for the acquisition of Western knowledge ; but a study of the English literature stands on a slightly different footing. Should English literature be a compulsory subject for all under-graduates ? No doubt, the making of English literature optional would seriously affect their knowledge of English. But would that not give them a little more time to acquire other knowledge ? Which course is better ? Conditions in India have been different, and Engligh literature has had to be a compulsory subject. But there is hardly a precedent to be found for this anywhere else. General English must of course be compulsory. But should text books continue to be prescribed for the B.A. examination, which students cram up with the help of glossaries ? Should not a much larger number of books be recommended for general reading and papers set on their general knowledge of English ? English may remain compulsory up to the Intermediate standard, but is there any good reason why a student should be compelled to take up English literature as one of the three subjects at the B.A. ? If a change were made, would not the time taken up in the study of English literature be utilized in acquiring more general knowledge ? Will not Everyday Knowledge widen a student's outlook, enlighten his mind, and make him better equipped for the hard struggle of life ? Will it not, even if made compulsory, be more popular with the students ?

It seems strange that our graduates' knowledge should be so deficient in Everyday Knowledge and Everyday Science. Can a graduate be considered an accomplished gentleman, who has not even a rudimentary knowledge of the elements of History, Geography, Politics, Economics etc., on the Arts side, and of Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Botany, Agriculture etc., on the Science side ? The modern student is not inferior to the students of the older generation as regards the subjects (other than English) which he takes up ; but he lacks in general information, likely to be far more useful to him in his future career. The present day students show little inclination to read daily newspapers for news, and weeklies for views. Is there any better way of encouraging them to do so than setting questions on everyday events as a part of the paper on General Knowledge ?

The contribution made by India to the stock of modern knowledge has not been as much as could have been desired. Does there exist any real impetus for research work which is the root cause of the progress of the Western countries ? Could a greater stimulus be not given by providing special increments in salaries on production of work of recognized merit, instead of letting them remain automatic ?

There is much condemnation of the existing system of examinations. Examinations are feared as being the cause of ill-digested cramming. But no better substi-

tute has yet been found. If results were left entirely at the discretion of the class teachers, it would fail to inspire confidence. But the present system can be modified to some extent and memorizing reduced to the minimum, if for University examinations partial access to standard books were permitted. For instance, in the Law examinations access to the bare Acts would be useful, and questions can then be put to test the intelligence of the examinees rather than their memory. Access allowed to books in the examination hall will reduce cramming considerably.

Uniformity of standard is attempted to be secured by employing foreign examiners for University examinations, but that has not proved to be really effective. Could not some well-recognized system of exchange of professors be feasible, which could be followed in a regular and methodical way, as a part of the natural life of the Universities, with arrangements for the accommodation of such teachers as are transferred ?

When other professions are closed because of overcrowding, the profession of education is in danger of becoming the last resort of the unemployed graduate. But with a rapid growth of education in this vast and populous country, the need of teachers will increase immensely, furnishing more openings for employment. There is no ground for the modern teacher to be in any way disappointed or feel humiliated in comparison with members of some other professions. It is a human weakness to look with envy at the successful practitioners at the top of independent professions of Law, Medicine or Engineering, forgetting that those are but a few out of thousands of unsuccessful strugglers in life. There are hundreds and even thousands among members of such professions who would prefer a settled and peaceful life as a teacher in an established educational institution, if such an opportunity were offered to them. There is no reason for teachers to be disheartened, as there is a great future for them. They have in their hands the moulding of the youth of India.

The ever-increasing unemployment no doubt presents a serious problem for solution, and calls upon us to devise a scheme of national economy which may mitigate some of the evils resulting from the present system of distribution of wealth. But India is fairly rich in raw materials and productivity of its soil. A wide vista of potentialities is open for the utilization of its natural resources. Our country is at the threshold of a great economic and industrial development. A new impetus for industrial enterprise has been given to it in consequence of War exigencies. We have to use all the resources at our command, and develop our basic industries. We should endeavour to occupy a noble position side by side with other advanced countries of the world.

The young generation is the hope of our country, and real progress can be assured by educating them on the right lines. The future destiny of India can be shaped only through education. I am confident that this Educational Conference will after deliberation arrive at definite conclusions of far-reaching importance, and its resolution, broad-based on sound theories, will guide the shaping of a right policy of educational reform for the future.

The A. I. Muslim Educational Conference

51st. Session—Poona—28th. December 1940

Governor's Inaugural Address

A tribute to the cultural background of the Muslims, stretching back for many centuries, was paid by *H. E. the Governor of Bombay* in his inaugural speech at the 51st session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference held at Poona on the 28th. December 1940.

The Conference was held at the spacious pandal erected in the compound of the Anglo-Urdu High School, the hon. Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq* presiding. Over seven hundred delegates from all over India, besides prominent provincial officials and non-officials attended the session. His Excellency Sir *Roger Lumley*, Governor of Bombay, inaugurated the Conference.

His Excellency said :—"No proper understanding of the intellectual progress of the west can be attained except after paying the homage which is due to the many scholars, philosophers, theologians, historians, scientists and poets who were the glory of the Ummayid and the Abbasid ages. The genius of men like Avicenna, Averrhoes, Ibn Batuta and Al-Ghazali can never be forgotten. For several centuries, Arabic was the main language of learning and culture. Later, to the achievements of that language were added the gifts to mankind bequeathed by the great Persian writers. These Arabic and Persian authorities who employed the beautiful and supple languages of the Muslim culture form a great array. In logic and in scientific arrangement of ideas as well as in lyrical and imaginative power, their works have few rivals. It was indeed fortunate that the seed of Greek and Roman scholarship took root in Damascus, Cairo, Alepo, Cordoba, Baghdad and Bokhara and bore a rich and luxuriant crop the fruits of which the world is still enjoying. The inspiration for all this was founded on the certain conviction that knowledge, learning and education were part of the duty of good Muslims. This ideal is still before you all. It is a fortunate heritage. In your own traditions there is one which says 'a father can confer upon his child no more valuable gift that a good education".

His Excellency continued : "We cannot be blind to the almost universal urge towards secularisation. How you can best meet this tendency of the present day and still uphold your ancient ideals is a problem which I feel sure your most thoughtful men have considered deeply and it still demands their attention. I might say here that as regards religious instruction in educational institutions maintained or supported by the State my Government in common with most Governments not only in India but in all countries has laid down the limits within which it can comformably with the general wish of the population of the Province, be suitably allowed. I think there is nothing in the regulations in force on this matter which need cause you anxiety or fear. With the great expansion of universal education which the present generation in India is witnessing, it is inevitable that some measures of agreement must be devised."

After giving a resume of the facilities exist ng in this province and its capital for Muslim education, the Governor said : "I agree with the Chairman's view that backwardness of education among Muslim girls is the most damaging blot on the prestige of the community and again, I wholeheartedly accept your opinion that 'a community whose women-folk are illiterate can never prosper and will always lag behind. Women constitute in numbers half the human family. It is entirely illogical that a section of the human race which is primarily responsible for the upbringing and early training of the young should remain in ignorance of the full complexities of modern life. To allow this is rather like seeking to win a boxing match with one hand tied firmly behind the back. As you rightly say, Mr. Chairman, influences like Purdah and public opinion against female education and co-education are amongst the potent factors perpetuating this unhappy state of affairs. To remedy this is clearly a great task which lies before all enlightened Muslims, and I am sure that your discussions will deal with this problem effectively."

The Presidential Address

After Mr. *Ahmed E. H. Jafer*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, had welcomed the President, delegates and the distinguished guests the Hon. Mr. *Fazlul Huq* delivered his Presidential address.

The necessity for an "educational vivisection of India" in order to train the Muslim child for his education on later stages and for the establishment of Muslim universities in some of the important Provinces of India was emphasised by the Chief Minister of Bengal, Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, in the course of his presidential address.

Referring to the problem of Primary education for Muslim children, Mr. *Huq* said that the question resolved itself into the establishment of primary schools in all centres of Muslim population where Muslim children could get the instruction which was acceptable to the community as a whole. It might mean a considerable expense and in some cases the expense must reach an almost staggering figure, but primary education was the birthright of every individual child and it was absurd to plead want of funds in imparting education to children. In this connection, Mr. *Huq* characterised the Vidya Mandir Scheme as utterly unacceptable to the Muslim community.

Speaking of his own Province, Mr. *Huq* said he felt proud of the work which

his Government had been able to achieve in the course of the three and half years they had been in office in laying foundations for primary education in more than half the districts of the Province. The system of primary education itself, he added, was in full swing in more than one-third of the province at the present time.

Education under Early British Rule

Speaking from personal experience, *Mr. Huq* said, he had every reason to believe that secondary education in India had been developing in a haphazard fashion and there did not exist in any province anything like a planned programme for the development of secondary education. He regretted that early British administrators of India had spent the initial and formative periods of British rule solely in consolidating their military position rather than in facing the problems of education either cultural, vocational, technical or otherwise. The most culpable neglect of which they has been guilty had been in the fields of primary and secondary education. Till the establishment of the three Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the Government of the country had done practically nothing in controlling primary or secondary education. They left the problem entirely to the efforts of missionaries and mostly to private enterprise. The result had been most unsatisfactory and it was not a surprise that there was in every Province an incessant cry for the overhauling of the systems of education in all their stages.

Government did very little towards controlling even collegiate education, and the supervision which the Government exercised over Universities was of an entirely nominal character. "Even now," he said, when the introduction of provincial autonomy has thrown the burden of administration on the Indians themselves in the Provinces, the interest which the Central Government is found to evince in educational matters is anything but creditable to Government. The result has been that Ministers in charge of education in the various Provinces have been faced with problems for whose proper solution there is neither means nor methods available."

Added to this, continued Mr. Huq, the funds at the disposal of provincial Ministers were hopelessly inadequate for the due performance of their duties. The Government of India Act in many cases had given the Ministers a large amount of responsibility without any real power and inadequacy of financial provisions made the task of Ministers an extremely difficult one and almost beyond human achievements. The Government of India Act, he added, must be thoroughly overhauled and the Provincial Ministers must be vested with more exhaustive and definite powers to secure funds for the purpose of carrying on their legitimate duties.

Dwelling on the subject of vocational and technical education, Mr. Huq charged the Government with an attitude of indifference and said that if to-day India was poor in spite of her vast resources, if at the present moment Indians had not been able to industrialise India in order to be able to put her side by side with advancing countries of the world, it was because the Indians had so long not received any education which would fit them for practical and technical education.

Suggestion to Utilise Wakf Properties

The President emphasised that the time had come when they must take up the problem of education themselves and try to find their own remedies for their own wants and defects. He urged the establishment of Muslim Universities in the Punjab and Bengal and as to the means for meeting the colossal funds required in this respect he suggested that Muslims should combine to get hold of Wakf properties throughout India. In spite of what the founders of the Wakfs might have laid down in their endowments there should be something like a general attack on the citadels occupied by Mutawallis in order that they might commandeer the resources of Wakf properties for the purpose of the education of the children of their community. He hoped that the Conference would consider the question of Wakfs and give a general direction to the Government of the various Provinces to introduce legislation in order to nationalise these Wakf properties for the benefit of Muslim education.

Reviewing the activities of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference covering a period of more than half a century, Mr. Huq refuted the charge that it was a separatist movement and an organisation which was calculated to introduce communalism in the educational systems of India. He said that those who indulged in these criticisms forgot the essential fact that although the basic principles of

education must remain the same for all communities and all peoples, the details must differ in the case of the different communities just as Indians themselves differed among themselves in physical features and mental development.

Mr. R. P. Masani's Address

The epidemic of brutality is but a passing phase ; with it would vanish Hitlerism" declared Mr. *R. P. Masani*, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, in an address to the Conference, on "Some aspect of Moslem's education."

Mr. Masani outlined the contribution of Islam to human civilisation, culture and education and said that "forward" was the motto which illumined the banner of Islam in the past. But to-day "backward" was the word writ large upon the educational history of the Muslims in India. On the basis of the ratio of pupils under instruction to the total population, the Muslims were far behind the advanced Hindus but much better off than all the sections of the Hindus put together, the percentage being 12·8 against 8.

Mr. Masani urged the establishment of social service organisations with voluntary workers to take schools to the door of the people. Concluding, Mr Masani hoped that the spirit of Islam would enable the Muslim, as in the past, to live in intellectual co-operation and comity with the other communities in India, enhancing thereby the peace, happiness and glory of this land.

Second Day—Poona—29th. December 1940

SECTIONAL MEETINGS

Two sectional meetings of the Conference, one on Islamic Culture and History and the other on Urdu were held to-day.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur of Hyderabad (Deccan) presided over the Islamic Culture meeting. Papers on the subject were read at the meeting, and resolutions were adopted which were placed before the open session of the Conference for ratification.

A resolution disapproved of "the latest innovations in various girls' institutions of holding theatricals and dramatic parties that often go beyond the limits of morality". It requested the authorities to 'immediately cease holding any functions of a demoralising character."

Prof. *Haleem*, who spoke at the Education section meeting, suggested that the mosque should be revived as a social and cultural institution, and used as a means for the spreading of primary and adult education. The All-India Muslim Educational Conference should, he urged, keep in touch with the Provincial Governments and Advisory Boards as well as Muslim politicians, and assume the responsibility for the successful carrying out of the programme of the Conference.

The Education Section meeting of the Conference adopted over twenty resolutions which *inter alia* urged the authorities of the Allahabad University to amend the constitution of the University so as to have at least one third of the number of seats of the elected members of the Senate reserved for Muslims. The meeting also requested the University of Aligarh to institute a diploma for oriental studies as in the Lucknow University.

Most of the resolutions related to the problem of Muslim education in the province of Bombay. A request was made to the Government of Bombay to appoint a responsible Muslim officer to examine each text book and withhold any book containing anything repugnant to Muslim culture and religion. The Government was also requested to appoint Muslims as Educational Inspectors.

EDUCATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT

An account of the work done hitherto by the Kamal Yar Jung Committee was submitted to the All-India Muslim Educational Conference to-day. It was in the nature of an interim report and the pemission of the Conference was sought for a year's extension of the Committee to conclude its labours.

The report is prefaced with a brief survey of world conditions as obtaining to-day and the menace of the new doctrine of National Socialism and race superiority. Turning to the Wardha Scheme, the Report says that the Muslims felt sincerely that it was the spiritual element which must once more be restored to humanity. They were against the "over intellectualism of modern education and the over-emphasising of materialism to the neglect of the spiritual." They were against the Wardha Scheme because it neglected religion generally and yet brought into bold relief "Ahimsa which was the religion of Gandhiji."

Characterising the introduction of the Wardha Scheme by the Congress Ministries as a "crusade against Islamic culture" the report says that the Muslims had another grievance against the scheme. It harked back to a primitive period of human life.

After the above general observations, the report refers to the work done by the Committee so far. A questionnaire was issued and a touring sub-committee was appointed to make an extensive tour of the country to study local conditions of Muslim education and their effect on the social order and cultural life of the Muslims. During their tour, numerous grievances against the present educational institutions and organisations were presented before them. In many places, they found that there were no adequate facilities for the teaching of Urdu, Persian or Arabic. In other places Muslims had little facilities in getting admission to industrial, technical and professional institutions.

Regarding the Urdu language, the report says : "There is absolutely no doubt about the fact that in some places deliberate efforts are being made to replace the Urdu language from its present position and status in India. The future of Muslim education in India has also been a matter of the deepest anxiety to all thinking Muslims throughout India, especially in view of the new political attitude and the new constitution in India. It has been forcibly brought to their notice that in a number of places, this has visibly affected the interests of Muslim education. There is no doubt about the fact visible on the surface everywhere that Urdu is being forcibly supplanted or reconditioned and unless the Muslim community now takes up the question its ultimate effect will mean a great disaster to the best interests of Muslim education in India. The question of the curriculum to be followed in religious instruction in general in schools and colleges has specially engaged our attention and here also it seems the present state of things is most unsatisfactory. They hope to consider this problem in all its aspects and present their report to the General Committee for their ultimate consideration and decision."

The All India Students' Federation

Sixth. Session—Nagpur—25th. December 1940

Rupture among Delegates

The sixth session of the All-India Students' Federation which commenced at Nagpur on the 25th. December 1940 witnessed a rupture in the organisation, the delegates from Bihar, Bengal and United Provinces seceding almost in a body.

Trouble arose in regard to the Federation's elections in Bengal Communists, whose opposition to Gandhian leadership is well known, tried to put up a number of delegates with a view to capture the organisation. This was strongly resented to by a large number of delegates who viewed with approbation the individual satyagraha movement and Gandhiji's leadership.

Thus two rival conferences were held in the evening, one at the pandal under the presidentship of Professor Hiren Mookerjee of Calcutta and the other at the Convocation Hall under the presidentship of *Mr. Madan Mohan Prasad* of Allahabad.

Doctor K. M. Ashraf inaugurated and *Professor Hiren Mookherjee* presided at the Conference held in the original pandal erected for the Conference. *Dr. Ashraf* described *Mr. Gandhi's* satyagraha movement as "a very poor protest against the imposition of belligerency on India."

Mr. Mookherjee dwelt on the achievements of the Soviet Union.

The other section led by *Mr. M. L. Shah*, General Secretary of the Federation and Mr. *Arabind Bose*, held a meeting at the University Convocation Hall under the presidentship of Mr. *Madan Mohan Prasad*, President of the Bihar Youth League and former President of the Allahabad University Union. Mr. *Prasad* in his speech, described the satyagraha movement as "a very dignified protest."

Meanwhile Mr. *T. J. Kedar*, Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, was meeting both groups informally in an endeavour to bring them together.

Second Day—Poona—26th. December 1940

COMPROMISE EFFORTS FAIL

All efforts at a compromise having failed, delegates again met in two conferences to-night and passed two sets of resolutions, relating *inter alia* to students' attitute towards the war and the various demands of students.

The Conference held at the Getta Jayanti grounds under the presidentship of Prof. *Hiren Mukherjee* characterized the Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League and the "Hindustan" slogans of the Hindu Mahasabha as reactionary and disruptive. The Conference also declared that the present leadership of the Indian National Congress had failed to achieve unity and amity among the communities.

The Conference expressed the opinion that the influence of the "reactionary leadership" of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha should be curtailed and appealed for a "voluntary federation of regional states based on mutual confidence".

The U. P. Muslim Students' Conference

First Session—Allahabad—17th. November 1940

Mr. Huq's Inaugural Address

"To us, Islam is greater than anything else. Unless communal differences are composed to the satisfaction of us all, the time has come when we have reached the parting of the ways," said Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, Chief Minister, Bengal, inaugurating the first U. P. Muslim Students' Conference at Allahabad on the 17th. November 1940.

"The times are such," he added, "that the Muslims of India, especially in the minority provinces, are to take note of realities and to see the danger with which the country and Muslims in particular are faced. Unless Muslims are safe and secure and unless the Muslims are enabled to render the service which they can, we cannot properly conduct the fight for India's salvation. Those who delude themselves that they can build the destinies of India without the Muslims in the picture live in a fool's paradise."

Mr. *Fazlul Huq* continued : "Communalism is essential to some extent. It is a kind of sacred feeling, and one must learn to love oneself and then others. It is human nature. Communalism is not necessarily for a fight, but for defence, for self-defence.

Proceeding, Mr. *Fazlul Huq* said : "We will not give up the essentials of our culture, simply for the exigencies of the hour. Muslims have not done anything to introduce separatist tendencies. We are in a minority, and it would not be in our interests to do so. But separatism and quarrels are being forced on us. We offer co-operation, we offer patriotism in the highest sense of the term. We are prepared to shed our blood in the cause of the country. All this, so long as the majority community does not quarrel with the position taken by us and so long as they do not force us to a position repugnant to Islam. We will not tolerate that.

"We are not going to un-Muslimise ourselves. We have our own culture. The Hindus are not to dominate over us. Ninety million Muslims will stand together for defending their rights. They will rally round the Muslim banner if there is any danger to their rights. We do not love fighting, but we love defending our rights. Our motto is 'Nothing for ourselves ; all for Islam."

Mr. *Fazlul Huq* maintained that Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations and that they should be allowed to progress separately maintaining their separate entities. It was possible, he said, for the two cultures to live side by side and to contribute separately to a common beneficial blend.

Mr. *Fazlul Huq* maintained that in politics and other matters, including, for instance, the question of language and script, it was the Hindus who were introducing separatist tendencies and forcing quarrels on the Muslims, who had to defend their rights and culture.

Mr. M. N. Roy's Plea

"The present constitutional deadlock can only be ended by Coalition Ministries in the Provinces," said Mr. *M. N. Roy* addressing the Conference by special invitation.

Coalition ministries, continued Mr. *Roy*, would be a means to an end, namely, the effective participation of India in the present world crisis. From the very outset of the war, the Congress policy had been wrong.

"Two and a half years of office, during which people came to identify it with the Sarkar, gave the Congress," he added, "immense apparent popularity and it held the key to freedom. But it has chosen to commit political suicide. The resignation of the Ministries was a mistake. This false step has blocked a very effective bridge to India's co-operation in the war, which is essential not only for India but for the whole world."

Mr. *Roy* said that he knew from personal knowledge that many Congress M. L. A's were dissatisfied with the Congress policy, but they were keeping quiet because they were haunted by the nightmare of the Congress coming back to power. He thought that the effort to form Coalition Ministries would succeed. In any case, it was worthwhile making an effort, because that would create a different atmosphere.

The Presidential Address

" 'Back to the days of Mahomed' should be the watchword of every Muslim," said Khan Bahadur *S. M. Ismail*, of Patna, in his presidential address to the Conference. He added, "education must rest on a foundation of religion."

Deploring the fact that even in educational institutions the atmosphere was charged with a feeling of hatred between students of different sects, the Khan Bahadur said that he did not wish to lay the blame on any class or community, but there must be a limit to everything. He accused the Congress Governments of having made changes in the system of education which were antagonistic to Muslim interests.

A resolution endorsing the Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League was passed. Another protested against the engraving of Sanskrit religious words on the Convocation degrees of the Agra University "which hurt the feelings and susceptibilities of the Muslim students."

It was also resolved that the U. P. Muslim Students' Federation should appoint a sub-committee of students and members of the Court of the Allahabad University to take necessary steps for the redress of Muslim students' grievances against the University.

The Bihar Muslim Students' Conference

Second Session—Patna—22nd. December 1940

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The second annual conference of the Bihar Muslim Students' Federation was held at Patna on the 22nd. December 1940 under the presidentship of Mr. *Ghulam Imam*, President of the City Muslim League, Lucknow.

Mr. *Imam*, in the course of his presidential address, advised the students to regulate their lives on the lines of the Islamic injunctions. Referring to the Pakistan scheme, he pointed out that the Muslims did not want to set up a state owned by them but only wanted to get a parcel of land where the Islamic laws could have sway.

Haji Sharufuddin, M.L.A., Chairman of the Reception Committe, while welcoming the delegates to the Conference, asked them to foster unity amongst themselves and appealed to the students to make the cause of the masses their own.

Convocation Addresses

The Dacca University Convocation

Vice-Chancellor's Speech

The following is the Speech by Dr. *R. C. Majumdar*, Vice-Chancellor, at the Annual Convocation of the University of Dacca on the 18th. July 1940 :—

Your Excellency and Chancellor,

It is my proud privilege to offer you a most cordial welcome on behalf of the University of Dacca on the occasion of your first visit to the University of which you have been the Chancellor for more than eight months. We are sure that Your Excellency will take an active and sympathetic interest in the affairs of the University and that your personal contact will enable it to profit more and more by your wise counsel, advice and guidance during the years to come.

I would next offer a hearty and cordial welcome to the distinguished visitor who has kindly consented to deliver the Convocation Address. Dr. *A. F. Rahman* is no stranger to the University. He has been associated with it both on the teaching and the administrative sides from its very inception, and ultimately held the high office of Vice-Chancellor for over two years and a half. He is now in a position to take a detached view of University education in general, and of this University in particular. His varied experience and wide knowledge of men and things make him eminently fit to give us a lead in educational policy in these uncertain and troublesome times, and we are, therefore, grateful to him for having kindly accepted our invitation to deliver the Convocation Address.

I would also welcome the other distinguished guests present here and offer them my most cordial thanks for the active interest they have shown in the affairs of the University.

Before I proceed further, it is my melancholy duty to offer a tribute of respect to the memory of Professor N. N. Ghosh who served this University in various capacities, viz., Professor of Law, Dean of the Faculty of Law and Provost, Jagannath Hall. He retired after the full term of his service in the year 1934 and rendered valuable services to the University. It is also my painful duty to refer to the tragic death of Mr. *Nripendra Narayan Roy Chaudhury*, the son of the Zemindar of Baldah and a member of the Court of this University. He was a very popular figure in Dacca and took great interests in games and sports.

I would now like to review in brief outline the work of the University during the last session. The most important event during the year is the institution of the Faculty of Agriculture. The question of establishing a Faculty of Agriculture in the Dacca University was mooted even before the University actually came into being. More than twenty years ago, the Hon'ble Mr. *A. K. Fazlul Huq*, now the Chief Minister of Bengal, moved a resolution in the Bengal Legislative Council recommending to Government "that a fully equipped Agricultural College, to be finally incorporated with the proposed Dacca University, be established at an early date". In the speech with which he moved this resolution he showed very cogent reasons, with his usual eloquence, why this Agricultural College should be incorporated in the University of Dacca. The resolution was accepted by the Government and they assured the house that they would shortly give practical effect to the recommendations contained in that resolution. It was presumably in pursuance of this policy that the Dacca University Act contained an express provision that it shall have a Faculty of Agriculture. Unfortunately, financial and other difficulties intervened and practical effect could not be given to the provisions of the Act before the session 1939-40. I take this opportunity of tendering the most grateful thanks of the University to the Hon'ble Chief Minister and his colleagues, specially the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, for having enabled us to start the Faculty of Agriculture. Mr. M. Carbery, M.C., has been elected the first Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture. We have added two new Departments, viz., Biology and Soil Science, and have appointed a number of new teachers in Botany, Zoology, Micro-Biology and Agricultural Chemistry. Dr. P. Maheswari has been appointed Reader in Botany and Head of the Department of Biology, while the Department of Soil Science has been placed for the present under the Professor of Chemistry.

Among other changes in the administrative and teaching staff, mention may be made of the appointment of Prof. S. N. Bose, Head of the Department of Physics, as Provost of Dacca Hall, of Dr. Md. Shahidulla, as Provost of Fazlul Huq Muslim Hall and the Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani as Lecturer in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies. The Maulana Saheb is a learned divine of all-India reputation and his appointment will, I am sure. serve to strengthen and popularise the Department. Dr. B. K. Roy, Lecturer in English, has just retired from University service, after serving his full term of appointment. By his scholarship and teaching ability of a high order he rendered valuable services to the University for a period of 19 years.

I am glad to be able to state that the increase in the number of students was maintained during the last session, the total number of students being 1,569 as against 1,527 in the previous session. The number of women students has also increased, being 96 during the last session as against 72 in the year preceding. While referring to the increase in the number of students I would like to point out that the time has come when the University should have to think seriously about restricting admission only to those students who are likely to profit really by pursuing a course in the University. It is obvious that many students who have just managed to pass the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations are more likely to waste their time than do any good to themselves or to the University by continuing their career in the University. At the same time there are practical difficulties in the way of laying down restrictions to admission over and above the minimum qualifications prescribed under the University Act. The University, has however, made a beginning in this policy of restriction by defining the categories of students who alone will be admitted to the Course for the Bachelor of the Commerce. It is just possible that this would be followed up by the adoption of a similar policy in regard to the other courses.

It is gratifying to note that the University has been able to maintain its academic standard. This will be proved by the record of the different academic societies of the University and the research work carried on by the staff and students, of which a detailed account is given in the Annual Report. The doctorate degree has been awarded by this University to Mr. Abdul Halim, Mr. Tejendra Nath Ghosh, Mr. Sachindra Mohan Mitra, Mr. Sachindra Nath Sarker, Mr. Promodebehari Bhattacharyya, Mr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra, Mr. Jogendra Nath Chakravarti and Mr. Pratul Chandra Rakshit. All of them are old students of the University, and in many cases the thesis has been very highly praised by the distinguised examiners. I may specially refer in this connection to a book named "The Viceroy and the Governor-General of India" just published by the Oxford University Press in London. It is written by Dr. A. B. Rudra, a distinguished graduate of this University and a member of its teaching staff. Professor Harold Laski describes it "as the best treaties known to him on this subject and one long likely to remain the standard treaties for the period it covers."

I would now like to say a few words about some of the important pending schemes and pressing problems of the University. In my last Convocation Address, I stressed the need of a second Muslim Hall in order to afford residential facilities to the growing number of Muslim students. The necessary Statute was passed by the University, the new Hall being named after the Hon'ble the Chief Minister of Bengal in recognition of his eminent services to the cause of education. We are grateful to Your Excellency for giving assent to the Statute by virtue of which the Fazlul Huq Muslim Hall has been formally instituted with effect from July 1. Its resident students, more than 100 in number, are now accommodated in a part of the main University Building where Classes, Offices and the Library of the University are located. This is a very unsatisfactory state of things and we are anxious that Your Excellency's Government should make adequate financial provision for the construction of a new building worthy of the Hall. The lack of accommodation for the gradually increasing number of resident Muslim students is a serious problem and every year that passes adds to its gravity. The University is therefore, anxiously looking forward to an early solution of the problem.

Satisfactory progress is also being made in regard to the proposed Faculty of Medicine. The Committee held its final meeting on the 10th July and the report is now ready for submission to the Government. We fervently hope that the establishment of a Medical Faculty in this University will received the sympathetic consideration of the Government. No argument of mine is perhaps needed to back the scheme, particularly as we justly regard the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department as one of who feels keenly on this subject. He has already shown

active and lively sympathy for the project as befits one who so worthily represents the illustrious family to whom the city of Dacca is indebted for all its major developments and amenities of life.

Next to the provision of a Medical College there is another direction in which the expansion of the University's activities is both desirable and possible. An institution for imparting advanced training in certain special branches of Engineering and Technology is a great desideratum in this province, and the University of Dacca with its well-equipped laboratories, and the Ahsanullah School of Engineering as a fitting nucleus, may justly hope to increase its usefulness by starting a Faculty of Engineering. At our request the Government have referred this question to the Committee appointed some time back to consider the reorganisation of the Ahsanullah School of Engineering. It might perhaps be felt by the Government that this University is insatiable in its demands. I may assure them, however, that, so far at least as I am concerned, this is my last demand upon public funds for any major development in this University. Besides, it is necessary perhaps to emphasise that the institution of a Faculty of Engineering in this University is not altogether a new proposal. At the time when the draft Bill for the establishment of a University at Dacca was being debated in the Central Assembly, there was a general consensus of opinion that it should start, among others, with the Faculties of Medicine, Agriculture and Engineering. The Government accepted the first two and incorporated them in the Act, while, as regards the last, they expressed the opinion that although it was highly desirable that a Faculty of Engineering should be established in the University of Dacca, the Central Government was not willing to make a definite provision for it in the Act thereby imposing a heavy financial burden on the Local Government. Times have changed since then and the need for a course of Engineering and Technology is much greater today than it was 20 years ago. No apology is therefore needed for pressing upon the Government our very natural desire to increase the usefulness of this University by starting a higher course in Engineering and Technology.

The provision of higher training in Technology and Engineering will also go a great way towards removing what is often urged as the chief defect in the University education by a large section of the public. The University is mainly criticised on the ground that the education imparted by it is too literary and does not enable its graduates to earn their livelihood. It is difficult to endorse the view that the main function of the University is to find employment for its students or to adapt the teaching solely to its requirements. On the other hand, it must be freely admitted that the University should include in its curricula such branches of study as would enable its alumni to fight successfully the struggles of life and equip them with knowledge that may be turned to good account by way of furthering the industrial development and economic reorganisation of the country.

This raises a fundamental question about the scope and function of the University and I should take this opportunity to say a few words about it. The idea is slowly gaining ground that there should be a greater correlation between the Universities and the national needs in various walks of life. As an abstract principle no exception can be taken to it, but in its practical application, the only needs that are emphasised, almost to the exclusion of all others, are the economic and the material. Nobody could possibly deny for a moment the great necessity for satisfying those needs at a time when India is passing through an acute stage of poverty and unemployment. But taking a broad view of our national life it would be equally futile to deny that there are also other paramount needs in the life of the nation, notably in the moral and intellectual spheres. Those who have eyes to see cannot but realise that the want of bread is not the only danger that is threatening the national welfare. There is a great void in the intellectual and moral life of the people which is slowly but steadily sapping its vitality day by day. In all departments of national life, whether political, social or religious, there are signs of intellectual and moral bankruptcy and he who runs may read them. Slogans and catchwords have taken the place of thoughts and ideals, narrowness characterises our outlook and desires, and broad vision and high thinking are at a discount. Violence of thought and language has become the passport to leadership and little value is placed in public life upon such virtues as sturdiness of character, nobility of feelings, steady devotion to work and a spirit of willing self-sacrifice. These eminent qualities are no longer regarded as essential even in a leader, and no wonder we are witnessing all around us the meteoric rise and fall of popular leaders in every walk of life. Discipline which controls our surging emotions both in private and public life, and acts as a true

guide in puzzling and critical times, is fast passing away. Intemperance in language and action and unwillingness to concede the same freedom to others as one desires for oneself render healthy organised activities abortive or impossible. The fundamental principles and moral values of life, which constitute the very foundations of human thought and action, are being challenged with arrogance by a newly awakened spirit of scepticism which ignores the progress of centuries and the laborious process of evolution through which human civilisation has emerged to its present state.

The same state of chaos in moral and intellectual spheres is writ large in the history of the world as it is shaping around us today. The ruthless war that is slowly spreading its tentacles over the whole of bewildered Europe attacks the very first principles upon which organised political life is based and is sure to prove a great set-back to the progress which freedom, liberalism and democracy achieved after a grim struggle for hundreds of years. Here again the fruits of centuries of progress have been trampled under foot by the primitive human instincts of greed and lust for power and a fatal belief that might is right. Humanity shudders at the massacre, devastation, outrage and depredations that are being carried on a colossal scale by the very people who have held aloft the torch of progress and civilisation in Europe and illumined the darkness of the world. Today we are forcefully reminded of Lord Grey's prophetic words in 1914: "The lamps are going out all over Europe; we shall not see them lit again in our life-time".

This is not the proper occasion to examine the ultimate causes underlying this moral retrogression of Europe or to pass any judgment on the principal actors in this grim tragedy. But those of us who are not directly and immediately affected by it must pause and think in a detached and dispassionate spirit, and try to read aright the signs of the times and learn the obvious lessons they hold out before us.

I hope this brief review of national and international situation would not be regarded as out of place in a Convocation Address. For nothing can so forcibly demonstrate the fact, which is often ignored, that great as the need is for supplying the material wants of life and harnessing our knowledge for that purpose, there is an equally imperative demand upon the highest education that the University can impart, not only to conserve the highest and noblest ideals that humanity conceived in the past, but also to emphasise the value of those sublime truths upon the human mind. Today when the whole world seems to be seized with a mad frenzy of passion, the Universities form nearly the only strongholds where the highest ideals of humanity may seek and find a safe refuge from the onslaughts of brute force inspired by violence and hate. Here flourish the arts and science, and knowledge, extended to all spheres of life, quickens an active social sense and inspires a healthy desire to live and let others live. Here we still uphold a respect for the rights of the individual and his freedom of thought, belief and action with due regard to the similar freedom of his fellow-men. Here we test and teach the values of charity, liberality and fellow-feeling towards others; of a disciplined mind and intellect which engenders proper respect for rules and regulations and checks one's over-weening self-esteem and instincts of aggression. Above all, it is in the pure and healthy atmosphere of the University that the students should feel an inner urge for the true, the good and the beautiful and grow a spirit of service and sacrifice for the cause of humanity. Good maxims are these and theoretically accepted as true all over the world, but it is necessary for the Universities to repeat and emphasise them and to correlate them with the modern conditions of life in order to restore the lost equilibrium in our national and international life.

No University will be worth its name if it fails to inspire its students with those ideals when the world sorely meeds them. Amid the din and dust of modern life, when the old repositories of faith and virue are crumbling to pieces one after another, the University, as the highest seat of knowledge and learning, must hold aloft the banner of humanity. Nations and empires rise and fall, the arts and crafts of peace and war flourish and decay, but the highest ideals of humanity and the moral value of life tower above them all like the eternal Himalayas.

This is my message to you, the Graduates of the University who have assembled here today to receive their Degrees. I congratulate you on your successes and confidently hope that you would carry my message to heart. I would not like today to give you any advice on the conventional lines—for the times are too deep and stirring for trite observations and common platitudes. We are living in an

era of revolutionary excitement when the whole fabric of human civilization is being violently shaken to its very foundation. Let us rise equal to the occasion and think in terms of human welfares rather than individual happiness. The two are indissolubly connected, though the link is not often visible or perceptible. You should not devote the knowledge and intellectual and moral discipline that this University has imparted to you, exclusively to the satisfaction of your personal needs and desires. You should be animated by a spirit of service and take your due share in the arduous task of improvement, renovation and reconstruction in every sphere of our life, be it as a leader or as an humble follower. You must try to cultivate the power of thinking and reviewing the life around you in a detached and dispassionate spirit. You must try to equip yourself for leadership by developing the virtues I have mentioned above and a keen sense of public morality the lack of which is the most prominent cause of degeneration in our public life today. You should be imbued with a feeling of robust optimism and urged by an impelling desire to leave things better than you found them. Never lose heart by the enormity of the manifold ills which have seized our national life and rendered progress and purification almost a Herculean task. But be buoyed up with hope which comes to youth alone. A short while ago, on the occasion of the celebration of the Foundation Day of the University, I unfurled the flag of the University carrying the great motto "Truth shall prevail". Let that be the watchword of your life, and let each individual students take a solemn pledge that whatever walks of life it may be his lot to tread, he should keep this flag of his Alma mater flying, and endeavour by words and deeds so to regulate his conduct that truth may prevail over untruth, that justice may triumph over iniquity, wisdom over passion, virtue over impiety, and reason over brute-force. The safe-keeping of the University flag, which implies all these noble virtues and ideals, is in the hands of each and all of you, and I hope and pray that you should always hold it high and keep its honour unsullied even at the risk of everything else that you may hold dear and near. With this hope I take leave of you and wish you god-speed in your journey of life.

H. E. the Governor's Address

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before I touch on some of the many problems which you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor have mentioned in your address, and before I speak to you, as I intend to do this morning, of the grave international events which overshadow your lives and mine, let me say what a special pleasure it is for me to be present today on my first formal visit to this great University, of which I am privileged and proud to be Chancellor. As a centre for the cultural life of Eastern Bengal, this University has a great part to play in moulding and influencing public opinion and in maintaining that great tradition of learning which has always characterised the people of this side of the province. It is no part of my duty today, nor is it my intention to comment on the educational standards maintained here, but I would like to take this opportunity of saying how impressed I was with the work which is being done during an informal visit which I was able to pay to the University a few days ago.

In the course of your address, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, you referred to many aspects of University life and to serveral administrative problems and achievements. I share with you the satisfaction of knowing that a fully fledged Faculty of Agriculture is now in being and I trust and believe that the achievements of this new Faculty will be of real help and assistance to the agriculturists of this Province, and will in future serve to recall the work of the Hon'ble Chief Minister and his colleagues who have shared no endeavour to bring it into being. Let us not, however, in the first flush of enthusiasm, forget that the Faculty has still to prove its worth. That it will do so, I have not the slightest doubt, for Dacca has always possessed a wealth of practical agricultural experience which can now be drawn upon for the purposes of the University. I should like to take this opportunity to emphasise the necessity of maintaining to the full the happy co-operation which has already been achieved between the Agricultural Department and the University. By this means, I feel confident that the Faculty will quickly make its weight felt for the betterment of agriculture in the Province.

As regards the possibility of the establishment of two further Faculties of Medicine and Engineering to which a reference has been made, I am not, I am afraid, in a position to carry you much further than your Vice-Chancellor has done. The Committee appointed by Government to examine the question of the

Medical Faculty has not yet reported and until it does so, I cannot add further comment.

The question of establishing a Faculty of Engineering raises, however, many complex problems. The necessities of war have emphasised the need for greater progress in technical training and the Central Government are like a lively interest in the wider extension of facilities for such training. The Bengal Government even before this new development had not overlooked the possibilites of further developing the already flourishing Ahsanullah Scool of Engineering. In fact the Committee which was appointed to make recommendations for the improvement of this school has asked to be allowed to consider also the possibility of developing the school into a college. This request has been granted and the further question of establishing a Faculty of Engineering must naturally await the result of the committee's deliberations. I think we should be wise to avoid undue optimism in this connection and to remember that for some years to come the demands on account of Primary and Girls Education are likely to leave very little over for assistance to other branches, howerver valuable.

As regards the second Muslim Hall I can only say that nobody was more pleased than I when I found myself able to give my assent to the Statue—the first step towards its creation. The second step—the provision of financial assistance towards its construction—is a responsibility of my Government : as Governor I can only proceed on advice. As Chancellor I have not failed to express my views in the appropriate place and steps have already been taken which I hope will lead to a satisfactory solution of the problem in the very near future.

You will, I know, forgive me if I turn now from the more immediate academic problems to the international situation and its bearing on the future of those of you who are undergoing a University training, or those of you who are about to quit the comparative quiet of academic life. For this situation does concern you ; it concerns the whole future of the civilised race ; it concerns the future of India in which you, by virtue of the training you have been fortunate enough to enjoy in Poland and spread through Scandinavia and the Low Countries to France and Britain, may spread even further. Even if hostilities do not move further East, the outcome of this struggle will profoundly affect the progress of mankind for decades to come. In this struggle we are fighting for the principles of democracy and decent civilised life against a system which offers security—and a poor security at that—only to those who are willing to subject their lives to the will of a ruthless few who value human life and liberty not at all. As I said a little over a fortnight ago, the essential interests of Great Britain and India have never before had so much depended on the outcome of the joint effort to which they have set their hands.

I urge upon you, young men and women, who have been taught to think for yourselves, not to dismiss from your minds the significance of what is happening today in Europe and what may well be happening tomorrow in Asia. The outcome of these events will influence your lives. It will influence not only your own lives, but those of the entire community in which you live—it will decide in fact whether you can work in an atmosphere of ordered political development or whether your lives will be forced in an atmosphere of fear and regimentation. I do most earnestly urge upon you the necessity of appreciating the importance of what is happening in Europe today and, as I said before, of what may well be happening in Asia tomorrow.

I have already spoken at length and I will not keep you longer from Dr. *Rahman* who I know is no stranger to you and whom you are all anxious to hear.

I have very great pleasure in requesting you, Dr. Rahman, to address the Convocation.

Dr. Rahman's Convocation Address

I am grateful to the University for the honour that has been conferred on me by asking me to deliver the address at this Convocation. When I received the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor, I accepted without hesitation not because I had anything of tremendous import to say, but because for me it is always a pleasure to come to an institution where I have served and to which I have given the best that was in me. Though at present I live rather far away I keep myself informed of the activities of the University and I offer my congratulations on the vigour displayed and the expansion in various directions and I pray that every dream that the University dreams may be realised in the fulness of time. There is so much need for clear thinking in this bewildered world, such urgency for a correct lead to the generation that is growing that every endeavour should be made to

support and develop Universities whose function it is to stand in the forefront of movements that aim at the amelioration of mankind.

I suppose on an occasion like this it is usual to offer advice to youth for the discharge of their responsibilities and the conduct of their lives. I have not come in any spirit of carping criticism. I come in the spirit of disciple seeking light, to state the problems and tribulations of my mind and ask you for a solution; at any rate to persuade you to give your immediate and closest attention to these questions.

It is undoubtedly true that at the present time, we are gravely perturbed with what is happening in Europe. The marvels of science have largely annihilated time and space; in that sense the world has become much narrower; everybody considers or should consider himself to be a citizen of the world. The world's travails find an answering echo in every heart, but, during the last months events have happened with such bewildering swiftness, the nature and character of modern war have so completely shattered preconceived notions that imagination is somewhat paralysed. The hunger for news is so great and every hour news is screamed at such a rate that there is hardly time for cool reflection, to realise the full implications of all that we hear. The forces of destruction are locked in a death embrace on land, sea and in the air; the flower of the youth of a country lie in nameless graves in the battlefields of Europe; thousands of citizens in belligerent and (even neutral countries) go to sleep without knowing if they will wake on the morrow; no one can foretell where the fire will rage tomorrow; thrones have tumbled, countries have been devastated. This is an inadequate picture; but no further elaboration is required because everyday, every hour you read and hear of the horrors of the deadly combat now waging; all this is true of a portion of this world but it would be criminal folly to be indifferent or to allow yourself to be deluded into thinking that life will follow the even tenor of its way.

In our shattered existence, many of us are apt to think of the present war as a remote evil; many again indulge in intellectual dandyism; not many realise that the danger to our country is not as unreal sometimes it is thought to be. Even if actual hostilities do not break out, the world today is so interdependent that no country can escape the consequences of a conflict of this magnitude. You see that in soaring prices, in sudden but unjustified panics, in the numberless measures of precaution It is not my purpose to speak of this aspect; I would like to urge that this is the time to reconsider the moral values of life. Even in war with its exposition of stark naked brute force, it is moral values that ultimately count. In moments of world crisis the spiritual nature of man develops because it is in the anguish of darkness that the soul grows. Lots of people believe that something will turn up to remove the present confusion. With this comforting thought they are able to go on. This attitude of acceptance, of placid pathetic complacency is perhaps peculiar to man. We have learned to depend on the social order, upon the stability of Governments and upon the instant supply of our demands whatever they may be. However bad things are, we continue to believe that the system under which we live will continue to work. The tendency to fatalism takes the system for granted. But acceptance of fate is not enough; there must be a sense of destiny also. Civilisation depends on our foresight, character, effort and determination. Weaken those qualities and civilisation decays. It has been said and very rightly said that we are living in the hour of destiny; there is hardly any dispute that the deadly conflict now waging is the end of the world order to which we have been accustomed; the mechanism of our present day world has broken down completely. A sense of destiny means knowing one's end. It is this that changes men from being mere participators or spectators of the forces of events into creators of the future. Are we aware of our destiny, are we perparing to reach our destination? It is at this moment that we must examine ourselves, to see the truth in ourselves, to separate the dross from the gold, to root out of ourselves all that is unworthy of our highest ideals.

I do not intend to speak today of the war aims of the belligerents. Whatever may have been the aims for which war was undertaken, the course of the war, the events of the last few weeks have revealed the real nature of the struggle. On the one hand is stark, naked determination to dominate and control; on the other a fight for existence, a struggle to preserve the intangible imperishable spiritual property of mankind. In many of us there is a feeling of vague, general apprehension mingled with fascination for Nazi methods, but should we not be absolutely clear of what we stand for? What are the moral values for which life is worth

living ? No intelligent man can be a neutral and it is wise to brush the cobwebs off our brain.

No words of mine are necessary to conjure up for you the picture of a world in tears. The apologists of "total war" have enslaved countries, ravaged smiling lands, destroyed cities, murdered hapless fleeing refugees ; rained death on unsuspecting women and children. Not defeat, but humiliating extermination is aimed at. Primeval forces have been let loose ; smaller nations are ceasing to exist ; acquisitiveness or greed and jealousy seem to be the only law of this world ; unabashed opportunism appears to be the guiding principle and in pursuance of this policy all the horrors that were conceived of Hell in scriptures have paled into insignificance. Masses of men are held in bondage and civilisation itself is in shackles. Before the irresistable momentum of a mighty machine the moral structure of the world is in danger of collapse. Faith, liberty and justice, the right to live, personal freedom, liberty of conscience everything is in jeopardy because the desires of military super-men must be satisfied. I am no propagandist ; nor is it my purpose to apportion blame for this sorry state of things. I would like to urge only that men's minds must be superior to the machines that men have invented and it is the qualities of the mind that will have to rebuild this shattered world. But today the problem is different. It would be unwise to assume that the danger to India is unreal, that you will somehow escape the consequences of a conflict which threatens to engulf the world ; that while the world lies in ruins you will be able to preserve your proud heritage or that you can achieve anything without effort, without struggle or the will to stake all for the moral values that you cherish and mankind has evolved after years of suffering.

As students of the University, I would ask you to consider what you value. Would you allow success of methods—however brutal—to lull you into an acquiescence of them or do you feel that this evil that values nothing except its own convenience or its own desire should be resisted ? The logic of facts is inexorable and the choice has to be made. As sure as anything, out of this travail a new world is being born. Man is measured not by his achievements but by the moral values he has created. What are the moral values that Nazism has created ? It is possible to accept that the will of one man is the source of all justice ? The triumph of Nazism would mean the disappearance of valued institutions, of social privileges, of cherished principles of conduct, of decency and order of social life, of the rule of law. We must range ourselves on the side of those who are making the supreme sacrifice to resist this challenge, who are cheerfully and valiantly giving lives to make life worth living. It has been said that if for nothing else, at least in self-interest, India should be on the side of these forces. There is profound truth in that but the realisation only of that truth is not enough, especially when danger is at your door. It needs active co-operation with the forces that are being marshalled. The best and surest guarantee against danger is preparedness. Not only now but for the future plan of things when you will be thrown on your own resources and therefore for added and greater responsibilities I have no doubt that youth all over this country with its warm-hearted responsiveness to ideals will volunteer in the spirit of Crusaders in ever increasing numbers for the fighting forces of this country and the preservation of that heritage which is a proud and sacred possession. We should contribute, each one of us, our time, energy and skill so that in the ultimate planning we can speak with authority and decisiveness. The response is encouraging ; it should be worthy of India's traditions and history. It is the power of the mind that ultimately creates the ramparts of civilisation ; it is the privilege of a University to pursue ideas to their logical end, and mould that power to rebuild the world nearer to the heart's desire. No society can be great unless its numbers are prepared for sacrifices and the hour for that sacrifice is nearer than we imagine. You are living in the hour of destiny ; the soul of freedom is in danger ; promises made on the other in all solemnity should be discounted. Remember the old adage "Heven helps those who help themselves." Take a long view of things and be prepared for all eventualities.

I cannot close this part without a brief reference to India. While cities almost next door are burning and leashed forces of destruction are straining to be let loose on this world, we are evolving doctrines that have no relation either to the realities of the situation or to responsibilities that have to be faced. Outworn words and phrases still provide the armaments of our political conflict. Intellectual antipathy to Nazi doctrines, there is in abundance, but active collaboration is not sufficient either because we do not sense the imminent danger, or we realise our

dependance and helplessness or because we nurse a grievance. While discerning eyes see that what India has wanted is almost at its door through force of events, many of us are unable to recognise it or are anxious to scrutinise its credentials.

Youth is too often called upon to make sacrifices so that the world is safe for others and it seems to me that youth should have a say in the plan of things. Have the courage of convictions, not of others but of your own. You reflect the opinion of the country. Many of us have a tendency to turn our backs to public opinion and declare that public opinion is behind us. Such leaders should tread their path alone ; without you. It cannot be denied that there is a feeling of awareness in India, a desire to render service. We only hope that with a little imaginative realisation of possibilities by all sides, steps will be taken to mobilise resources—moral and material—for a cause with which the heart of India is in sympathy.

There is only one other matter to which I would like to draw your attention and I should be acquitted of any unfriendly criticism. For some time there has been an unrest in the student world, a restlessness that has manifested itself in organised defiance of authority and in the use of weapons which are usually applied in the political or economic sphere. I still have the opportunity of meeting large numbers of youngmen, who by common consent, are distinguished products of our Universities. To my questions their reply invariably has been that they deplore the growing tendency, that while in retrospect they regret the part some of them played, at the moment they had neither the energy nor the courage to stand out against mass movements. Herein lies the incalculable danger of these manifestations. It may be that there are grievances which demand redress, that authorities are so perverse as not to be amenable to any reason or persuasion. I am not saying that there should be no criticism, but criticism should never be confused with opinions. The critic has to know the technical methods of creation and that ought to keep him humble. He must share the burden of hard work. But it cannot be denied that discipline once undermined injures the institution as well as the students, and in the formative stages of a young man's life the damage is permanent. Education is justified when it makes you into men, mature men fit for responsibilities ; education is the discipline which gives form to the fully expressive life. Education is not easy and discipline is not easy. Nothing worth having is easy until it is mastered and the educated man should accept a higher discipline as he masters each lower one. During the period that you are in educational institutions, reduce your mind to order with all that it implies. And that means turning out of the mind most of the images that encumber it and keeping only what should be kept there. Absence of mental discipline produces the confusion of images that flood the mind. The habit once lost persists through life and it is difficult to regain it. Discipline is not so much a matter of rules and regulations as of good fellowship and understanding and the tragedy of this tendency is the irretrievable loss of this fellowship and understanding. An imperceptible wall rises between teachers and the taught and all those traditions from which you wish to profit are damaged beyond repair. Freedom is not a natural growth, it has to be cultivated, and how can we cultivate it ? First by humility and secondly by a sense of destiny, and by humility I do not mean obsequiousness but an inner attitude. You will ask, can humility be balanced with a sense of destiny ? That equilibrium has to be established ; that is the art of life. Freedom begins with willing surrender ; it is developed as the mind turns constantly, with all its force, to the acceptance of moral values.

During the period of your education nothing should be done that disturbs this progress of your mind.

The Madras University Convocation

Sir Shanmukhum Chetty's Address

The following is the text of the address delivered at the Convocation of the University of Madras by Sir Shanmukham Chetty, K. C, I. E. Dewan of Cochin on the 9th, August 1940.

You Excellency, Graduates of the year, Ladies aud Gentlemen.—

I must first express my gratitude to His Excellency the Chancellor for the

honour that he has conferred upon me in inviting me to deliver the convocation address. I value this privilege as a unique one. For the alumnus of a University to be called upon by his own Alma Mater to this task is, in some measure, a recognition that the person has not proved unworthy of the degree that the University conferred upon him. I therefore value this honour as a unique one.

It is exactly 15 years ago—in 1915—that I sat amongst the graduates of that year in this very hall to receive my degree. The Hon'ble Sir Harold Stuart, a member of the Governor's Executive Council, addressing the graduates of the year, said: "A people who are probably the best educated in Europe have plunged the world into the greatest war in history, not to defend or advance any noble ideal, but in a spirit of egotism of the basest and most brutal type." He then expressed the hope "that, when the foul mists which have blotted out truth and justice and humanity are blown away, all that is best in the German system will remain to form a solid foundation for the gradual rebuilding, with tears and shame and humility, of an edifice not unworthy of a civilised people." It is said that history repeats itself. But no one expected that the repetition will take place with such rapidity within the short space of a quarter of a century.

The last years of my own career in this University saw the end of the era of peace and ordered progress, and while we were taking our degrees, the world was in the throes of what we considered to be the greatest war of history. In the midst of that travail men fondly cherished the hope that the sacrifice of the youth of the world would not be in vain ; that the great war would end war all times and make the world safe for democracy. Statesmen and political thinkers saw in the League of Nations the possibilities of realisation of the poet's vision of "The Parliament of man, the Federation of the world." In spite of all this optimism, the whole plan for international co-operation and collective security has collapsed. Far from the world being made safe for democracy, the tragic eclipse of democracy in the great French Republic has left Great Britain the only great democratic country in Europe. In short, all the hopes held out to the youth that was called upon to make great sacrifices in the last war have been frustrated, and instead of the world being made a better place to live in, it has become an unsafe place for even peaceful existence.

Graduates of the year, it is in the midst of such gloom and darkness that I am expected to give you some light to guide you in the various paths of life that you may choose. My thought naturally turns first to the elementary problem of safety—the problem of the defence of the country against external aggression. There are those amongst us who think that India has nothing to fear from any external enemies and that it is only as a British possession that she might possibly become the object of attack. The history of the world during the last few months has demonstrated that there is no warrant for such faith. Independent countries have been mercilessly overrun and occupied, notwithstanding the most scrupulous neutrality that they had observed. Whether India will be subject to an attack will depend, not on the consideration that she is an integral part of the British Commonwealth, but purely on what value the aggressors attach to India as a strategic point in their scheme of world domination.

It is unfortunate that those who have been responsible for the administration of this vast country have completely ignored the importance of making the people of India fit to defend themselves. The days when mercenary armies undertook the defence of a country are gone—never to return. In the present-day conflicts between nations, the entire people of a country are mobilised for offensive and defensive actions. No time should now be lost in taking adequate measures to teach the people of India how to defend their country. Compulsory military service is neither necessary nor feasible at this stage. But the measures contemplated by the Government of India are totally inadequate to meet the demands of the situation. While recruitment to the Indian army on a larger scale may meet the immediate requirements, the problem of the defence of India in its fundamental aspect should be tackled in a different way. The nucleus of a citizen army can be created by introducing compulsory military training in all the Universities of India. From a report recently published I find that Canada has adopted such a course. If every Indian youth who goes through the portals of a University is given a chance to get an insight into the science and practice of modern warfare, you will have in the country a source from which the future citizen army can be raised. I hope that the University authorities in India will lose no time in taking the necessary steps in this direction and that the Rulers of India will realise the urgency and importance of this problem.

It might be argued by some that, by inculcating the knowledge of force in the young men of the Universities, you would be contaminating the fountain-head of society with the doctrine of force. Prophets and thinkers in different ages have preached that the use of force in settling the affairs of individuals and nations is morally wrong and wicked. Of late a great deal has been said about this doctrine. The wholesale condemnation of the use of force under any circumstances is, I think, the result of a mistaken interpretation of the teachings of prophets and religious reformers. My reading of the philosophy of non-violence leads me to the conclusion that it is the object that lies behind the use of force that makes it right or wrong. If the powers of evil resort to the use of force, they can and ought to be resisted by counter force. While the force used by Hitler in pursuing his policy of aggression is totally wrong, the force that is necessary to resist Hitler is morally justified. If this interpretation of the doctrine is correct, we need not hesitate to take all necessary steps to teach the young men in our Universities to resist by force the powers of evil.

The trend of events in Europe during the last two decades has demonstrated how the destiny of nations can be moulded by the peculiar training given to the youth of a country. The rule that is established in modern Germany has been recently described by President Roosevelt as "a new enslavement in which men may not speak, may not listen and may not think." How has it been possible for a small band of dictators and political adventurers to impose such a system on a highly intellectual and enlightened people like the Germans? It was assumed in many quarters that the German people were not behind Hitler and his associates and that the whole system would break down in a moment of crisis. It was this belief that was responsible for the Allies dropping leaflets on German towns, explaining the implications of Nazi rule, at the beginning of the war. Subsequent events have demonstrated that the original assumption on which this action was based was wrong. It would not be possible for the most powerful group of political adventurers to start on a gigantic war of aggression if they were not certain of the whole-hearted support of their own nation. The historian of the future will find that the whole German nation must bear with Hitler the responsibility for this war.

The strength of Hitler in Germany is the powerful support that the youth of that country is giving him. The devastating perversion of the Hitler youth is the real strength behind the Dictator. The youth of Germany today are ardent believers in all the tenets of the Nazi doctrine. The first act of Hitler and his associates when they captured the citadels of power in Germany was to get the youth of the country on their side and to inculcate in them a passionate faith in the principles of the Nazi party. The entire educational system of Germany is permeated with Nazi ideals. The European conflict today is, therefore, a conflict of the youth of Germany with the youth of the other countries. The present day generation of Germany has been taught to believe in and adopt standards of conduct which are in sharp contradiction to the generally accepted standards of the world. Their ideals today are fundamentally different and constitute a menacing challenge to the very foundations of human liberty. My object in referring to this aspect of the world situation is to emphasise the importance of the educational system of a country in the shaping not merely of its own destiny but of the destiny of its neighbours as well. The moral to be drawn is that we should be extremely careful about those ideals and standards which have been accepted as correct in all ages and which have stood the test of time. There are those who think that our educational system should be radically altered to suit modern conditions. While adjustments are inevitable from time to time, we must take care that the fundamental moral foundation of our educational system is not disturbed.

The need for caution applies not merely to educational problems but to the entire field of human activity. In the very nature of things the world can never stand still. The never-ending physical movement of the Universe in its own orbit is reflected in the constant movement of human life and thought. Progress, reform, revolution—these are but the various phases of that movement which bewilders the average man. You and I are living in such a period in world's history. In their quest for the ideal society the youth are tempted to brush aside all established conventions in the political, social and economic spheres. I am not afraid of change, and I do not advocate the doctrine of "stand still" in human affairs. While the necessity for change and adjustment is the very law of life, we ought not to ignore the need for restraint without which society

will perish. Whatever might be the peculiarities of a particular era, we have to recognise that the foundations of human life are based on certain cannons of conduct which are of an eternal nature. Those who thoughtlessly attempt to disturb these foundations are often responsible for the miseries and tragedies of the world. Mathew Arnold's dictum—"Moral causes govern the rise and fall of States"—is of universal application. This lesson is of special significance to our country today because the Indian youth is filled with enthusiasm for change and reform in all directions in our national life. With all our impatience with the existing order of society, let us temper our enthusiasm with a proper appreciation of the canons and conventions which have a permanent value.

The rise of the authoritarian States during the last two decades offers a powerful illustration of the dangers which follow when all recognised ideals are set at naught in rebuilding a society. Ever since organised societies came into existence in the world, political thinkers have discussed the relation between the individual and the State. Even in the States of the ancient and the mediaeval world, whose functions were practically confined to the elementary problem of defence against external aggression, limits were set to the claims of the individual as against the State. The limitations on the liberty of the individual citizen were, however, based on a recognition of the value of human personality and individual freedom. In the modern State, the functions of Government have come to include almost every aspect of human life ; nevertheless, the countries which have a democratic constitution allow considerable freedom to the individual citizen. The builders of the totalitarian States have set at naught all those principles of civil and political liberty which have guided mankind for three thousand years. Compulsions and prohibitions of various kinds have struck at the root of individual liberty till at last in these States their citizens cannot even think differently from their rules. In their mad zeal the dictators of the world have uprooted humanity and begun the building of a social order on a different plane by diametrically opposite methods and without any regard for any of the great traditions and ideals which have guided civilised society through all the centuries. Some of these revolutionaries feel no need of private property, of family, of faith, of even God in their new order. Their work has been a negation of everything which for thousands of years has meant what we call progress, civilisation, civil liberty and popular government.

The temporary and spectacular success which has attended the efforts of some these men has even created a doubt in the minds of people about the efficacy of democracy as an instrument of government. It has become the fashion to speak of dictators in all movements. Even in this land of individualism this tendency to extol the totalitarian State is evident. The advocacy of totalitarian methods is very often sought to be justified on the plea of discipline. Whether in the name of dictatorship or discipline, any movement which crushes individual initiative in thought or action is a curse. There are no doubt occasions in the history of nations when the individual has almost to annihilate himself in the interest of the State. The most notable example of this is, probably, the Public Security Act which was recently passed by the British Parliament. All those principles of liberty and freedom which the Englishman considered as his birthright were wiped off at one stroke, and yet in this process the essential individual freedom of the Englishman has remained. That law was pressed not at the will of a dictator but by the voluntary consent of a free people. It is said : "That man in free who is conscious of himself as the author of the law which he obeys." Judged from this standard, the Britisher is still free today. Within the next few years our country, along with the rest of the world, is bound to witness great changes in its political structure. At such a time it is essential that you should retain your faith in the democratic ideal and not be lured away by false prophets.

One of the causes which has created difficulties for democracy and which has even brought about national collapse in certain cases is class conflict. The rise of Soviet Russia and the propaganda of the Third International have spread this conflict throughout the world. There is no doubt that the new industrial age has brought in its train problems which have defied the ingenuity of economists. Somewhere and somehow there is a gap, a want of balance in our social and economic system, which we have not found ways and means to fill or to supply. In the midst of plenty and progress there is poverty. Men have pressed the question as to why it is that, with all the vaunt of progress that society has made and is making, there is still so much

poverty and want and apparently such permanent lines of division between the great mass of those who prosper and the great mass of those who do not. The followers of the marxian doctrine believed that a new and just order could be set up by a wholesale process of confiscation and by denying the right of private property. No clear evidence is yet available whether in the countries where this new order has been established the apostles of this doctrine have really succeeded in eliminating poverty. One direct result of this new movement has, however, been the creation of class war. It was thought at one time that India with its traditional conservatism would not offer a fruitful soil for this doctrine. But events of the last few years have shown that the danger of class war is a real danger in India. Attempts have been made to create deadly conflicts between landlord and tenant, employer and workman. Already we have in our midst various disintegrating factors which weaken us at every turn. The spread of class conflict on any large scale will prove disastrous to our national solidarity. When the history of the present times comes to be written in its true perspective, it will be found that the tragic collapse of the French democracy is in no small measure due to this cancer of class conflict in the French nation. The magnitude of the damage done by this disaster can be realised from the fact that a people who were the torch-bearers of liberty in the world have adopted a totalitarian form of government. If we are to keep our bearings as a nation, we must take a lesson from this tragic episode.

While the possibility of class war looms on the horizon as a potential danger, we have a live problem in communal conflicts. So much has been said about this problem in recent years that whatever one might say may be only a restatement of what has been said over and over again. The excuse for restating it is that nothing adequate has yet been done in relief or removal of the gravity of the problem. Repetition is, perhaps, the only way by which a self-centred and somnolent public opinion can be stirred to look deeply into this question before it is too late. Too late for what ? Too let to stem the tide of disintegration and civil strife. Those who belittle this problem are committing a grave error. A study of the acuteness of this problem in its various stages would give the real clue to its nature and significance. It would be found that the intensity of the problem was in direct proportion to the measure of political reform that was given to the country from time to time. While the problem emerged at a time when the rudiments of political power were transferred to the Indian people, it has reached its acutest stage at a period when there is the possibility of India acquiring the substance of political freedom. The problem is one of political ambitions, and not of religious or cultural conflict. The ambition is both legitimate and natural. With its ever-widening ramifications, the activities of a modern Government affect the everyday life of individuals and communities in a manner which could not be comprehended by our ancestors. In such a state of society it is only natural that communities should strive to share political power in an effective manner. It might, however, be asked why we should think and talk in terms of the community as a unit. The answer to this question lies in the peculiar social structure of India which has existed from time immemorial. To ignore this tendency is to ignore Indian history. The communal problem, therefore, is a problem of India's history, and not a problem created by reactionary politicians or self-seeking individuals. Neither appeals to patriotism nor pleas for tolerance will really solve it. What is wanted is sacrifice by vested interests. Those who by some cause or other have come to occupy the seats of political power must agree to share them with others.

It might be and it has been asked very often whether the demands of communal leaders are not opposed to the fundamental principles of democracy. It is taken for granted that in a perfect democratic system the individual must reach positions of power and responsibility by his own intrinsic merit and not by statutory safeguards and preferential treatment. The democratic doctrine cannot be stated in this absolute form without reference to the environments in which democracy works. Adult suffrage, for instance, is only the means and not the end of democracy. Equal opportunities of sharing power is really the end of democracy. This end has been achieved in Western countries by means of the ballot box and adult franchise. If in the peculiar environments of a country like India the ballot box does not bring about an equal sharing of power but perpetuates vested interests, then there is no use in arguing that the introduction of the ballot box completes the process of democracy in India. In such circumstances, other methods are necessary to remedy the maladjustment which the ballot

box does not rectify. There is nothing undemocratic in making those adjustments suited to our conditions. Let us hope that before it is too late the solution will be found and the danger of disintegration will be warded off.

Graduates of the year, my message to you to day is to get a true perception of the danger that threatens India along with the rest of the world, to withhold nothing that may contribute to ultimate success in the present conflict, and to be prepared for the task of painful reconstruction that lies ahead. It is not given to every one of you to scale the heights of success and to be the arbiter of the destinies of nations. The lot of the vast majority among you must necessarily be cast in the humdrum world in which the individual works in silence and in obscurity. That does not mean that your work has no value to your country or to the world. We must remember that the real work of the world is carried on by the vast majority of men and women whose lot is cast in humble places. A country's progress depends upon the earnestness and thoroughness with which the average citizen carries out his allotted task. Even from the point of view of individual achievement, the quality of a man's work in life is to be judged, not by the number of magnitude of the thing he does, but by the efficiency and thoroughness with which he discharges his everyday task. With all the emphasis that is rightly laid on the need for correct and inspiring leadership, we cannot ignore the quality of the average citizen. In the words of Aristides: "Neither walls, theatres, porches nor senseless equipages make States; but men who are able to rely upon themselves."

There is work for every one of us to do. There are destructive influences abroad in our country as in other parts of the world. Some of these influences are active, intelligent and confident, and there are, in addition, the usual influences of ignorance, stupidity and selfishness. The question for every one of you who today goes out to face the problems of life is to ask himself: "Am I competent, making myself competent, to understand the problems that face my country and the world, and, if so, am I putting my influence, my power, my brain, my character to the service of my land?" Do not be disheartened by the insignificance of your work or by the failures that attend your efforts. "The stone that the builders rejected became the key-stone of the arch." The work of the humblest counts. Youth has an unlimited field for work and service. Youth is always on the saddle, and just now the obligations and opportunities of the youth in India, as elsewhere, are literally stupendous. The destiny of youth, as Disraeli pictured in his days, is true even today: "We live in an age when to be young and to be indifferent can be no longer synonymous. We must prepare for the coming hour. The claims of the future are represented by suffering millions, and the youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity."

The Bombay University Convocation

Sir Akbar Hydari's Convocation Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered at the Convocation of the University of Bombay by the Rt. Hon'ble *Sir Akbar Hydari* (Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung Bahadur) P.C., D.C.L., LL.D. President, H. E. H. the Nizam's Executive Council and Chancellor, Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan, **held in August 1940** :—

You have honoured me greatly by inviting me to deliver this year's Convocation Address. It would in any case have been a matter of pride to have been asked to do so by the Chancellor of a University of such great traditions as Bombay; but your invitation, Sir, gave me keen pleasure as well, because over half a century ago, I was one of a similar eager band who stood to receive their degrees before the Chancellor of this very University (or rather before the Vice-Chancellor owing to the Chancellor's absence at the time). I find much satisfaction in the reflection, and I must therefore thank you for the pleasure and the pride, I feel, of being with you to-day.

2. I feel that it is not necessary, nor would it be seemly on my part, to treat you to a lecture. For most of you, as for me, the days of lectures are past. My opportunities of gathering experience are now drawing to a close, whereas

yours are just opening. I am looking to the sunset; your gaze is turned to its rise; and it seems to me that you might perhaps be interested if, this afternoon, I look back with your over the half century from the time I left your University.

3. My youth was spent in the heyday of the Victorian Era. It is the fashion to smile at certain of the rigidities of principle and of conduct of the Victorian Age which do provide easy targets for ridicule. I do not deny these, but I must affirm that the period between 1880 and 1900 was on the whole an era of constructive endeavour in India. It was the time when India's great sons—Dadabhoy Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, Principal Wordsworth to mention only a few hailing from this City—laid the foundations of that fuller life which you are enjoying to-day. It was they, and others associated with them in other parts of the country, who started the great task of winning back for India her self-respect. You can hardly visualise the difficulties which beset their path and the obstacles which they had to overcome. Many opportunites of serving our Motherland were, though not in law yet in practice, closed to us then. You have only to read the controversy which raged over the Ilbert Bill to realise the difference between then and now. The great contemporaries of my youth were the first artificers of this transformation. They worked hard, they took the trouble to go, as it were, to school again. It was then that an attempt was first made towards a more objective rendering of Indian history, for it was realised that a true conception of the country's past could alone lead to a proper construction of the future. That time again saw the renaissance of the different languages of India, the beginnings of a loving reconstruction of her whole cultural tradition, disorganised by the vicissitudes of the period from the middle of the 18th century. It was then that the foundations were laid of modern Indian industry; it was then that the question began to be asked with ever-increasing insistence, why opportunities of service in the wider sense were not given to Indians in their own land; it was then that it was realised, what now seems at times to be forgotten, that in the diversities of our people and our cultures there is an essential unity, and that by the fostering of that unity alone could self-respect be attained and the time come when Indians would walk the highways of their own land, conscious that they were the masters of its destinies.

4. I had the great privilege of living when these stout champions were still alive. Many of them honoured me with their friendship, for one of the most admirable, as it was the most lovable, traits of those great men was that they liked the society of the young; they did not merely utter platitudes that the young men of their time were the torch-bearers of the future; they helped in every way they could, by association, by counsel and by friendship, to train such as were willing for the work that lay ahead. They did another thing. They did not concentrate on politics alone. To them the attainment of political freedom was only one, albeit an important one, of the many objectives of India's regeneration. They worked for social freedom, industrial freedom, freedom of every sort which would go to make the richness of Indian life which we see to-day—freedom but not licence.

5. I think we can gather a great measure of comfort and also of inspiration for the tasks which now confront us by studying the lives of these makers of India. Our difficulties are nothing to what these men had to face. No one now contests that India should have self-determination; no one now denies that Indians should be trained to defend their own country; no one disputes that India should industrialise herself to the extent that is necessary; no one objects to India having her own merchant navy. There is no dispute worth the name about any of these; but why is it that we have been so disturbed in recent years and why has our progress in all these and other directions been constantly impeded?

6. If my reference to those whom I have called the great contemporaries of my youth will have the effect of inducing you to study their lives, you will find in them an answer to many of your questionings. I hope you will bear with me if I linger yet a while in the realm of pious, and I hope still fruitful, memory. In the first place, they believed in the essential kinship which community of soil gives to all Indians. To them diversity was not an element of weakness but of strength. Given a common kinship, differences of birth, of religion and of culture merely added to the richness of the common contribution. Another thing which they believed in was hard work. You have only to look to the life of Jamshedji Tata or Syed Ahmed Khan or Gopal Krishna Gokhale to realise how much of what

they did for India was due to sheer hard work. Wherever you look, you find this quality always predominating in the great men of our past. They believed, and I think we would do well to follow that belief, that if our national development is to be balanced and bring happiness to our people, we should not strive to progress only politically. There are other directions of national development to which we should pay almost equal attention. We must not forget that we have still much headway to make. Take for example the improvement of village life. I do not see why, in respect of the peasant, we cannot start the work now. In fact, the work has started, and whatever little has been so far achieved has added to the strength and sanity of the urge for political advancement itself. A happy people is the basis and object of good government whatever its form. If the people lack good roads, good drinking water, a properly worked out marketing system, protection against debilitating diseases, the governments which they will return by their suffrages will necessarily reflect their own condition.

7. It is my firm conviction that the present in not an unhappy time in India. The war has not as yet brought tragedy to our homes as it has to so many in Europe, but it may, I am afraid, not be long before it does. Our men are already at their stations on the sea, in the air and on land, along with the men of other members of the Commonwealth ; and, as the war develops, we may suffer even more directly than we have done so far ; and here I am sure you will join me in paying a tribute not only to those of our men who have fallen serving in the armed forces of the Crown but also to those others who, although not part of these forces, brave no less dangers in plying our merchant ships through danger-infested waters—I mean, our gallant lascars.

8. I feel that if we use the opportunities which this war is bringing us for self-discipline, such sacrifices as we may have to make in return will not be in vain. Self-discipline involves a great many things. It does not mean merely the denial of certain amenities ; it also means a positive effort so to equip oneself as to be of more use to the community and, therefore, to oneself. We shall require such self-discipline in the greatest possible measure if we are to tide over successfully the difficult times which will supervene at the end of the war. We shall feel the depression which will inevitably come far more if we have got used to luxuries of life which are not essential. If, in these days of comparatively greater amenities, we can learn to lead simple lives, we shall be all the better able to stand the economic blizzard when it begins to sweep over this land.

9. As I have said, never before have we Indians had such numerous and varied opportunities of service as have now been opened up for us by the patient and unremitting labours of our great men and by the chance of fortune. History is full of lessons of the necessity of preparing, not only of fighting, for freedom.

10. History has also a lesson to teach us in regard to the treatment of divergent elements. One solution is to smash them into acceptance of a common uniformity. But that solution, while effective for a short period, if brutally pursued never lasts. The better plan is to conciliate. Now, in India, we have the minorities and we have the Princes. The question of the minorities I must leave to others. All that I will say is that the wise way in the treatment of minorities has always been the generous way. Wherever minorities have been treated generously, the minority question has not arisen. Wherever, as in some of the countries of Central Europe, the minority question has been handled unsympathetically, it has in the end ruined those countries.

11. The ploblem of Indian unity is two-fold ; it is not confined to unity between the different peoples who inhabit this land but extends to unity between different political entities as well. The problem is not one of fusion which means dissolution of the parts in the whole ; it is rather a question of linking the different parts together. If we have not attained unity so far despite the association of centuries, the community of soil and the inspiration of the great religious teachings of the East, it is because there has been found lacking that binding force which we require of security against the warring elements in one another. Each part, whether a State or a Province, whether a race or a caste, must feel and in fact be secure, bound by this great chain which must be of their own forging. Believe me, such a chain, like the social contract of Rosseau, while it may curb licence on the part of units, will hold the country together as a whole in freedom. If the dictates of self-respect or considerations of the spectacle we are to-day providing to others are in themselves insufficient to induce an enduring settlement which may spell security to each howsoever small its number, the recent example of a great people perishing through division and unpreparedness may well cause us to reflect.

12. As for the States, there is much loose talk about them, about their systems and their future. I have had the privilege, after service in British India, of serving in the premier State for nearly half a century, and I can tell you that whatever others may say, there is life and vitality in the States which British India cannot ignore. They have been condemned to descriptions of their so-called "mediaevalism" and to prophecies of "extinction"; surely such condemnations and threats can only lead to the very antithesis to the co-operation necessary for the evolution of a Greater India. For my part, I am convinced that the foundations on which rests the governance of Indian States, based as it is on the experience of centuries of administration by Indians themselves and fortified from time to time in accordance with the changing conditions, will endure. It is but in the fitness of things that they have been accorded a place in the Advisory War Council recently announced by His Excellency the Viceroy.

13. In bringing about such unity in the country, in instilling faith in the ultimate success of the cause of such liberation, University education fails of its main purpose if it does not lead us to perceive the unity underlying diversity. This is the Truth which religion proclaims. It is also the Truth which Science has come to accept. The nineteenth century belief in the permanent diversity of elements, has been discarded. Matter and Spirit are no longer held to be different and opposed to each other. The belief in the Supreme Unity behind the phenomenal world is a very ancient axiom of Indian thought. From it sprang the principle of respect for all religions as so many different avenues to salvation. Our country has been the meeting place of all the great religions and the great cultures of the world. If, as I profoundly believe, the world order of universal peace and harmony can come only out of an enlightened religious outlook, our country, by the assembling in it from immemorial times of all the great religions, is the one place where such an outlook is most likely to be developed. And it must develop first in the minds and souls of men who have received the highest education. This University enjoys a special advantage in this respect. Bombay is a great cosmopolitan city; Parsis, Jains, Jews, Sikhs, Buddhists, Christians, Muslims and Hindus of diverse sects and castes, are here closely associated with one another in business and in social and national activities. I earnestly trust that the young graduates whom I see before me will realise in their own persons and lives the great responsibility which rests on them to bring about unity and harmony among all the sections of our population. But we cannot bring about harmony in the relations between different communities and castes and nations unless first we realise it in ourselves. We must discipline ourselves to think in terms of humanity.

14. The fact is that all our political ideas need radical revision. In this country, we should start from the basic factors of our history and culture and build up independently a science and practice which will answer primarily to our needs but may also prove useful to others. We should conserve all that is creative in our past experience, discard what has become harmful, eliminate factors which make for disunion and emphasise those—and these are many—which make for concord. We must keep in view not only our particular communal, provincial or even national interests. All these are important, but we must never lose sight of the fact that, except so far as our measures are in harmony with the highest interests of all other nations and of humanity, they are more likely to breed discord than promote peace.

15. But for India to perform this noble mission, the India of your making should be a strong and united India, capable of asserting its voice in the counsels of the Empire and of the world. It must have its army, its navy, its air force, and a strength proportionate to its vast population and extensive territory; it must be capable of mobilising its industry, its man-power, for the defence of its frontiers, should they ever be threatened. We have so far lived in our valleys and plains in the pursuit of the arts of peace, but if the world is scoured by wolves we must surely be able and ready to protect ourselves. A country peopled by four hundred million souls can surely be a world power, and the task of creating this new Titan must be left to you of the younger generation. We of the older generation can only pray that we may live to see that task fulfilled. And, if in your enthusiasm or your trials you become impatient of the past which may seem to clog your footsteps, I hope you will be blessed with the wisdom to reject only so much of that past as was false and unenduring, preserving such of the old ideals, your culture and art and spirit, as may serve to distinguish your contribution to the world of the future as that of a people whose vision is illumined with imagination and whose strength is tempered by honour.

The Mysore University Convocation

Pt. Amarnath Jha's Convocation Address

The following is the Convocation Address delivered by Professor *Amarnath Jha*, Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad, at the Convocation of the University of Mysore held on the **14th. October 1940** :—

I feel deeply honoured at having been invited to address you to-day. For many of you this is a solemn moment when your Acharya bids you farewell and sends you forth from these academic groves into the vast and unquiet world beyond, with no arms and no equipment save what you have in a stout heart, a cheerful spirit, and a strong character. I am to utter to you words of valediction that will, I hope, stand you in good stead, and will cheer you, comfort and sustain you when you feel tempted to throw aside your burdens and choose the primrose paths of luxury and ease. I have still the most vivid recollections of my undergraduate days and all my life I have been in daily touch with young students. I do not speak to you from the superior heights of Olympus, nor I trust will my exhortation seem to you to be impractical and difficult of realisation.

May I express at the outset a feeling which all India shares with you, the feeling of loss and grief, irreparable loss and profound grief, at the demise of your former Chancellor, His Highness Maharaj Sir *Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur* ? He was a great ruler and in a real sense commanded the love and allegiance of his subjects. He was wise and combined in himself the imagination of the seer and the practical commonsense of the statesman. In him were traits at once simple, great, and beautiful. Among his many titles to fame and gratitude, not the least is the foundation of this University. One is reminded of the passage in the Laws in which Plato lays down his scale of values, as one attempts to sum up the many qualities that have died with His late Highness : "The first and foremost is wisdom, second a reasonable habit of mind allied with insight, third, and resulting from the combination of these qualities with courage, is justice, and fourth courage." It must be a matter of supreme gratification to all those associated with this University that it has as its Chancellor one of its own distinguished graduates—a unique circumstance of which you may be legitimately proud. One confidently trusts that those qualities of his predecessor live in abundant measure in your new Chancellor whose name will, we all hope, stand fixed as a star in the spacious firmament of time.

The University of Mysore is about to complete twenty-five years of its existence, not a long span when we recall the ancient University of Alhazar or the foundations of Italy, Paris, Oxford or Cambridge, but long enough to make one feel that its architects have builded well and truly, that its reputation as a place of learning is well-deserved, and that the genius of the place is benignant and progressive. It has during these years imparted instruction in utilitarian subjects like Engineering and Medicine, Teaching, Commerce ; it has also given training in the subjects of English Literature, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Persian, History, Economics, Philosophy, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Geology, Botany, Zoology ; it has a department of Archæology ; it has undertaken the publication of an English-Kannada Dictionary ; it has organised an annual series of Extension Lectures ; it has encouraged original investigation. It has, what is new among Indian universities, a University Settlement, which brings students into close touch with the poor people of the land. In these and other respects, it has since 1916 achieved much, enough to justify one in regarding it as a place of light, of liberty, and of learning. I have deliberately chosen these words as expressing the ideals for which a University should stand, the aims that it should strive to achieve. A true University is a centre from which should emanate light rather than heat, light rather than sound, light that should illuminate the dark corners of the mind and the obscure spaces in the universe outside, light that comes from reason rather than from passion, light that is dry, shooting its rays on all sides and revealing the truth in so far as it can be revealed. The darkness of ignorance, the clouds of superstition, the falsehood that masquerades as truth, the dim and vague shapes of prejudice and bigotry are all dissipated in its bright

light. In order that the lamp of knowledge should be kindled and should remain lighted, it is necessary that those who tend it should pursue knowledge disinterestedly. If they have any passion, it must be for knowledge as knowledge ; if they have any loyalties they must be for truth alone ; if they are dedicated to anything it must be to eternal search for the verities. Thus alone can they leave a track of light for men to wonder at. They must have reverence for all the possibilities of truth ; they must acknowledge that it has many shapes and dwells in many mansions. A University man cannot afford to be dogmatic. It may or may not be true that he who increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow ; but it is doubtless true that the more one knows, the less sure is one of one's knowledge. "When in association with the wise I picked up some learning, the fever of vanity left me and I knew the depths of my ignorance."

There is no more sincere humility than that of the real scholar, for he knows how much there is to know, how little is the knowledge that he has gained.

"O mother of the hills, forgive our towers,
O mother of the clouds, forgive our dreams."

He knows how valuable all knowledge is and how warped, narrow, and one-sided a specialist's vision can become. He keeps his eyes and ears open and acquires knowledge from whatsoever source it may come. The deeper one delves into one subject, the wider its scope becomes, until the boundaries of all subjects seem to touch one another. Unfortunately there is a tendency in the present age in the direction of over-specialisation. Even in one subject alone, a scholar working on Spectroscopy will disdain to interest himself in X-ray ; a Cytologist prides himself on his ignorance of Helminthology ; one well versed in Economics has no use for Philosophy ; the man of letters turns up his superior nose at the mere mention of the dismal science. But all those who have studied a special subject long and pondered over all its bearings and seen it whole know how closely it is related to many other subjects. Knowledge has advanced ; the bounds of ignorance are shrinking fast ; and it is no longer possible for even the most ambitious and longest-lived of moderns to claim, as Bacon claimed in the sixteenth century, "I take all knowledge to be my province." One cannot emulate such giants of the past and attain distinction as Bacon did in such different spheres of intellectual activity as science, philosophy, law, administration, and literature. But it is possible, indeed, it is necessary, that every scholar should know something of several subjects besides his own and be constantly conscious of the unbounded regions of light that he is not able to see with the aid of his own modest rush lamp.

A University should also be a centre of liberty if it is to possess the secret of perpetual life and health. If it is to survive political, military and religious upheavals, if it is to inspire succeeding generations of youth, it must breathe the spirit of freedom, freedom to think, freedom to search and investigate, freedom to argue about it and about, freedom to expound views, freedom to doubt and to deny, freedom to acquiesce and to conform. This freedom must be enjoyed by the young spirits, who are in the morning of their lives, fresh and bright, eager for adventure, impatient to experiment, ambitious to re-mould the world nearer to their heart's desire. They must be free to prove to themselves that in some respects the accumulated wisdom of the past is not to be despised even by the youngest and therefore the most all-knowing of them. They must be free to discard or select Jove or Mars, or choose 'some figured flame which blends, transcends them all.' Full freedom should be extended to them to discover what their genius is, and to change their path if it does not bring out all the *virtu* of which they are capable. Subject to such restrictions as may be necessary for the preservation of the University as a centre of liberty, light, and learning, and for the maintenance of a healthy and wholesome life, the young men of the University should have every freedom to prove or disprove things for themselves. And not only those who are *in statu pupillari*, but also the senior members, the teachers, must have liberty to state their views, to publish their discoveries, to spread the knowledge they have gained and the truth they have realised. No teacher should feel that he is likely to suffer for his opinions. His chief aim is the communication and augmentation of knowledge, and knowledge becomes stunted and blighted and worse than ignorance if it has to exist in the poisonous atmosphere of fear, suspicion, and distrust.

And, finally, the University is a centre for learning, for preparation for service, for ceaseless searchings of the heart, for discovering what talent is lodged within one and how best to perfect it and make it ready for use. It should

provide all facilities for training the youths to take their proper place in the commonwealth. Goethe uttered a word of sovereign wisdom when he said that the primary vocation of man is a life of activity. But contemplation, deep thought, careful testing of one's armoury, the attainment of the requisite skill and strength must precede action if it is to be effective. One must learn not to ask of life more than it can give. One must learn the rules of the game of life. One must acquire a sense of proportion. One must ascertain to what star one will hitch one's waggon. All this one must do if one is to act a useful and helpful and noble part in life. This process of learning is unending. No one must rest on his oars ; there are always new worlds of thought waiting to be discovered, an untravelled realm whose margin fades for ever and for ever. The students, whilst at the University, must devote themselves unsparingly to the pursuit of knowledge beyond the utmost bound of human thought. After they are properly equipped and know what it is that they are fit for and how far they may venture and what shoals and rocks are to be avoided, then they are free to go out into the world of action, to plunge into the fray, to be in the van of public conflict, to wisely administer the State, to command the applause of listening senates, to guide the lives of others and shape their character, to be leaders of thought. All this they are free to do with a sense of expansion and elevation, with zeal and ardour, even may be with fanaticism. But it must be clearly understood that the University is primarily and essentially a place of learning. Action implies partisanship, the pledging of faiths, the affixing of labels ; and all this is abhorrent to the spirit of a University, which warmly welcomes back to its halls those who have been bitter foes in the world outside, the capitalist as well as the wage-earner, the landlord as well as the tenant, the royalist no less than the republican, the proud Brahmana and the humble Shudra, all without consideration of party or creed or faith, but all united in their devotion to the sacred cause of learning. For all alike it serves as a place of refreshment, of revival, of renewal of hope and spirit of enterprise. It can be this, only if it assiduously maintains its determination not to allow its pursuit of knowledge to be deflected into the narrow grooves of action. Let the teachers and students exercise their normal rights of citizenship ; but within the University itself, let no breath of strife enter. Study, contemplation, discussion, in a free and frank atmosphere there must be ; but there must at the same time be a ban on active participation in the dire noise of conflict, for a student must be a student.

And the teacher must remain a teacher. During recent years so much stress has been laid on 'research' and 'original work' that the primary function and duty of a teacher are in danger of being overlooked. It seems that every teacher must, else sinning greatly, be a researcher ; that he must have done 'original' work ; that he must have published some book or papers. Public opinion demands 'productive scholarship.' A specialist has been defined as a man who knows more and more of less and less. Work of real originality deserves to be admired and encouraged. Every facility must be given in the way of apparatus, journals, and a well-equipped library. Liberal grants must be made for sending out expeditions. But the University is not merely a place of research. Its membership consists for the most part of undergraduates, who have to learn the art of living. The teacher's main concern must be the student and its growth ; he must be an inspiration to his pupils ; he must mould their character ; he must be a living influence for them. He must possess quickness of sympathy and breadth of outlook and understanding. He must shape them not merely by the training of intellect but by the discipline of spirit. What can give more joy than the consciousness that one has contributed to the maturing and shaping of a character, to the equipment of an intellect, to the enlargement and widening of a vision ? Constant contact with the pupil, sharing in his life, enjoying his fullest confidence, providing him with opportunities for the cultivation of his taste, these, and the imparting of knowledge, the arousing of genuine love and enthusiasm for the subject of his study are the teacher's main duty ; these are also his privilege and a source of unending satisfaction and delight. In order that he should succeed, he must be a person of high character ; nothing that he says or does should fall below a certain moral standard. Spirits full of activity and full of energy that are pressing forward, eagerly, hopefully, rushing onward to fine issues must be touched only by what is elevating and ennobling.

Young graduates, it is your pride that you are young. You have to choose your path in life. You have acquired, I trust, that faculty which, in the words of Milton, will enable you to perform joyfully, skilfully, and magnanimously, all

the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. You have hope. You have winged desires that will remove all obstacles. You have generous impulses and the will to make the world better and happier than it is to-day. It is well that every succeeding generation of young men finds it possible to hope and aspire ; it is well that the darkness of despair does not surround you. You do not yet know that

"The ample proposition that hope makes
In all designs begun on earth below
Fails in the promised largeness."

On all sides of you learning spreads its varied treasures ; there are in front of you long and agreeable vistas ; you have many realms to explore. But not all your ability, your energy, your enterprise will be worth anything, unless to them are allied a high character, the determination to lead a clean life, the creed that a word given must be a word kept, the will not to yield lightly to temptation, to prefer the second best, to pause and rest and acquiesce, the firm faith in what is noble and good and beautiful. Of what avail are all your accomplishments, all your brilliant gifts if you cannot at the same time be dependable, if you cannot uphold the truth, if you lose both the regard of others and your self-respect ? If you do good and succour the weak, if you protect the innocent, if you mitigate the sufferings of humanity, if you add to the sum of human happiness, if you are straight, if you never cause anyone to shed tears except at your death, your education and training will have been amply justified. Even at the risk of being considered old-fashioned, one may still pay a tribute to the qualities connoted by "the grand old name of gentleman." There are certain graces of life, urbanity, a standard of conduct, a polish, a sense of decorum, a breeding, which one associates with a gentleman. Gentlemanliness, said Ruskin, is only another word for intense humanity. If you have self-respect you will naturally respect others. One who tramples down on the sacred individuality of others, who is willing to destroy and crush, who does not hesitate to blot out of existence nations and countries, must in reality be an object of pity, for he doubtless has the utmost contempt for himself and distrust in his ultimate destiny. Thoughtfulness for others, generosity, tenderness of feeling, appreciation of other points of view—these are the marks of a gentleman. Culture and refinement are not bourgeois virtues ; the sons and daughters of the soil have the true graces and signs and culture. But there is a danger that crudeness may be considered to be identical with morality, and vulgarity may pass for one of the badges of progressiveness. In literature obscenity is enshrined by the moderns in the sanctum sanctorum. Let gentlemanliness in thought word, and conduct still continue to be your ideal.

If you are considerate and think of others besides your own selves, it will be clear to you that your action will be guided by a belief in freedom and tolerance. I venture to think that the main distinction between the Hindu view of life and that of the West lies in this, that the former constantly places emphasis on Duties and the latter on Rights. The Sanskrit word '*Dharma*' is rightly translated as 'Duty,' for this is the very basis of the Hindu conception of Religion. I may be wrong, but I doubt if there is any Sanskrit term for the idea expressed in modern political thought by the phrase 'rights of man.' We have no rights, only duties. If the teacher does his duty, the pupils' rights are secured. If the father does his duty, the rights of the children are safeguarded. If the landlord does his duty, the peasants' rights are maintained. When everyone in the commonwealth is busy performing his own duty and trying not to lag behind in the observance of it, there is no time or occasion for any clash. The stress on the part *you* have to play rather than on the part you expect others to play has a remarkable psychological and spiritual value. "Make thy claim of wages a zero, thou hast the world under thy feet." If you regard the proper performance of your own duties as your prime concern, you will rise superior to the pettinesses of life, and gain possession of your own souls. Let your ideal of your own conduct be so high that all your thoughts, all your endeavour, all your energies will be needed to attain it ; let it be said of you that save your own soul you have no star. Think of giving a lead to others and of improving them only after you are confident that you have yourselves reached a high level of self-knowledge, self-control, and self-development.

I have spoken of culture—a word of many meanings, and not a word in fashion at the moment. You will remember Swift saying early in the eighteenth century : "Instead of dirt and poison, we have rather chosen to fill our hives with honey and wax ; thus furnishing mankind with the two noblest of things,

which are sweetness and light." This aspiration for sweetening one's own life and the lives of others, the active desire to get light and to impart it to others and to enlarge the sphere of one's sympathies, refines one's nature and elevates one in the scale of being. To touch life at many points, to take an intelligent interest in many things, to feel at home in any company, to extract pleasure and profit from many arts and many sciences, to make external things correspond to human feelings, to strengthen and elevate character, to seek an assurance of repose and to find central peace subsisting at the heart of endless agitation—this is what culture means. It means sanity, poise, and even-balanced soul. It means that the good of everyone should be recognised as one's own good, the injury of everyone as one's own injury. Culture implies sympathy for the whole. It reconciles you to the part you have to play in the drama of life, and it teaches that what matters is the play and how well you act your part in it.

There are struggles and strifes in the world. In your own minds you have conflicts and uncertainties. There are clashes between communities. Life may well seem to be one long war. There is much that may cause concern and alarm, much that may shake one's confidence in the goodness of the universe, much to dishearten. But the educated man takes a long view. He looks before and after. History has taught him that movements and tendencies that seem to threaten destruction have their day, make themselves felt for a while, and cease to be. Philosophy has taught him that despite its littleness and its prejudices, human nature is always longing for what is good and noble. His faith remains unshaken that the world keeps on progressing, in spite of all the many upheavals and cataclysms. He is not so deeply absorbed in the immediate present as to lose his sense of absolute values. You who are educated should remember your duty of being cheerful and serene. Do you allow yourselves to be easily ruffled? There must of course be occasions when you will be indignant and furious; but these must be rare and abnormal. In your day-to-day life, in your relations with your family or your colleagues, make an attempt to breathe in an atmosphere of pleasantness, of delight and satisfaction, even of enthusiasm. Our scriptures uphold the ideal of Peace; that is the ultimate ideal in every faith—Peace; Shanti; Salaam. Let it be your endeavour to attain it. Here again some of you may fell tempted to prise a revolutionary ideal at the expense of an ideal of peace. But reform or revolution is only a means. Neither is an end. The end must be something worth while. Make sure that whether it is a life of action or of contemplation, you work for the ends of Peace. Blessed are the peacemakers. Both for nations and for individuals there can be no higher end, no nobler ideal, no more satisfying objective than peace, for is it not above all earthly dignities? Peace must be the ultimate goal: "calm of mind, all passion spent, scattered with light, the peace not of the dark grave, but peace that conquers death, and touches with delight the mouth of the wise.

But while that should be the goal and every endeavour should be directed towards its attainment, commonsense and worldly wisdom require that we should take heed of our circumstances and have a realistic appreciation of the situation in which we find ourselves. It is true that every religion enjoins the supreme necessity of peace and goodwill; it is true also that in actual life it has been relegated to the position of merely a far-off adorable dream. If every one were actuated by the highest motives, had the most altruistic view of life, and had dedicated himself to the life spiritual, it would be easy to be engrossed in the duties of peace. But we have to recognise that the world is very mixed and human nature can still lapse into bestiality. Spirit and matter contend for mastery. Hatred, envy, malice, o'ervaulting ambition, injustice, corruption, brutality, and all the rest that figure in the catalogue of the diabolic qualities have still to be reckoned with, for they have not, alas! been rooted out of existence. There is evil still and it is no part of prudence to ignore it. You may have every will to lead a life of the highest integrity and the utmost purity; but the world being what it is, you can do that only if you retire from it and live in what Landor called "the audience-chamber of God." In the world, then, if you are to achieve anything you must, while still working for the ideal and still striking the stars with your sublime head, use the world as you find it, with all its many imperfections and weaknesses and incongruities. "Order yourselves to a wise conformity with that Nature who cannot for the life of her create a brain without making one half of it weaker than the other half, or even a fool without a flaw in his folly." Now one of the undisputed facts of life is that now and again what we hold dear, what we consider to be sacred, what we have laboured

to build up, what enshrines our fondest wishes are exposed to danger. Our homes are threatened with destruction. Our relations are made to face disasters worse than death. Our motherland may arouse the covetous greed of an invader. In circumstances like these—which, alas ! are not rare—it will be the negation of wisdom and the height of logical imbecility merely to sing hymns and psalms and remind the aggressor of the supreme value of human life, the folly of his ways, and the attractions of a non-violent peace. There is a well-authenticated anecdote of Cromwell. On a certain occesion when his troops were about to cross a river to attack the enemy, he concluded an address with these words : "Put your trust in God ; but mind to keep your powder dry." The doctrine of non-violence is valuable ; is can be practised by one who has reached one's journey's end, who has no concern more with mundane matters, or who considers the shore more sweet than labour in the deep mid-ocean. But David says in one of the Psalms :

"Fight against them that fight against me. Take hold of shield and buckler, and stand up for mine help. Draw out also the spear and stop the way against them that persecute me."

In another Psalm he says :

"Say unto God, How terrible art thou in thy works ! through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies submit themselves."

Jesus Christ's advice to his disciples was : "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves : be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

In the *Holy Quran* we read :

"Among those whom we had created are a people who guide othere with truth, and in accordance therewith act justly. But as for those who treat Our signs as lies, We gradually bring them down by means of which they know not ; and though I lengthen their days, verily, my strtagem is effectual." (7, 181).

In the *Bhagavadgita*, Krishna says that he creates himself in bodily form, among other purposes, to destroy evil ; the conflict between the Daivi and the Asuric forces has to be faced lest the very existence of the Soul become a matter of doubt, if not even denial. He exhorts Arjuna :

"Arise ! Obtain renown ! destroy thy foes !
Fight for the kingdom waiting thee when thou hast
[vanquished those."

and again :

"Either—being killed—
Thou wilt win Swarga's safety,—or alivo
And victor—thou wilt reign an earthly king.
Therefore, arise, thou Son of Kunti ! brace
Thine arm for conflict."

The Upanishad is emphatic : "Even this soul cannot be possessed by one devoid of strength." Howsoever one may be placed, one has to decide at times whether one shall march forward to fight or shrink back with pusillanimity. It is no use laying the flattering unction to one's soul that cowardice can be noble because it springs from the cult of non-violence. Valour is to be prized above most virtues when it is used in the service of noble cause. You have to be fully trained for the offices both of peace and of war. Your spiritual and intellectual gifts will avail you little when you have to contend against the onslaughts of savage force. You can conquer and vanquish your foe and the foe of all that you stand for only if you are armed and capable not only of depending yourselves but also of defeating your opponent. Remember the fate that has befallen the intellectuals in Europe. Men of the eminence of Einstein and Freud and Ludwig were exiled. Men who have raised the stature of humanity, bright and luminous stars in the history of mankind, have had to seek shelter in foreign lands. Eminent philosophers, artists, musicians, men of science, who had dedicated their lives to study and who had no part or lot in the rough world of economics and politics and who desired no more than that they should be permitted to continue the momentous work on which they were engaged, were hunted out of their homes like the worst criminal. In a world where, in spite of centuries of progress and all the marvels of modern civilisation, such incidents occur, is it not prudent, is it not wise, is it not in the hightest degree necessary, that individuals as well as nations should be capable of self-defence ? Hinduism preaches no doctrine of cowardice or timidity. Almost all the divine figures in the Hindu Pantheon, even the female divinities, are armed. In most Hindu States, on the day of Dasahra, the arms of war are worshipped. Even the meek and pious Brahmana used to be proficient in the use of arms. In

the great epic of the Mahabarata, the princes are described as receiving lessons in archery from the sage Drona; and Drona and Athvattama were the two pillars on whom the might of the Kauravas rested. Bhishma's precepter in the use of arms was the Brahmana Parashurama. Is not a cruel irony of destiny that in a land with traditions such as these, and in conditions that call for the highest valour and strength, the doctrine of non-violence should have become so fashionable that many thousands render at least lip-service to it? You, who are intellectually advanced and morally sound should also be physically strong. In every school and college, under every civic administration, there should be the amplest scope for the development of the body and for training in means of defence. Every yaung man should be able to march in step, to stand erect, to endure physical strain, to use a rifle and a bayonet. He should have grace of body and strength of thew and sinew. Both physical and military training should have an important place in any well-planned scheme of education. I hope that in the coming years young men of the Universities will be like the knights of old, willing to use arms for truth, honour, virtue,—for all that is comprised in good. I do not wish to glorify war; but I do not agree with Einstein, when he says: "The man who enjoys marching in line and file to the strains of music falls below my contempt; he received his great brain by mistake—the spinal cord would have been amply sufficient." Oh! no,

"In peace there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility:
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the tiger."

I have detained you long, talking of things I prize: grace and culture, the desire for peace and preparedness for defence, the even-balanced soul, deeds of honour, cheerfulness, self-respect, and consideration for others. I have spoken to you of your duties. May I, before I end, assure you that the largest contribution to your education has come from your fellow-students? A true University is not a collection of books; nor is it a well-equipped laboratory; it is not even mainly being smoked at by your tutors. It is the buildings where you dwell; the play-grounds where you hear your playmates' glad symphony; the debating halls where intellect clashes with intellect and you use words so nimble and so full of subtle flame that you seem to put your whole wit in a jest. It is the companionship wiih your peers, so like you or so dissimilar to you, so full of generous impulses, so eager to be friends, so quick to take offence and so impatient again to seek forgiveness. It is the friendships you form, that will survive the shock of time and be to you a perpetual source of delight and comfort and solace. The petty incidents that seem so momentous; the jokes that amuse you; the foibles and eccentricities of your friends; the contact with superior intellects and high characters; the mad race for prizes; the impassioned defence of a debating proposition; the race against time when you have to score a run to take your team on to victory; the tricks by which you dodge the Proctor and his assistants;—these will in the years to come be your most cherished memories and make the University 'a dream of music for the inward ear and of delight for the contemplative eye.'

Crises occur. Large tracts of the world change and alter. The horoscopes of nations are cast and recast. Ideas come and go. But the stream of youth flows on. The generation of youthful seekers after knowledge, vidyarthi, talib-ilm, is not born for death. Undaunted, with sure steps and heads erect, it marches on, on to the unending quest of the orbs of glory until it sets

" as sets the morning star, which goes
Not down behind the darken'd west, nor hides
Obsecured amongst the tempests of the sky,
But melts away into the light of heaven."

The Allahabad University Covocation

Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu's Convocation Address

The following is the Convocation Address delivered by *Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu*, M. A., LL. B. at the Convocation of the University of Allahabad held on the **November 16, 1940.**

I am deeply grateful to you, Sir, for the honour you have done me in asking

me to deliver the Convocation address this year. I have readily accepted the invitation as it gives me an opportunity of offering my cordial felicitations to the graduates of the year, and of meeting so many young men and women on whom will soon fall the responsibility of serving the India of tomorrow. As I stand here before you to-day, my thoughts turn irresistably to my student days when well-nigh half a century ago I joined the Muir Central College. Being a humble product of this University, and having been closely associated with it in different capacities for more than 25 years, I have every reason to feel grateful to my Alma Mater.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as I am expected particularly to address the younger section of my audience I shall place before my young friends for their consideration certain tendencies of thought and action in modern times. We are passing through tragic and gloomy moments in the history of the civilised world which seems to have lost its way. Under the heel of advancing fate, country after country is getting involved in a deadly struggle, and nation after nation is losing its independence and falling an easy prey to the covetous greed of arrogant Imperialism and the tyranny of an unsatiated lust for power. The world has of late witnessed the phenomenal rise of a number of dictators who have shown an amazing capacity for organisation and have developed a technique of ruthless efficiency. They have achieved remarkable success in transforming national society into a veritable war machine. By means of clever propaganda, a rigidly controlled Press and an authoritarian system of education they have stirred up the potent force of Nationalism to such a degree that it has become uncontrollable. They have at the same time reduced the individual citizen to an obedient, sheep-like social man who could be easily pulled down to the sub-human level under pressure of collective excitement and required to commit acts of brutal savagery in a spirit of self-sacrifice which is indeed pathetic.

In the Nineteenth Century Europe enjoyed an era of phenomenal material prosperity, of rapid industrial development and of marvellous improvement in the means of production. A sudden accretion of material wealth gave rise to problems of distribution and created a class struggle between the haves and the have-nots. The situation demanded a new approach to social problems, and economic inequalities began to exercise the Western mind. New conceptions of an 'economic man' and of a strong 'National state' began to appeal to the minds of men. People who claimed to be 'advanced' began explaining all history and human effort in economic terms. The goal aimed at was the perfection of a system and not the perfection of the individual. In the present century much greater emphasis is being laid on the efficacy of environment. It is the environment and not the individual which is to be attended to, as it is believed that the environment will take hold of the individual and automatically set him right. Impatient idealists with their ready cures for all human ills have been pressing for revolutionary social changes of a comprehensive character to be introduced in the shortest time possible. They do not believe in the gradualness of change, for according to them small reforms are enemies of big reforms. They have such profound faith in the efficacy of the panacea they offer that they are prepared to undergo any amount of suffering and even to lay down their lives for it. But they also passionately hate and are even ready to use violence against those who do not subscribe to their particular creed but hold equally tenaciously to some other pet scheme of social and political reform. The world is thus at present within the grip of a number of political and economic dogmas—euphemistically called idealogies—and known as Communism, Fascism and Nazism. These idealogies constitute a terrifying challenge to each other and have opened the floodgates of fanaticism, hatred and bloodshed to which the past inglorious records of religious bigotry, crusades and the Inquisition bear no comparison. Priestcraft has been replaced by subtle and cunning methods of diplomacy, of censored press, of controlled industry and commerce, of tariffs aud depreciated exchange. In place of the authority of the priest and of the Church we have the rule of the Dictator and of the totalitarian State raised to the position of a National Person to whose supreme will all must show unquestioning obedience. These dictators are the new Vicegerents of God on earth acting as the prophets of an alleged New Order. It is indeed noteworthy that they all attained the position of absolute authority by exploiting the ontward forms of democratic constitutions bereft of their real spirit.

While the Revolutionaries in Russia had kindled the most generous but also the most destructive emotions, and had aimed at reconstructing society on the basis of complete democracy in every sphere of national activity, the net result,

after so many years of hectic and ceaseless effort, has been the creation of an undiluted military and economic dictatorship. The collective system of agriculture could only be forcibly pushed through by a free use of jails and the guillotine and a wholesale starvation of a large mass of peasant proprietors. A centralised power now enforces its absolute authority through a hierarchy of tyrannial agents. Entry into such an hierarchy is in fact sought for, much more than the acquisition of wealth, because of its privileged position. History and experience bear out the fact that revolutionaries ultimately prove to be as proud and masterful as their powerful oppressors whom they overthrow. Even those who profess revolutionary aims but condemn their methods are no exception to this rule as in their zeal for the absolute rightness of their doctrines they are no less bitter and dogmatic than a fanatical theologian.

Take again the Fascists and the Nazis. According to Mussolini it is an article of faith with the Fascist that 'war alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it.' 'A handful of force is better than a sackful of Justice' says the official organ of the Nazi Ministry of Justice. Hitler considers humanitarianism as a 'mixture of stupidity, cowardice and superciliousness.' According to him a virile people are justified in controlling the subject races for their own aims and 'only pacifist fools can look upon this as a sign of human baseness.' The ethical standards which have so far been honoured by civilised society are looked at with derision and supreme contempt by these revivalists of a primitive code of honour. Considerable ingenuity has been spent in claiming a much higher value for certain new moralities to which their crude philosophy owes allegiance. These new moralities, which singularly lack the noble virtues of kindliness, tolerance and understanding are somehow essentially common to the idealogies of Fascism, Nazism and Communism. Attractive slogans and catchwords have been invented to justify and rationalise certain cruel enormities. The extermination of the Jews is right and necessary because of their supposed abiding inferiority and the historical importance of the Aryan race and culture. In extending its empire Italy is only fulfilling a historical mission because it is the sole representative of Imperial Rome. The violent methods adopted by the Communist in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat are justified on the ground of 'historical necessity.' History has been made the final arbiter between right and wrong and between the real and the unreal. The lapses of humanity in the past from the path of virtue and righteousness have been given a new dignity of sanctions.

It is not therefore surprising that Europe has been engulfed in a conflagration which now threatens to spread over other continents. For India these are truly hours of destiny that count, for we are facing a present full of menace and a future full of uncertainty. For good or for ill the fate of India happens to be inextricably bound up with the fate of England. No amount of casuistry or sophism with resounding appeals for self-dependence can help us out of the position. India has at present the double burden of solving its own political and social problems and of bearing an honourable part in the world conflict and keeping itself safe from many younger and more progressive Imperialisms that are threatening it from all direction and whose ambitions are as wide as the world itself. Already groaning under the yoke of foreign subjection India has to face the domestic problems of crass poverty and disease, of inertia and mental bondage, of the barriers of caste and the ever-widening gulf between different communities inhabiting this fair land which Nature has helped so well but which man has served so ill. Its forced contact with the West cannot truthfully be said to have been an unmixed evil. It has in certain respects been also a blessing in disguise. Notwithstanding India's mental slavery to the West this connection has materially helped to bring about an Indian Renaissance and has created a tremendous urge towards freedom. India is now in reality seeking its soul, although for the moment the deeper questions of life which engaged its attention in the past seem to have been set aside, and it is much more occupied with problems of outer efficiency and of politics and economics. The pulls in different and often contrary directions, and the uncertainties and struggles of the present with their unavoidable compromises, inconsistencies and hypocrisies, mark the travail of future India.

While orthodoxy is desperately in love with past that is never to return, our so-called 'advanced' reformers—whose impassioned writings and utterances are often an echo of the latest theories of Western faddists—solemnly ask us to look upon the past as a static ruin. The certainty of a new order dawning upon this world is constantly dinned into our ears, although no one is able to tell us what

that new order is going to be like. There are so many prophets of a new order about and around us. There is the mighty Hitler proclaiming a new order for Europe with the co-operation and assistance of his astute friend Mussolini. There is ambitious Japan eager to establish a new order in Asia. There is the self-complacent Stalin who has the satisfaction of having already created a new heaven in at least a part of this habitable globe. In India some of our dynamic leaders who have seen the vision of an indescribable new order are straining every nerve to prepare an apathetic and lethargic people for the emergency. In this welter of competing orders it would be a bold person who could prophesy which particular brand of new order will actually fall to the lot of a 'recipient' people like ourselves.

It seems to be almost taken for granted that the coming new order, being the latest in sequence of time, will necessarily be more advanced and more conducive to human happiness. During the last Great War we were constantly told that that war was to end war, that the security of the smaller States would be guaranteed and the principles of freedom and self-determination for every nation firmly established. With an amiable optimism it was hoped that the hearts of men would be changed and purified, and the sufferings experienced in the war would pave the way for a nobler civilisation. We were also assured then that we were living in times when the progress of centuries was being achieved in a few years. But what has been our glorious record of progress during the last twenty five years? A world torn between Democracies—either Capitalist or Imperialist—and dictatorships of either full-blooded or disguised Imperialists, all armed with powerful and deadly weapons; a group of highly centralised States with their populations reduced to obedient automata; the smaller States paralysed with fear and losing their freedom overnight; men's hearts hardened to cruelty and tyranny, and the foundations of European civilisation perilously shaken. It does not require any extraordinary intelligence to foresee that the present titanic upheaval is sure to result in some kind of rapid transformation, but whether the process of the old order yielding place to the new will leave the world less corrupt than what it is to-day, is a question which each of us might well answer for himself in the light of past experience.

By no means do I ask you to take a cynical view of the world events, but I do beg of you to distinguish facts from theories and not to get lost in wishful thinking. The times undoubtedly require that we should no longer remain dormant and sleepy but must become alert, watchful and active if we are not to disciplining ourselves to the arduous task of hard and independent thinking. It is difficult to break away from traditional habits of thought and mind, but it is no less difficult to resist the pressure of current thoughts and the hypnotic effect of organised propaganda with its emotional appeals, and of slogans and crowd suggestions which gather strength by repetition. While we must think in terms of tomorrow and not of yesterday we cannot altogether forget the past which has created certain definite conditions in the present amidst which we have to work for the future. We must cultivate the elasticity of mind which would keep us alive to new needs, but we have to be careful not to throw away into the dust heap the rich and accumulated experience of the past and treat it as mere putrid waste. Progress does not necessarily consist in the rejection of every thing old and in the blind acceptance of the latest theory which lacks the test of the experience. Amidst the whirl of change and the hectic restlessness of contemporary life let us not forget that there are certain fundamental verities which hold good for all times, and it would indeed be a fatal error if we allowed any impairment of our devotion to them.

India is now astir with the ideas of nationalism, freedom and democracy, and is moved by the noble aspiration of attaining Swaraj. It is therefore all the more necessary to understand their true significance, the proper conditions of their attainment and the dangers in the path that must be avoided at all costs. Nationalism based on patriotism and love of one's country is one of the noblest sentiments which governs human conduct, but it has to be kept within proper limits. Nationalism postulates a keen sense of honour and integrity, complete purging of social evils which militate against decent living, and a voluntary subordination of individual interests to the larger interests of society. It calls for a bold and courageous stand against forces that work for internal disruption and divide class from class and community from community. It demands charity, tolerance and understanding, a capacity for adjustment and co-operation, and an instinctive urge to stand together in face of common danger. There are, however, certain ugly developments of Nationalism against which we must scrupulously guard overselves. By an irony of fate Nationalism to-day has divided the world

and has become a fruitful source of war resulting in human slaughter. Nationalism has been exalted to the position of a deity and its devotees have developed a blatant egoism and a spirit of vulgar aggressiveness which creates a violent reaction in other peoples who worship exclusively at other national shrines. Hatred and jealousy are thus the ruling passions which govern international relations, and their blightening effect threatens to reduce our nobler human impulses to a desert of the soul.

Love of Freedom is instinctive with human beings. Bacon was right in saying that eternal vigilance was the price of liberty. Vigilance, be it remembered, is not merely to be exercised against external forces which may threaten national freedom, but it has to be ceaselessly exercised against internal forces silently working in the life of every individual and of the society. Love of liberty demands a keen sensitiveness for social justice and for right relations between men. The atmosphere of freedom has to be all pervasive. It is the mind particularly that has to be set free. The vigour of a nation, its creative activity, its distinctive contribution to human civilisation and its progress in knowledge, science and art depends upon the fredom of mind from the bondage of authority and the shackles of tradition. Then again, liberty is not license or absence of self-restraint. Without self-control you have anarchy, not freedom. To quote Mrs. Besant: 'Liberty is a great celestial Goddess, strong, beneficent, and austere, and she can never descend upon a nation by the shouting of crowds, nor by arguments of unbridled passion, nor by the hatred of class against class. Liberty will never descend upon earth in outer matters until she has first descended into the hearts of men, and until the higher spirit which is free has dominated the lower nature, the nature of passions and strong desires, and the will to hold for oneself and to trampel upon others..... Out of men and women who are free, strong, righteous, ruling their own nature and training to the noblest ends, of such only can you build up political freedom, which is the result of the individual, and not the outcome of the warring passions of men.'

In India we are all hoping to establish democracy. There is generally a pathetic belief held that a growth of literacy and a certain amount of training in the duties of citizenship is all that is required for the purpose. But it is necessary to grasp the fact that democracy can only successfully function under conditions which have a definite moral and intellectual background. Integrity of character, a high sense of duty, a willingness to do public service are the essential pre-requisites of beneficent and progressive democracy which aims at the greatest good of the greatest number. It demands from every unit of society a tolerance of difference of opinion, a spirit of mutual give and take, a generous appreciation of criticism and a genuine desire to promote community of interests between different groups. There is no greater mistake than to look upon democracy as only a form of Government by the people at large, where votes are the deciding factor and where the will of the majority prevails. Emphasis has to be laid on the true spirit of democracy which alone ensures ordered progress. Democracy is as different from mob rule as sunlight from darkness. Nor does it mean rule by a caucus or High Command or through regimented public opinion.

There is no better place than the University for receiving proper training in the necessary qualities which can make of Nationalism and Democrary a true success. In the most elastic period of your life it has been your privilege to live in an atmosphere of a fellowship of spirits born of friendly association with fellow students and a living intercourse between students and teachers. The freedom of inquiry encouraged in the University should help you in resisting mass thinking. It is here that you get opportunities of developing true freedom through the way of discipline and of cultivating a tempered judgment through a constant clash of mind with mind and testing of opinions. It is the University spirit of self-criticism which transforms the habit of mind and gives a largeness of view so necessary for intelligent citizenship in a democratic society. In the academic world of the University you experience a community of cultural interests and learn the unity of basic aims and ideas. It is in the social activities and the debating societies of the University that an understanding of life is fostered and a sympathetic outlook towards people's beliefs and practices is derived from interchange of opinions and a recognition of the existence of points of view other than your own.

My young friends, it would be foolish on my part to expect that you will at your age see life as I see it now, but I trust that during your University career you have fully equipped yourself morally and intellectually to play your part

in life and in the society honourably and well. The true function of a University is to prepare the young to take their place in human society and to develop in them a perception of the higher values of life. A sense of real values cannot however be taught but has to be discovered by every one for himself, and this personal discovery requires a great deal of self-discipline. The training that you have received will, I trust, help you to find out how to live and to be altogether occupied with merely utilitarian ends. You will, I earnestly pray, strive not only to make a living but even more to make a life. The acquisitive instincts of man do function as a spur to wordly activity, but unless they are exalted and refined and directed to nobler ends they lead to moral retrogression and make a man self-centred, unscrupulous and mean. In selfishness lies the root cause of the troubles of the world. The individual problem is in truth the world problem. The spiritual values of life are the true sources of energy, and when the spiritual impulse weakens, growth and joy of life decline. Let us not therefore neglect the roots of life from which spring both personal happiness and the progress of mankind. We have to recognise that man with all his frailties possesses the supreme capacity for the Infinite. From a life of entirely selfish pursuits and of perpetual conflict based on fear we can, if we so choose, throw ourselves with joy in the tasks of daily life and assiduously work at bringing about an internal change in our nature by deliberately identifying ourselves with the larger life around us. It is only through intent living and an increasing impersonality that we can release ourselves from the death trap of selfish attachment and gain the freedom of a rich and abundant life which draws its sustenance from the never failing stream of universal life. Only thus can man become a truly beneficent force of nature and realise his spiritual destiny. We are pilgrims in the boundless realm of eternity and have to play the part of explorers of the great intangibles of life with faith, courage and steadfastness, and in our march forward we have to work resolutely and with humility for an approach to that 'divine event' to which humanity with its blunderings and insensate strife is slowly but surely moving.

The Annamalai University Convocation

Sir Lionel Leach's Address

The following is the Convocation Address by the hon'ble *Sir Lionel Leach*, KT., Chief Justice, Madras High Court at the Annual Convocation of the Annamalai University held on Saturday, the **16th November, 1940** :—

When His Excellency the Chancellor invited me to deliver the Convocation Address this year I accepted readily and for two reasons. In the first place, I was conscious of the honour which the invitation implied, and in the second place, I realized that it would provide a fitting opportunity to draw attention to the serious problem which has arisen as the result of the overcrowding in the legal profession. The problem concerns the whole Province, but it has particular concern for its Universities, as they supply most of the candidates for the profession, and no doubt some of you who have graduated today will be contemplating the law as a career.

I am aware that the problem is not confined to India. It confronts many important parts of the British Empire. For instance it has been the subject of great concern in Canada. Writing in "The Canadian Bar Review" in 1935 the Dean of the Law Faculty of the University of Saskatchewan stated that the information available, though very incomplete, indicated that fifty per cent of the lawyers of Canada could deal with all the legal work of the country and then they would not be overworked, but would still have sufficient leisure time for "bridge, golf and other gentlemanly diversions." The problem is certainly no less acute in India. In fact, the indications are that it is more acute and this Presidency provides no exception to the position in other parts of India. In this Presidency there are 8,516 legal practitioners. This figure is based on the number of the names of advocates on the rolls of the High Court at the end of September of this

year and the published figures relating to attorneys of the High Court and first and second grade pleaders for 1939. The figure of 8,516 is made up of 4,380 advocates, 3,734 first grade pleaders, 334 second grade pleaders and 68 attorneys of the High Court. As you are no doubt aware, no more pleaders are being admitted. The admission of second grade pleaders ceased in 1910 and the admission of first grade pleaders in 1934. In the fulness of time there will be no pleaders, but this will not mean a lessening of the congestion, if the position remains otherwise unchanged. It will only mean that pleaders will be replaced by advocates. The wider and better education which an advocate has received is all to the good, but much more than that is needed. Information is not available to enable one to say with any degree of accuracy how many of the lawyers of this Province are earning a livelihood, but it may safely be taken that very many are not in this happy position, and never will be.

For the well being of any civilized state capable lawyers are essential, quite apart from the help they afford to the Courts in the administration of justice. Lawyers played a great part in the building up of the constitution of Great Britain and are playing a great part in its maintenance. Lawyers have likewise taken and are taking a great part in the political life of India, and while India is in the process of evolving a constitution which will be suitable for this great country a constant supply of capable lawyers is all the more essential. But the high standard which is called for cannot be achieved if the present unsatisfactory state of affairs in the legal profession is allowed to continue. Idleness is detrimental to a community just as it is detrimental to the individual. The traditions of the legal profession are of the highest, but in the very nature of things the standards cannot be maintained when it is a matter of scrambling for existence. I do not wish to be misunderstood. The standards set by the legal profession in Madras are the same standards as are set in Great Britain, and the Bar Council and other legal associations are endeavouring to maintain these standards ; but no good, only harm, would result in closing one's eyes to the fact that they are far from being maintained throughout the profession. Touting for work and the fostering of speculative and unnecessary litigation are two of the evils which are very noticeable today and the misappropriation of a client's money is not an infrequent occurrence. These evils arise largely from the unhealthy state of affairs caused by the overcrowding of the profession. "He that is busy is tempted by one devil ; he that is idle by a legion." Just as a healthy legal profession can be of immense service to the state, an unhealthy one can do untold harm, and untold harm will result if matters are allowed to drift. They must not be allowed to drift and the time has come to consider seriously what remedial measures are called for.

The stopping of enrolments for a period of years would, at first sight, appear to be an easy solution. This would no doubt succeed in the course of time in reducing the congestion which is now so manifest, but a little reflection is sufficient to convince one that the remedy would be worse than the disease. In the first place, it would mean the closing of the Law College of the Madras University and incidentally the destruction of a very efficient school of law. An institution such as the Law College is not made in a day. If it were closed for a period of years it would mean that when re-opened it would be very inferior in character and it would take years to regain its former position. That is the first objection, and it is obviously a weighty one. Another serious objection is that the closing of the Law College until retirements and deaths have thinned the ranks of the profession sufficiently would mean that there would be a great gap between those who were enrolled as advocates before the closing of the Law College and those who were enrolled after the reopening. Real knowledge of law and its application are only acquired by practice and the new comers would be a very long way behind. The gulf separating the old from the new would not be bridged until the new members of the profession had had years of experience. Other objections to the closing of the Law College could be stated, but the two reasons which I have given are sufficient to indicate that it is not a practical proposal.

Would a restriction on enrolments, instead of stopping them altogether, meet the situation ? If the recruitment to the Bar were confined merely to those who have passed through the Law College it might be possible—I do not say advisable —to direct that only a certain number of graduates should be enrolled as advocates and that the right to enrolment should depend on the order of merit disclosed in the final examination. For the years 1929 to 1939 inclusive, the number of graduates in law who were enrolled as advocates averaged 208 per annum. It could be said that for ten years not more than fifty advocates should be enrolled in any

one year. But here also there are real difficulties. In the first place the rules provide that a barrister of England or Ireland or a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland may be admitted as an advocate of the High Court. An advocate who has been enrolled by another Indian High Court may also apply for enrolment in Madras, just as an advocate enrolled by the Madras High Court may apply for enrolment in another Province. It would not be possible to assess the relative merits of such candidates without having a special examination at which all candidates would have to sit and the present system of reciprocity would come to an end. Instead of there being an Indian Bar there would be merely Provincial Bars. Moreover, ability to gain marks in an examination is not a sure indication of professional ability. Other attributes are essential to success at the Bar and therefore it certainly would not follow that in allowing the first fifty in the examination list to be enrolled to the exclusion of all others, the best men would be selected. For these reasons I consider that this is also not a practical solution. The restriction on numbers by increasing the Law College fees and the fee payable on enrolment would be even more objectionable, because this would mean the making of the legal profession into a close corporation of the wealthy. Merit would play no part and those already in the profession would, I am sure, be unanimous in their opposition to such a course.

As artificial means of restricting enrolments must be ruled out, in what way can the position of the profession be improved ? I think that it is capable of solution, but the process is bound to be a slow one and a great deal will depend on the attitude of the legal profession itself. In my opinion, the first step to a better state of affairs is to improve the system of legal education. I am not suggesting that any of the subjects now taught are unnecessary but more subjects of direct practical value should be taught. The present system merely visualizes the law student fulfilling the role of an advocate in Court. No thought whatever is given to the fact that there is need for legal practitioners in matters other than those which have to be brought to Court and that the single agency system still requires persons who are qualified for the doing of solicitor's work. This Province has adopted the single agency system and not the double agency system which has found favour in Calcutta and Bombay so far as the Original Sides of those High Courts are concerned. I had experience of the single agency system when practising at the Bar in Rangoon and I am convinced that it is the better system so far as India is concerned. The litigant can go direct to the advocate who will conduct his case in Court without a solicitor standing between and this suits the Indian temperament. Moreover, I consider that it tends to reduce the costs of litigation considerably without any real loss of efficiency in the majority of cases. All those who adopt the law as their means of livelihood are not temperamentally fitted or possess those faculties which are necessary for success in the conduct of cases in Court, but they may possess the qualifications for success as lawyers outside Court.

Most of the advocates enrolled by the Madras High Court are persons who have taken a degree at one of the Universities of the Province and then graduated in law from the Law College in Madras. The Law College course covers much ground, but there are no lectures on subjects which are of primary importance to what may be called the solicitor's side of the profession, such as conveyancing, the drafting of legal documents generally and company law. No blame is to be attached to the Law College for this. The course prescribed is only one of two years and there is not time to fit in more. It is true that after a person has graduated from the Law College he is required by the rules of the Bar Council to study as a pupil in chambers of an advocate practising in the High Court or in one of the district centres specified, for a period of twelve months and must pass the examination prescribed by the Bar Council. It is also the case that the Bar Council arranges for lectures in certain subjects more particularly concerned with practice, but here again it is the pupil who is going to fulfil the role of advocate, not that of solicitor who is catered for. From beginning to end the solicitor side of the profession is neglected. The fact that this Province has adopted the single agency system and all practitioners are called advocates, apart from the pleaders now in the profession and the few practitioners who are classified as High Court attorneys, does not mean that a practitioner akin to a solicitor is not required. I think that he is very much required, but if he is to be of any real service he must be properly trained and the training must begin early.

The subjects which the Law College now prescribes for its degree are essential subjects from the point of view of the law students in India, whether he

intends to practise in or out of Court. Therefore these subjects should not be cut down for the purpose of providing time for lectures on other subjects. To do so would merely be to cure one defect and cause another. It means that the Law College course will have to be extended or the Bar Council will have to arrange for the deficiency to be made up. I do not propose to embark upon a discussion whether the supplementing of the course of studies in law should be left to the Law College or to the Bar Council, although if it were to be left to the Law College it is obvious that its course would have to be one of three years, and this would involve the question whether reading in chambers and post graduate studies could be insisted upon as well, because if insisted upon it would take a candidate for the legal profession six years to obtain enrolment, two years for the arts or science degree, three years for the law degree and one year for the graduate course prescribed by the Bar Council. So long as the deficiency is made up, it matters not whether the agency is the Law College or the Bar Council. It has been suggested that the Bar Council should fulfil the role of the Council of Legal Education in England and that legal education so far as the profession is concerned should be in its hands. If the intention is to divorce legal education in India in the practitioner's sense entirely from the Universities I think it would be a retrograde move. All that is required is co-operation and with co-operation there will be no difficulty in effectively supplementing the course of studies in order to ensure proper training for both branches of the profession.

To prevent misconception I wish to make it clear that in advocating a broader and more practical course of studies I am not suggesting that the profession should be split up and that an advocate should be put to election whether he is going to fulfil the role of barrister or confine himself to conveyancing, drafting and other kinds of legal work which are usually associated with the solicitor. As we have the single agency system the practitioner must be free to act in either capacity, but fit him for the work which he intends to do. It may not be possible for a student to take all the subjects, but he could be allowed a choice, and his choice would be made in accordance with the role which he intended to fulfil. Neither do I suggest that by broadening the course of studies you will stop persons wandering aimlessly into the profession, but it will indicate to candidates that they need not all crowd into Court, and that there is work for them outside. As this Province develops commercially the greater will become the need for the lawyer who is skilled in drafting, has a knowledge of commercial law and can be relied upon to give sound advice on matters unconnected with litigation.

In urging that the system of legal education should pay more attention to the non-litigious side of the profession I am supported by the opinion of that great lawyer and judge, Sir Bashyam Ayyangar. In a recent conversation with a leading member of the Madras Bar I discussed this matter and gave him my views. The next day he sent me a copy of the address which Sir Bashyam Ayyangar delivered at the Convocation of the Madras University in 1893 in the course of which Sir Bashyam Ayyangar said :—

"As to the annual accessions to the Bar, it is no wonder that it should attract so many, year after year. This is so in all civilized conntries. With greater attention on your part to the work of a solicitor, I anticipate that, ere long, there will be a large opening to the legal profession ; that the enormous conveyancing work in the country will be entrusted to it ; and that the landed aristocracy and important families and companies will have standing vakils for advising them. Instead of the legal profession being resorted to in India, as it now generally is, for the conduct of litigation, it will then be also employed in the more genial and useful, and on the whole not the less remunerative, work of preventing litigation."

If only these words had been fully appreciated and acted upon the legal profession would have been in a very much happier position today, and would be far more efficient. The lack of instruction in conveyancing and drafting of legal documents is often reflected in Indian statutes. I do not suggest that the English statutes are always perfect in this respect, but speaking generally they cause nothing like the trouble which the Indian statutes give. Bad drafting of statutes is a fruitful source of litigation in this country. Litigation should always be avoided if it is possible and better draftsmen will do much in this very desirable direction, but to have better draftsmen we must make provision for proper training.

Before passing on to examine how the profession can best help in solving the problem I would like to emphasise that this Province is fortunate in having the Law College which it has, and the Universities outside Madras are to be congratulated on not having attempted to found law schools of their own, but on having devoted instead their attention to other branches of learning which are equally essential for the well being of the state. When this Province possesses such a school of law as it has in the Madras Law College it would only be adding to the gravity of the problem now under discussion for other Universities to found schools of law. A school of law situated outside Madras would not have the same facilities as one in Madras, where the help and guidance of the Judges of the High Court and of the leaders of the legal profession are always immediately at hand, to say nothing of the greater library facilities. For the time being at any rate the teaching of law is best where it is and for many years to come Madras will be well able to supply the needs of the Province. Your University fully realizes that the cause of education can best be served in other directions, as is shown by the proposals which have been made to create a department of oil technology and to carry out a colonization scheme.

Now what are the steps which the profession itself can take towards a healthier state of affairs and the creation in the public mind of a greater feeling of confidence in its ability and integrity ? In the first place, the profession must ensure that the high standard of professional conduct which is demanded is maintained throughout the profession. In the past there has been a tendency to pass over grave faults as if they were of little account. I am aware of the unwarranted vindictiveness which is often displayed by the unsuccessful litigant towards the advocate who has conducted his case. Every year the High Court receives many complaints of professional misconduct. Some are well founded, others are not. Of those which are not well founded some can be placed in the category of blackmail, but the outrageous conduct of clients in some cases should not prevent the profession from adopting the severest attitude when a member of the profession behaves in a manner which brings discredit to the profession. The importance of this cannot be over-emphasized.

The profession itself should insist on all advocates maintaining accounts and keeping their clients' moneys entirely apart from their own. Pleaders are required by law to keep accounts and the Bar Council enjoins advocates to do so, but the professional misconduct cases which come before the High Court show that accounts are often not kept and when kept are often so badly kept as to be of no use at all. An advocate should keep a diary in which he should enter the subject matter of every interview which he has with a client. It must be remembered that with the single agency system the advocate is not occupying exactly the same position as a barrister in England. He comes directly in contact with his client and for his own sake and his client's sake he should take these safeguards. If this were done the charges of professional misconduct would be fewer ; and charges of a blackmailing nature would disappear altogether, as it would be found that they would have no chance of success. It is essential to inspire confidence in the public mind and the one sure way of doing this is to convince the public that the profession itself insists on all possible safeguards being taken, not merely talked of, and that departures from the path of professional rectitude are serious matters and will be so regarded by the profession. Punishment for professional misconduct rests with the Court, not with the profession, but the profession can within itself do far more in this direction than the Court can do in the exercise of its power of striking off the roll of advocates the name of a person who has been found guilty of professional misconduct. I regret to have to say it, but *esprit de corps* is not so widely marked as it should be. I do not say that the same spirit of zealous regard for the honour of the profession is not to be found in India as it is found in England. I know that it is, but it does not permeate the whole profession as it should.

As we have the single agency system, and as I have indicated I think we are to be congratulated on that, what I would like to see encouraged is the formation of partnerships, partnerships in which some of the members would be responsible for the work done by solicitors in England and others who would devote themselves to conducting cases in Court. A partnership of this character has worked very well in Burma, as I know from experience, and if the idea were developed in the Madras Presidency it would go a long way to solve the problem now under discussion. I am not suggesting that legal partnerships should be put on a commercial basis in that it would be possible for an advocate to buy a share

in the practice of a firm. The partnership which I have in mind is a partnership where an advocate puts nothing in when he joins it and takes nothing out when he leaves it. Such a partnership must necessarily be somewhat autocratic in its character. The senior partner must be in a position to choose his associates and his word must be law within the partnership. A partnership on this basis may not be feasible outside the legal profession, but within a profession which exists for the purpose of regulating rights between man and man there should be the mentality to make it a success. Again speaking from experience I know there exists that mentality. Such a partnership would be able to cope with all classes of legal work and the young man of promise would be sought after. He would grow up with the firm and in carrying out the duties allotted to him he would be content to wait until his turn came to fill the chair of the senior partner.

The senior members of the Bar can do very much to improve the lot of the junior Bar by refusing to accept briefs which according to the fitness of things should go to the younger members of the profession. For instance, interlocutory applications unless of great importance should, as a matter of course, be left to the junior Bar. I am aware that even in a small matter a lay client may insist on taking in a senior member of the Bar, but when this happens the senior can insist on having a junior briefed with him. Of course, where an inclusive fee has been taken for the whole case the employment of a junior to do the interlocutory work and to assist generally cannot be insisted upon, but when the case is of importance and it is not a matter of taking into consideration the poverty of a client a senior should stipulate for the paid assistance of a junior. It would help towards the efficient conduct of the case. The Court has the power to certify for two counsel and does not hesitate to do so in a proper case. I am now touching on a matter in which it would be difficult to lay down any hard and fast rule, but it is obvious that the leaders of the Bar are here in a position to give direct help to the juniors of the profession and many of them do so, but there is still scope for more help in this direction. The alternative is to divide the Bar into seniors and juniors, "silks" and "stuff gownsmen", which would mean that ordinarily a senior would have to have a junior briefed with him. This course has been often advocated and I am aware that it is a controversial subject, but the last word has not yet been said.

The problem is certainly not easy of solution and I do not go so far as to say that the placing of the legal education in this Province on a proper basis and the receipt of the help which the profession itself is able to give will solve the problem fully, but I am convinced that the position of the legal profession will be a far better one and there will be the corresponding benefit to the state. Nor do I pretend to have covered the whole ground in suggesting what I have. I know that I have not, but I hope that I have given some food for thought.

In conclusion I wish to address a few words directly to the graduates of the year. Those of you who intend to proceed hence to the Law College and to adopt the legal profession as your vocation will enter upon your legal careers before times have changed for the better, but to those of you who are fully determined to adopt the profession of law and have the will, the character and the ability to succeed, success will come, inspite of the overcrowding. All those who apply to the Madras High Court for enrolment are seen by me in my Chambers before enrolment takes place. I frequently point out to the candidates the difficulties which lie before them, but as I say to them, as I say to you today, there is always room for good men at the top, and crowded and difficult though the path is, the summit is still attainable, and I trust that all of you who decide to set out upon this adventurous career will reach the summit. To those of you who intend to enter upon other walks of life I wish the same measure of success. The legal profession is not the only profession which is over-crowded, although perhaps other professions are not overcrowded to the same extent. Success can be attained in any walk of life, provided that he who seeks it is able to apply himself wholeheartedly to his work and allow no consideration to draw him away from the line of rectitude. Today is a great day in your lives, but I trust that there will be even greater days to come. That will depend largely on the way you apply the knowledge which you have gained here. India has great need for men of education. At no time in her history did she need them more, and I pray that you will all play your parts nobly and bring credit to your University.

The Rangoon University Convocation

Mr. U Tin Tut's Convocation Address

The following is the Convocation Address delivered at the Annual Convocation of the University of Rangoon on the **22nd. November 1940** by the Chancellor, U Tin Tut, M.A., Bar.-at-Law. I.C.S. :—

The year 1940 has been for the University and its Colleges a year of quiet adjustment of their machinery to the aims of the University Amendment Act of 1939 and I take this opportunity of acknowledging the loyal and generous way in which the members of the staffs of the University and of the Colleges have accepted the implications of the new Act and have carried out the decisions of those to whom the responsibility for defining the policy of the University and of its constituent Colleges is now entrusted. The Council of the University which has now a large elective and non-official element has already begun to discharge its functions with a broad and progressive outlook and with boldness and a determination to make the University a truly national one. The Senate, largely composed of the Professors of the University and selected Lecturers and Assistant Lecturers, has in its turn responded generously to the aims of the University Council. Among other innovations the Senate has framed regulations whereby school teachers have been made eligible under certain conditions to appear for the Intermediate and Pass Degree examinations in Arts without attendance at College courses. This is a first and important step in giving effect to the aim of Section 15 (30) (p) of the amended University Act under which the Senate now has power to make regulations for the admission of non-collegiate students to University examinations. The question of extending the privilege under suitable safeguards and conditions to those who are not school teachers but who nevertheless desire to be made eligible for appearance at University examinations without being able to avail themselves of the opportunity of undergoing courses of study at the various Colleges will doubtless receive in due course the attention of the Senate, this being a matter which requires considerable organization. The Executive Committee of the University Council and the Standing Committee of the Senate have accepted in principle the proposal that the University should hold its own matriculation examination imposing its own standard and that the actual Pass Degree course should be one of only three years' duration. Another important proposal which has been accepted by the University authorities in principle is that following the practice of British Universities, examinations should be arranged on what is known as the compartmental method. This involves a radical change of system and not only the examinations but also the courses of study at the several Colleges will have to be reorganized. The detailed arrangements to give effect to these innovations which have been accepted in principle give rise to a number of administrative problems which we may confidently leave to the Senate and its Standing Committee and the College Governing Bodies for a satisfactory solution.

2. The University recently lost by retirement the services of Professor L. G. Owen, I.E.S. He was Professor of Mathematics since the institution of the University on the 1st December 1920. He took a profound interest in the welfare of the University and in his students and no College at this University has ever had a more competent teacher or a *saya* who has been held in greater respect and affection by his pupils. The University Council lost on the 14th March 1940 the services of the Reverend George D. Josif by his death. He was the Field Secretary of the American Baptist Mission in Burma and represented the schools of this Mission on the University Council since its reconstitution on the 1st August 1939. I have also to mention with great regret the death of Sir Benjamin Herbert Heald on the 4th April 1940. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Rangoon University from 1927 to 1932 and rendered eminent service to it in that capacity.

3. An innovation likely to be fraught with great consequences in future was made early in the current academic year. I refer to the beginning now made by the University and by University College and Judson College to teach selected subjects through the medium of Burmese. Burmese lectures on History are now being provided by the University for first year Intermediate students and Bur-

mese lectures on Pali are now being provided for the same grade of students by the two Colleges I have mentioned. Attendance at these classes is on a voluntary basis and there are alternative classes in the same subjects taught in English. Though this new departure is on an experimental basis, I can see no reason why the experiment should fail. The difficulty lies in the want of sufficient and suitable text books in our own language but the demand which is now being occasioned must in course of time create its own supply. Other Oriental countries have experienced and overcome the same difficulty, notably in Japan where there now exist text books in the language of the country in all branches of modern science, and Thailand, our close neighbour, has, I understand, progressed a great deal in the same direction. The eventual result of the innovation, if it is accompanied by adequate steps for the translation into or the creation of books in Burmese in all branches of arts and science, will be to turn this University into a real Burmese University and to adapt our language already so rich in poetical and descriptive vocabulary to the needs of arts and science. To the richness and poetry of our mother tongue will be added the comparatively modern virtues of precision and concision, the two essential attributes of scientific language,

4. Many Burmans like myself who received their higher education through the medium of the noble language of England will view the shadow of this coming change with mixed feelings. We owe much to the language of Chaucer and Shakespeare as it opened to us the doors of European thought and culture. Europe inherited the culture and civilization of ancient Greece and ancient Rome and added much to these in the centuries that came after and it is a great privilege for an Oriental to know a modern Western language well enough to share in the rich heritage of the culture and literature of Europe. To take it second hand though such translations may be in our own language is to lose a great deal of that heritage and speaking for myself I think that to be able to read and understand Shakespeare in his own language is sufficient recompense for the trouble of learning English well in the same way as to be able to read and understand U Ponnya would I fancy be a rich reward for a person born in another country to learn Burmese. I trust that when the process of making Burmese the medium of instruction at the Colleges is completed after an adequate transition period, English will be constituted a compulsory subject for the intermediate and Pass Degree examinations. Translations take time and it is essential, particularly for those who will enter the scientific professions, that our graduates should be provided with the means of reading in English after they have entered their professions the latest developments in the West in scientific research.

5. I welcome the undergraduates present here to-day and venture to take this opportunity of offering some words of advice. You will recollect that a few months ago a certain exuberance of spirit displayed by a number of University students during an excursion to a town in the Delta became the occasions for strong criticisms in the Press of the behaviour of University students. I am satisfied myself that the criticisms then made were based on exaggerated accounts of what took place but nevertheless the incident will have forced on your attention the necessity of practising the virtue of restraint. As representatives of the University and of your respective Colleges you hold the honour of these institutions in your hands. The public rightly expect much from the members of the only University in this country and it is up to you to show that you learn here among other valuable things good behaviour and courtesy. The Burmese people are in particular critical of the system of co-education which exists at the Colleges. Co-education as a definite educational method is of recent origin. The constitution of society in early ages with war and religion as the chief occupation and interests confined education to men and boys. The idea that women and girls are also entitled to education is comparatively recent, and since established institutions for education were until recenty confined to young men and boys, reasons of economy dictated the admission of young women and girls to educational institutions previously designed for males. The advantage or otherwise of co-education is still a matter of strong controversy even in Western countries. The Burmese people are rightly conservative in regard to their social usages and customs and the idea of co-education is contrary to their wishes and sentiments. There are undoubted advantages in co-education but speaking for the large majority of Burmans I think it wrong that our University should carry on a system which is opposed to Burmese social ideas which impose considerable restraint on social intercourse between men and women. I would therefore propose for the consi-

deration of the Council and the Senate the possibility of establishing an Arts and Science College to be confined to young ladies. Such a step would I know be welcomed by most parents of our young women and cause a great and desirable increase in the number of girl matriculates to our University. Meanwhile my advice to the young Burmese students of both sexes is to still the voice of public criticism by maintaining in their mutual relationship at College the courtesy, decorum and restraint which are taught in all respectable Burmese homes. I am sure that most of you already practice this high standard of behaviour. To a few that have been led astray by false standards of social freedom let me say that respect and chivalry towards women characterise civilized man and that few proverbs in the Burmese language have greater meaning and significance than *meinma do aindaye shwe pe lo maya*, which freely rendered into English is that a woman's greatest possession is her modesty.

6. I now turn to the new graduates on whom it was my privilege a few moments ago to confer degrees. I would remind you that though you may have left the precincts of the University and the Colleges you as graduates and past students remain representatives of these institutions and that the best way of showing your gratitude to the institutions which have equipped you for the several professions which you have chosen is to maintain their fame and good repute by faultless behaviour and the blameless practice of your professions. I exhort you to conduct yourself suitably unto the position to which, by the degree conferred on you, you have to-day attained.

7. You have won the battle of the examinations and my best wishes go to you in the battle of life in which you will now be engaged. I would like to take this opportunity of drawing the attention of all graduates of this University, past and present, of military age to the opportunities which are now open to men born in this country for service in the armed forces of the Crown. The Burmese races have a long history of martial prowess. In 1824, scarcely more than a hundred years ago, we governed an empire stretching from the Brahmaputra to the Mekong and in the past our hero kings led Burmese armies to victory in many hardfought battles. The fortunes of war eventually laid us low but we fell to no ignoble foe and we are now an important part of greater empire well on the way to take our due place in it as a fully self-governing Dominion. The empire is now engaged in the greatest of all wars in history and for no less a cause than the freedom and liberty of the world. Many past students of this University have already given a lead to other young men of this country by offering their services for the war and some have already earned the great honour of holding the King's Commission not only in the Army but also in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve and the Auxiliary Air Force. Make haste lest you be too late to take your places in the armed forces of the empire in the march to victory, a victory which will relight the lamps of Europe and save Burma and the rest of the world from the menace of naked force. In following this path of duty you will be helping to restore the ancient martial fame and glory of the Burmese nation.

8. The gift of truth, we often say in Burma, is the best of all gifts. Let me therefore before I close offer to the new graduates a truth from that section of the Buddhist scriptures known as the *Samyutta Nikaya*. It is recorded there that the road to victory is fourfold and that it consists of *sacca*, *dama*, *dhiti* and *caga*, meaning truth and loyalty, self-control, resolution and sacrifice. Ponder well on this terse formula of Buddha ; you will find in it the way to victory whatever may be the nature of the battle you are fighting, even if it be your final battle against self, and indeed it was primarily for that battle that Buddha propounded his formula. Practice the four virtues I have named. On the eve of your entry into the world at large I can give you no better gift than the way to victory in all your worthy undertakings.

The Agra University Convocation

Sj. Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Sj. *Syamaprasad Mookerjee* at the Annual Convocation of the University of Agra held on Saturday, the 23rd. November, 1940 :—

I deem it a great honour to be invited to deliver the Convocation Address of your University. It is true your University ranks as one of the younger seats of learning in this country. Yet one cannot overlook the peculiar circumstances leading to your foundation which brought within your jurisdiction many institutions that have for a long number of years steadily contributed their share to the cause of educational progress. If your University has known only thirteen summers, its habitation in this historic city of Agra, whose ancient and mediaeval associations are indeed unforgettable, gives you a dignity and a prominence which have a value all their own. The sacred river which glides past the battlements of your city carries our memory back to the heroic age of India, to the days of the Mahabharata and even to that of the Rig-Veda itself. The ancient castle of the city figured in the *Qasidas* of the Ghaznavid period. The noble town which grew round it flourished under the fostering care of the greatest of the Great Moguls who founded the famous fort of cut red stone, the like of which those who had travelled over the world in the days of his son, could not point out. But it was left to his famous grandson to adorn the city with its brightest of ornaments—one of the seven wonders of the world—a crowning tribute in marble to India's womanhood. The land round the Taj was also the birthplace of Faizi and Abul Fazl. For years it was the residence of Tansen and the resting place of many an eminent personage of the Mogul Period. A University founded in a city with such noble associations has a responsibility to the Motherland which need no emphasis.

The last twenty years have witnessed the creation of several unitary teaching and residential Universities in different parts of India and admirable work is being done in many of them to advance the cause of higher education and research. The main feature of your University must, however, continue to be of the affiliating type, and while the colleges should be encouraged to carry on undergraduate teaching work in the various faculties, I would earnestly plead that you should organise in full co-operation with one another important schemes of original research consistent with the requirements of your province. They should embrace each of the great fields of human thought and achievement. It should be possible to develop the scheme in such a manner as to avoid duplication of work and permit a fair distribution of subjects in accordance with the conditions and circumstances of your institutions. I am well aware that such a scheme will need for its materialisation very large resources in the way of apparatus, libraries, laboratories and museums, which are all indispensable to modern higher education as elaborate costly machines are to modern industry. As higher education in every part of the civilised world is financed generously, if not lavishly, by the State, you must appeal to Government for increased grants to enable you to discharge your main function. It is my firm conviction that, with the resources of the affiliated colleges properly organised and stimulated, your University can secure the assistance of the instructing staff and scholars who would be willing to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the sacred cause of advancement of the bounds of knowledge.

Universities in British India owed their foundation mainly to a desire on the part of the authorities to secure the loyal services of administrators and service-holders who could keep going the complex machinery of a bureaucratic Government in an orderly and efficient manner. There was also the idea of spreading in a conquered territory, through the agency of the Universities, a system of Western education which in those days of benevolent despotism was regarded by the rulers as a path of duty and the sure means of elevating India to what they thought to be a higher standard of life. Universities were not established as seats of learning nor was education attempted to be organised for the highest development of Indian culture and civilization. Nearly half a century after the establishment of the first University in India, the ideal of a teaching University where scholars might meet for the dissemination and advancement of knowledge was first formulated. But the general sysem of education was not even then closely linked up with those essential problems which called for early fulfilment, so that India might reach her destiny through education and regain her supremacy in the domain of culture and enlightenment as also in the social, economic and political spheres of activity.

While I shall be the last person to minimise the value and importance of the work which Indian Universities have done to advance educational progress in this country, to spread wholesome ideas among the people, to widen the outlook of millions of men, to instil in their minds fundamental ideas of progress and liberty,

and to rouse the national consciousness of the citizens, I shall yet say that the time has come when a re-orientation of University education is urgently called for in order to suit the changing conditions of our country. Our Universities should no longer continue to be regarded principally as training grounds for the professions and services. The professions are overcrowded and recruitment to public services is now based on a variety of considerations where merit does not always play the most prominent part.

The colleges should provide at the base what has been known for generations as a sound liberal education that is catholic, expansive. free from narrowness and bigotory in ideas or doctrines, appropriate for a broad and enlightened mind. That education should be imparted through the medium of our own languages. The acceptance of this principle may raise initial difficulties but such difficulties have been overcome in free countries and India must also face and surmount them. In Eire, the Irish language, once said to be unsuited to the needs of modern civilisation, has been introduced with success. This is of fundamental value in the true building up of national life. It is more than a mere means of communicating ideas : it is the expression of the national spirit. The othar day a vigorous attack was launched on the Nazi policy of attempting to destroy the language and literature of some of the countries over which Hitler holds his sway to-day. The critic rightly expressed his abhorrence of what constitutes a death-blow to the culture of those countries. In India also, for more than a century, education imparted through the medium of a foreign language has unduly dominated its academic life and it has now produced a class of men who are unconsciously so de-nationalised that any far-reaching proposal for the recognition of the Indian languages as the vehicle of teaching and examination up to the highest University stage is either ridiculed as impossible or branded as reactionary. But I plead earnestly for the acceptance of this fundamental principle not on account of any blind adherence to things that I claim as my own but out of a firm conviction that the fullest development of the mind of a learner is possible only by the natural approach and also that by this process alone can there be a great revival of the glory and richness of the Indian languages.

A problem that has presented difficulties in India but which to my mind is certainly avoidable relates to the recognition of different Indian languages by the Universities. In my University, elaborate provisions have been in existence for more than thirty years for the recognition of all the important Indian languages. At the post-Matriculation stage, a candidate coming from outside Bengal is encouraged to offer his own mother-tongue at his examination. Important Indian languages other than Bengali have been included for the M. A. Examination also. At the Matricutation stage, non-Bengalees are not compelled to accept Bengali as medium of their examination. Hindi, Urdu and Assamese are recognised as media along with Bengali and have been given the same importance as the language of the province itself. Others are allowed the option to offer English as their medium. I do believe that the question of the study of important Indian languages should not present any difficulty whatsoever in any Indian University, only if we remember the cardinal point that, in whichever corner of the vast country we might reside, we are bound to one another by ties of brotherhood and comradeship, and in generally helping one another in the field of education, we are but strengthening the foundation of that great Indian nationhood, the full attainment of which has been the dream of generations of Indians irrespective of caste, creed or community.

While I plead for the due recognition of our own languages, I recognise that English should remain a compulsory second-language and that it should be taught to all, mainly for the purpose of correct expression of ideas and assimilation of knowledge to be gathered from books written in that great language. Provision should also be made for the study of other important languages, both Eastern and Western.

A thorough examination of the syllabuses and the courses of study, not from the standpoint of any one individual subject but in the light of the requirements of the entire educational structure, is also called for. We are pressed by our expert advisers, each speaking with unconcealed loyalty to his own special subject, to store the minds of our youths with knowledge. But what is sometimes forgotten is that the capacity of their minds is limited and knowledge that would be useless or superfluous in after-life must make room for that which is necessary and useful. Well did a distinguished scholar once observe that we shall not be able to apply our stock of knowledge with that readiness which the exigencies of life demand, if our mental store-house is like an ill-arranged lumber-room.

We have therefore to keep in mind the need for a liberal and useful education, on which will be raised the superstructure of such departments of study as will produce men and women trained in diverse branches of knowledge, theoretical and practical, which will make them fit persons in the service of the nation. The question has been and will be how far and how best we can combine education, that is, the bringing out of the faculties with instruction, that is, the imparting of valuable knowledge. If we can induce the right mood, achievement of the purpose will not be difficult. Such University should adequately reflect the peculiar needs of the country and the area it specially serves and should produce men who will not add further to the waste of human materials but possess both knowledge and culture so as to be absorbed in worthy occupations. To put it differently, we can say that true education should include the local idea, the national idea and the international idea.

A problem that has recently agitated the minds of persons interested in education relates to the relationship of students with colleges and Universities. In our country, from time immemorial, the teacher and the student stood in the same relationship as did a father and his son. In modern days, the atmosphere in educational institutions does not always lead to the formation of a healthy social life between the teacher and the student. This is all the more conspicuous in non-residential institutions where opportunities for mutual contact are necessarily limited. The situation often becomes embarrassing to educational authorities when exciting political questions agitate the minds of students and directly influence their conduct within the colleges, although the authorities have no responsibility whatsoever for such situations or developments. My intimate association with the student community makes me assert unhesitatingly that we should miss no opportunities of discussing with them all those problems that agitate their minds, even though they may have no direct connection with their academic work. This close association and frank exchange of ideas soon melt away feelings of shyness and aloofness from their minds, and whatever their ultimate view-point, it creates an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence whose value cannot be over-estimated.

Unfortunate disturbances, such as strikes and noisy demonstrations, are becoming a common feature in educational institutions and this tendency should be discouraged in the interest of all concerned. If the controversy relates to a matter affecting the internal affairs of an institution and cannot be amicably solved by the college itself, the final decision should be left to a representative University Board. I see no reason why the University Regulations should not make the decision of such a body binding on the parties concerned. I know this interference on the part of the University may not always be welcomed by all educational institutions. But let me impress upon them that I would gladly accept, first and foremost, any satisfactory solution by the college itself without interference from anybody else. If this is not possible, I would much rather leave the decision in the hands of an impartial body of academic men than permit the disturbance to spread and be exploited by persons who may be least concerned with the welfare of the institution or of the students affected.

As regards disturbances due to extraneous reasons, I would beg of the students not to make the educational institutions the forum for expressing their disapproval of questions of public policy which might deeply stir their minds. I am not one of those who favour University students remaining aloof from the burning questions of the day. I would not, however, like them to be engrossed in party politics, for I believe they should maintain their independence of outlook and zealously cultivate that spirit of clear and critical thinking, that free power of reasoning, which should be their main asset as they enter upon public life on the completion of their educational career. But nothing should prevent them from an active study and discussion of all important political questions of the day, and even, should they so desire, sympathising with particular schools of thought which they individually or collectively might choose to support. With good-will and understanding on both sides the University and College Unions should prove a healthy training ground for future citizenship. Frankly speaking, occasional outbursts of youthful feelings should not worry educational administrators. But when they are allowed to interfere with the regular routine of academic work, or create deadlocks on issues, small and insignificant, they become a disease which, if unchecked, will destroy the very foundation of that strong disciplined character which must be an essential possession of all young men and women anxious to dedicate their lives to the cause of their country's liberty.

I have noticed recently a notification issued by a Provincial Government laying down severe penalties for the maintenance of discipline amongst students. One threat held out is that such students as may come under the purview of the order will be debarred from Government service. To my mind, threats of punitive action will defeat the very object which the authors of the order themselves allege to have in view. Besides, this particular threat is an idle one. For today admission to public services is controlled by various non-academic considerations and in any case it absorbs only a fraction of University-trained youths. Again, no words can be too strong to condemn any policy of espionage which encourages secret reports of the activities of the students to be supplied by the teachers themselves. Any attempted transformation of the free and sacred temple of learning into a branch of the Intelligence Department is a sure method of destroying the soul of India's manhood.

Enforced discipline such as these processes imply must make room for discipline from within. Modern psychology tells us that the mind of man cannot be built up by superimposed ideas and instructions without regard to its own living impulses. We shall be untrue to our work as teachers and administrators if we fail to make the right appeal to the student community and make them realise that the maintenance of sound discipline in educational institutions is a duty not cast on officers and teachers alone but must readily be shared by the students themselves. The mass student-mind is sound and pure. In every country the youth adores the spirit of patriotism. The time of youth is the time for initiative and enthusiasm, for that disregard of consequences which makes men willing to undertake great things, the time when a man can do great things that the mass of men cannot believe to be possible. "Adore enthusiasm," says Mazzini, "worship the dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth, for they are the perfume of Paradise, which the soul preserves in issuing from the hands of the Creator." In a subject country such as ours, the patriotic impulses of youth are apt to be all the more fervent and outspoken, and it will be the height of folly if thoughts and ideals that vibrate their minds and make them feel restless are not fully appreciated by us. The academic atmosphere can retain its sanctity and freedom, only with the loyal assistance of the students. We must do all that lies in our power to awaken them to the realisation that national problems have not been solved in other countries, and cannot be solved in India, by such childish methods as students' strikes and demonstrations within the colleges, that the best way of helping to cope with a national crisis that faces India today is for them to combine with the Universities in securing for themselves better education and better preparation for life.

For us who are responsible for shaping the policy of the Universities it would be well to remember the prophetic words of a great thinker that it would be a most deplorable thing to make the price of education for our youths the surrender of the years of the greatest initiative and enthusiasm and of the hope and capacity for great deeds to rigid surveillance or to the work of acquisition alone. Let us keep our students at work getting knowledge out of books but not while the enthusiasm of youth is ebbing away and the capacity of doing things is being gradually lost. Learning itself is not always of the greatest value. The man who is made is the great thing and the work of doing is the great thing in the man. But it is not the man alone that the University is to make. Let us teach our students and let us ourselves demonstrate that no man lives to himself, that no task can be more patriotic than that of binding the whole community together by common association and aspirations. The object of education is not the construction of a single man who dies and is forgotten. Benefits to the community, to the nation, to civilization, are all that are of value, and the production of the individual man whose influence shall live for ever in the weal of humanity—that is the great object of every University. Let us lift up the mass of our countrymen from hard conditions of poverty and ignorance and let us produce the individual man framed and trained in our Universities who will worthily participate in that majestic progress. All our students may not become very learned, all may not even go very deeply into any one subject. But what is our education worth if we have not been able to push back their horizons, to remove their vision from the little concrete objects that fill a narrow and isolated life and to make them realise, however vaguely, the existence of a vast field of human life and interest, of history and science, of achievement and failure, of examples and warnings outside of themselves, beyond the period of their lives and even the limits of their province and country ?

The need of a broad outlook and a clear vision was never so imperative as at the present moment. We meet in a time of storm and stress. Kings and crowns are tumbling down and countries that have long been the citadels of freedom are today the ruthless victims of superior force. India appreciates, more perhaps than any other country, what it is for a people to lose their political power and independence. Battling nations and warring ideologies contend for mastery in the East and the West. The roaring tide of partisanship and passion threatens to sweep away many of the institutions we hold dear, and, who knows, may even destroy whatever remains of the integrity of this ancient land of ours. Distrust and prejudice, invariably associated with the doctrine of overlordship still cloud the Indian horizon. In the words of a keen observer of modern times, racial and religious prejudices, which we had fondly believed to be the outcome of ignorant reaction, have been made the basis of national policy and learned men have been found able to reconcile the defence of this barbarism with their conscience.

Agra faced problems of serious import in the past when it first emerged to full view from the mist of antiquity. It found an India divided against itself—a prey to internal chaos and external aggression. The Central Government whose power had once been felt from the Himalayas to Madura had collapsed. Rival princes and barons fought for supremacy in the various provinces. The spectre of foreign domination loomed large on the horizon. Buccaneers from neighbouring continents were already intercepting pious pilgrims and peaceful traders, and trying to establish their lairs on the defenceless sea-board of India. How did the eminent men of Agra deal with the situation in the sixteenth century ? They realised the supreme need of the country's unity. India, according to certain bureaucratic administrators and myopic politicians, is not one country or nation. But was not the unity of the land and its people emphasised by ancient writers ?

It is to the task of the unification of this land of Hindusthan that a long line of rulers, Hindu and Muslim, directed their energies in the past. In the work of political unification in the sixteenth century, Akbar was ably seconded, among others, by Todar Mal and noble men of the house of Jaipur. Your city became the metropolis of a united Hindusthan and retained that proud position for well nigh a century. The Rajput and the Pathan, the Mogul and the Andhi Khetri, retained their individual culture. But they co-operated to establish an edifice carved in granite, and hewn out of the rock of liberalism, toleration and a broad-mindedness that did away with the artificial barriers raised by racial and religious prejudices. The structure stood till the recrudescence of intolerance levelled it to the ground, to the eternal misfortune of our country.

With unity had come freedom from the foreign menace. The Kings of Iran and Turan came to acquire a wholesome respect for the Government of Hindusthan, and the sea-rovers from the West were content to send pious missionaries and peaceful ambassadors to the Imperial Court. The quiet teachings of mediaeval bhaktas—apostles of Ahimsa—useful as they were in imbuing the people with ideas of catholicity, neighbourly charity and toleration, so essential for national organisation and solidarity, would not have sufficed to save the country from chaos and aggression, had they not been reinforced by the valour of the horsemen of Akbar, the spearmen of Man Singh and the cohorts of Todar Mal. Will the lessons of the past be lost on us ? Shall we encourage movements that threaten to disrupt the unity of this country ? It should not be forgotten that if Indian history teaches a lesson, it is this—that political disruption due to tribal jealousy and religious antagonism has been the harbinger of foreign domination.

If Indian unity is a desideratum, its essential pre-requisite is a broad toleration in every sphere of life. Racial and religious prejudices have often, throughout the ages, turned Europe into reeking shambles and disintegrated nations and "ramshackle empires", which, had they remained united, would have been better able to withstand the shock of external invasion. A loud lament has gone forth from an Anglo-Saxon statesman that his navy bears a heavier burden through lack of ports in a Celtic land with a predominantly Catholic population, which was once united to his country by stronger political ties. Perhaps the Catholics and Celts still remember Drogheda and Wexford, the penal laws and Coercion Acts. Our Motherland has to be saved, if necessary, with our life-blood, from Droghedas and Wexfords and their inevitable corollary—an Ulster in an "Emerald Isle" and a sullen Eire within a frowning Commonwealth.

Let men and women trained in Indian Universities of today unite in their efforts for the remaking of their Motherland. No country has attained greatness or liberty except through loyal and disinterested service of her children. The

spirit of the New India must be born of struggle and arduous labour and sacrifice, of noble scorn of ease and luxury, of thirst for knowledge and its widest application to the alleviation of human misery and suffering, of a broad-based toleration and justice affecting the rights of the vast multitude of the Indian people, of a burning and unalterable faith in the political integrity of the country, of loyalty to truth and faith in God. Let us proceed on the path that leads to the Home of Liberty, of Justice, of Righteousness, undaunted by obstacles or failures, gaining courage and strength from the everlasting truth that, even if the present generation comes to its journey's end before the goal is reached, our ceaseless efforts will inspire those who follow us, and they will carry on the unfinished duty with unabated energy and determination and know no rest or peace till Victory is achieved.

The Patna University Convocation

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by *Sir S. Radhakrishnan* M. A., D. Litt., LL. D., F. B. A. Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, at the University of Patna held on the **29th November, 1940** :—

Permit me to thank the authorities of the University, most cordially, for their kindness in asking me to address this Convocation of the University of Patna. Benares and Patna have been in close cultural contact for many centuries, and I am happy to say that we are maintaining it even now. Your distinguished Vice-Chancellor is a member of our Court and Council, and we have in the colleges of the Benares Hindu University as many as six hundred students from the province of Behar. It is my fervent wish that the feelings of good neighbourliness between Behar and Benares may be fostered in the years to come.

Though the University of Patna is rather young, your city looks down on many centuries, and has listened to great teachers of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina faiths, and in more recent times, to Muslim and Christian divines. Your province, as its name implies, was full of the *viharas*, the monasteries, of the Buddhist and the Jaina monks. The great emperor Asoka had his capital in your city, and from here announced to distant lands his message of *dharma*, or a life of discipline and *ahimsa*, or mercy, to all creation. At a time when the world is overrun by mad despots, when the natural aggressiveness of man, instead of receiving check, is finding increased scope, it is good to be reminded of the ideals of the Buddha—*maitri and karuna* : love and mercy.

Your University may be said to inherit a great tradition of human values, a tradition which has been supported by the seers of mankind with a singular unanimity. The sages of the Upanishads, Buddha, Confucius, Socrates, Jesus and Mohammad, though they belonged to different races and climates, did not speak in diverse tongues. They were agreed that what is most desirable from man is not "the riches of Croesus, or the honours of Caesar, or the power of Nero". A civilised life is not to be equated with physical strength or material prosperity, political power or commercial success. The easy and pleasant life made possible by science is not the essence of civilisation. We may enjoy all the benefits of science, material wealth and comforts, our trains may start punctually, and we may keep our appointments to the minute, and yet we may be barbarous. Civilisation is a living spirit and not a mechanical apparatus. Centuries before the Christian era, in this city and its neighbourhood dwelt people who lived chiefly on nuts and vegetables, whose clothes were plain and simple, whose amusements few and inexpensive, and whose methods of transport slow and rudimentary ; and yet we cannot deny to them the quality of civilisation for their inner life was highly developed. Among them were saints whose names we still honour, poets whose works we still cherish, philosophers whose thoughts we still study, men who have raised us to a moral eminence, and who are now part of that immortal heritage which knows not age or weariness or defeat. Civilisation consists in the exercise of all those powers and faculties which are over and above our mere existence as animal beings. It is the enjoyment of the rarest of man's gifts, the disinterested life, the life of the spirit.

It is not possible for us to cultivate the inner life unless we are raised above physical wants. The importance of this basic principle is understood by those who are working for the better distribution of wealth, and the increasing socialisation of the State. The new economic policies and political arrangements attempt to remove the hindrances to good life but cannot by themselves make it prevail. It is in educational institutions that the youth of a country must be trained to the appreciation of the good life, with its fine and delicate perceptions and desire for the things of the spirit.

But if the world has fallen into wildness, if young men made for joy and happiness, shaped for love, mercy and kindness, are raining hell from the sky on noncombatant populations, innocent women and sleeping children, if they are maiming and mangling, drowning and burning their fellow creatures who happen to be their enemies, the outrages on youth perpetrated in the name of education are largely responsible for this condition. There are many who assume that the child's mind is like wax on which we could stamp any pattern of our devising. Even Plato bases his theory of education on this assumption, and requires us to soak the young mind with sights and sounds which may sink into the subsoil of its mental life and there remain fixed for ever. He wants young children to look on at a battle so that they might get used to warfare. War was the national industry of Sparta, and so its educationists demanded the utter subordination of the individual to the State in the interests of military efficiency. The Christian churches also trained the youth under their control by giving them their own ideas of duty and patriotism, and often they succeeded in throwing a cloak of religion on the passions and prejudices of men. Many of the educational systems of the European Continent are fixing the youth in attitudes of hatred, violence, bloodlust and uncharitableness to all who are not of their race or political creed. Instead of preserving human nature from vice and error, instead of teaching the youth the mutual dependence of mankind and the need for love and compassion, we spoil human nature and seduce it from its natural love for humanity and virtue. The youth of the world are thus deprived of the heritage of decent living and simple happiness. They do not get a chance to think their own thoughts or have their own dreams.

There is something to be said for the ancient Indian ideal of education which subordinates commercial and military values to the human ones. Its aim is *brahmacharya*, initiation into a disciplined life of spirit, the development of the chastity of mind and body. In every individual there is a spark of sacred fire, a spark which the passions may defile but cannot put out. It inclines us to the love of the highest virtue. The purpose of education is to help the free growth of the soul. When the young mind is brought into contact with the noblest classics of art and literature, it absorbs their mellow lights, their sacred enthusiasms, their austere patterns. Buddha's ripeness of spirit, Sankara's magnificence of mind, are a corrective to our youthful immodesty. They reveal to us not only the littleness and transience of things but the exalted dignity of human nature when seen in the perspective of the eternal. The world is a living, breathing one. Time bears the image of eternity, and all mankind is hewn from the same rock.

This spiritual humanism is what we most need today. Great changes in manners and modes of thought have occurred. Science and machinery have wrested from Nature a full provision for human life, and with proper organisation there would no longer be any need for long hours of hard toil or bitter struggle for bread, yet withal there is much fear for the future. It seems too tragic that in a world which is there for us to enjoy, and, which might be made full of happiness for every one, we treat human life with contempt, and squander it as recklessly as we throw away material treasure. We have all the power of creation, all the capacity for happiness, all the will for service, natural, intellectual and ethical riches in abundance at our disposal, and of this noble inheritance we have made a fearful thing.

What is the root cause of it all ? Why are wars recurrent phenomena in human history ? Why do we have the present holocaust of youth, which threatens to engulf the whole world ? Why is it that after centuries of enlightenment we are unable to settle our quarrels in a peaceful manner ? Why are we fighting ? When we try to analyse the causes of the war, we may limit our attention to the immediate causes, or the remote causes or the deeper ones. If we say that Hitler's unprovoked attack on Poland is the cause of the war, we will not be quite accurate. Even as late as 1931 the Government of Britain declined to support the protest of the Government of the United States against Japan's wanton invasion of China. Since then we have had unprovoked attacks on Ethiopia, Austria, Spain,

and Czeckoslovakia, Lithuania and Albania. If we go back a little, and look for the causes in the Versailles Treaty, the failure of the League of Nations, and the Disarmament Conference, we do not get to the bottom of it all. If the Versailles Treaty was unjust, it was a treaty imposed by the victors on the vanquished. If the League and the Disarmament Conference failed, it is because the spirit necessary for their success was lacking. The root causes of the war lie in the undemocratic structure of our society, in a kind of tribal partriotism and a passion for power by which all nations are possessed. Pericles in his funeral oration makes out that Athens is the school of Hellas, and called upon the brave Athenians to die for winning the leadership of Hellas which he refused to share with Sparta. "We have compelled" he says, "every sea and every land to admit our prowess, and everywhere we have planted memorials of harm to our enemies, of good to our friends. For such a city these men have nobly fought, and they have given their lives to prove their faith in the inviolableness of their city ; let every one of you left alive be willing to suffer as much as for Athens". He goes on : "These men held the chastisement of the enemy more dear, and preferred the glorious risk of avenging themselves upon him. And when the hour of battle was at hand, thinking it a finer thing to defend themselves and die than to yeild and live, they fled from the word 'dishonour' but held fast to the noble deed. These men behaved as befits the city. You will be wiser to contemplate day by day the might of your city and become her passionate lovers, letting her grandeur and her glory inspire you to reflect that it was all gained by brave men who knew their duty, by men who, when they failed in any enterprise, did not bereave the city of their virtue, but gave freely the fairest offering within their means, aye, their very bodies to the commonweal, and thus own for themselves unfading praise and a most famous tomb—not that in which lie their bones, but that in which their glory lives in eternal remembrance to be celebrated by every opportunity of word or deed. Of famous men the whole world is the tomb. Do you now emulate these men, and counting happiness as liberty, liberty as courage, do not worry yourselves about the danger of war."

Do we not hear the echo of these ringing words in the British Premier's utterances ! "We shall never stop, never weary, never give in and our whole people and Empire have vowed themselves to the task of cleansing Europe from the Nazi pestilence and saving the world from a new Dark Age ; we seek to beat the life and soul out of Hitler and Hitlerism. That alone, that all time, and that to the end". In this tremendous epoch, "England's finest hour", he exhorts Englishmen to accept "blood, and toil, tears and sweat." It seems to be the same story, the same problem, the same right. The play goes on ; only the actors change and the stages alter. Instead of the leadership of Hellas we have the leadership of the world. Instead of Athens and Sparta we have the Allied and the Axis powers. We are fighting for the good old cause of civilisation and freedom. We are fighting against evil things, said the late Mr. Neville Chamberlain. It is a conflict between the good and the evil, between the graces of civilisation and the rawness of barbarism. But is it all quite so simple ? Why should a great people like the Germans with their magnificient record of achievement and influence in every sphere of intellectual life, literature and philosophy, arts and sciences become the blind followers of a monstrous materialism ? Again, the forces of civilisation won times without number but we are not better off. The evil is still there. Why should we labour, plan and found families if the world will continue to be a jungle where nations like beasts of prey are laid by a blind instinct to destroy others on pain of being destroyed by them ? Why should millions of men be called upon to suffer and die just to enable one of the powers to assume the leadership of the world ? Only the greatest of causes, the securing of permanent peace and a world of co-operating nations, can justify the unspeakable agony of our times. If a durable peace and a stable world are to be built out of the wreckage of this war, we must have a positive conception of the values for which we stand. The fate of the human race depends on its moral strength, and moral power consists here as elsewhere in renunciation and self-limitation. A civilised society is possible only in an ordered community where there is a rule of law before which the poor man and the rich, the weak nation and the strong, are equal, which believes that the world belongs to all. In this war, the British appeal to the great ideals of democracy and freedom. Democracy means a system of government which gives ultimate power to the ordinary man, which gives freedom within law to believe, write or say what we please, where government is carried on by free discussion, toleration and rational adjustment of conflicting views. The Axis powers challenge these foundations of

civilised life. To all right-thinking men, the issues of this war are quite clear. There are some who believe that this war is a conflict between rival imperialisms, and that there is not much difference between the Allies and the Axis powers. But the little difference there is, is vital and important. In the actual world, the distinction between good and evil is not clear cut. We do not find there black and white, but things imperceptibly shade from one to the other. While the British system has not been consistent with regard to its ideals of democracy and justice, they would be altogether extinguished if the Dictators won. The problem for the politician is a choice of evils, and political wisdom consists in perceiving how much of an evil it is necessary to tolerate lest worse evil befall. There are many injustices in the British system which are corrupting but that should not betray us into blurring the distinction between unfulfilled justice and a clean negation of justice. Every individual is obliged to choose one another than the other. Even for those who suffer from the injustices of the British system, the duty is clear. It is to defend the cause of Britain and at the same time assist Britain to remedy the injustices which are manifestly inconsistent with her professed ideals. The failure to live up to these ideals is part of the cause of the present war.

The finest anti-Nazi material is in India, and it is nothing short of a tragedy that she is still mainly unreconciled. If freedom of all people is the aim of this war, as it should be, then those who were conquered in the past must be set free. To win the war will not mean much if it does not remove the great wrongs of the present world. We must demonstrate even to the enemy that we reverence the ideals of justice and freedom which we condemn him for rejecting. British statesmen do not seem to realise sufficiently that new forces are at work which require a new outlook and interpretation. We need not doubt that the present Government contains as high an average of ability as was ever found in a British Cabinet. Its members however are fitted more to carry on traditional administration than appreciate new factors or initiate new policies. The Prime Minister, who is bending all his indisputable genius and prodigious energies to the supreme task of winning the war has, inspite of his boldness and vision, become a specialist and is studiously reticent on the Indian question. The other members belong to an era that has passed. The position of Britain in the world has radically changed, and the old policy of slow compromise and fine adjustment is out of date, New, strange, inconsequent forces are at work upsetting the old calculations. Statesmen cast in the old form with their servility to established institutions are not adequate to the new conditions. Those who are in charge of India have the traditional virtues of dignity, honour, efficiency and even selflessness. They are most competent members of traditional Governments, but are too firmly set in the old ways to be useful in the new world. They are immensely intelligent but highly insensitive. Otherwise it is impossible to understand a policy which does not countenance the establishment of a popular government, which does not trust the leaders of the people with the task of building up the neglected defence of India, and organising aircraft and shipbuilding industries in the country. The sands are running out. Will British statesmen take courage and give content to the noble phrases they utter, and weld together, in a great democratic federation India and Britain for mutual service and the service of world ?

If the new spirit has not captured the imagination of the British people, if they persist in their old policies, this war will be sheer disaster to mankind. History reveals to us how wars cannot be avoided, so long as justice is not practised by man to man, State to State, unless we accept the principle that the weak have rights against the strong. Unfortunately, however, from early times the powerful exacted what they could and the weak granted what they must. Thucydides reports that when the people of Melos appealed to the Athenians, who had them at their mercy, to spare them, the Athenians would only say, "Of our gods we believe—and of men we know—that by a law of their nature wherever they can rule they will. This was not made by us, and we are not the first who have acted upon it, we did but inherit it, and we shall bequeath it to all time, and we know that you and all mankind—if you were as strong as we are—would do as we do," If that is human nature, if success and failure are the sole measures of right and wrong, then every excess of fraud, force, and ruthlessness and curelty is justified and we cannot complain if nations play the international game by the rules of power politics. Unless we defeat this mentality we might win the war but we would lose the cause. In a great book—The City of God—St. Augustine asks: "take away justice, and what are the kingdom of the earth but great bands of robbers ?"

Of this war the end will be the beginning. If we are not to drift into another disastrous display of brute force, moral principles must inspire the peacemakers. It will not be easy; for as Senor de Madariago said: "A democracy that goes to war, if beaten, loses its liberty at the hands of its adversary, if victorious it loses its liberty at its own hands." A democracy cannot wage war and remain a democracy. It may be said that it gives up its principle only for the duration of the war, and returns to it when victory is own. It is not quite so simple. It would be to take an external and superficial view of democracy, which is a way of life and not a mere political arrangement. We cannot organise for war and yet give full liberty of speech and expression. Herd emotions of fear and anger are bound to be produced and all the powerful agencies of the press, the radio, and mass demagogy will be utilised for the ostensible purpose of strengthening the will to victory, and these emotions, sedulously cultivated during the war, are likely to endure after it, and increase the difficulties of peace. It requires a supreme effort of reason and imagination to produce the psychological conditions for a just and enduring peace. If the war is to be won on the battle-fields, the peace must be defended in universities and seats of learning, by priests, prophets and philosophers: we must train men's minds for a new world where the doctrine of non-violence is not the impracticable dream that it is now supposed to be.

In the last war, a University Professor of Great Britain, when asked what he was doing when the fight for civilisation was on, replied: "I am the civilisation you are fighting for." Art and literature, science and scholarship, and other creative products of the mind, are the tests of civilisation. Those who share the heritage built up by centuries of industry, of art, of generous emotion, a heritage which knows no frontiers, possess the civilised mentality. Civilisation is larger than patriotism. It is humanism. In these days of growing physical danger, it is the function of the Universities to keep the soul alive. While our governments, central and provincial, are naturally absorbed in the immediate and obvious problems created by the war, and are seemingly indifferent to the less insistent but no less important matters, I hope they will realise that it is in the centres of thought and learning that the great ideas which move humanity spring forth and acquire hands and feet. Our Universities must be the Indian nation thinking aloud. Unfortunately most of our teachers are only purveyors of information initiating large numbers into new habits of thinking and feeling by a kind of social drill. To redeem the Universities from ths charge of commonplaceness we require among their leaders a few creative personalities, a few priests of learning and prophets of spirit.

It is through the Universities that we have to maintain and develop community of thought, feeling and practice. There are to-day disturbing signs of the gradual disintegration of our culture, which is the synthetic outcome of the contributions of the various races, religions and communities which have made India their home. India is not merely a geographical unity but a psychological oneness. Whatever creeds we may profess, almost all of us are socially and psychologically one. Respect for parental authority, the joint family system, arranged marriages, and castes as trade guilds, are some of the things found alike among the Hindus and the Muslims. In art and architecture, music and literature, the interaction of the two communities is manifest. Foreign invasions have not disturbed this psychological homogeneity. Modern ideas of science and criticism are affecting the whole nation, irrespective of communities. The masses of people are un-affected by the squabbles for posts and power in which the aspirants for office of the different communities engage. University men can check the spread of the disintegrating tendencies which thwart India's cultural unity and political integrity.

Our anxiety for freedom is natural. In seeking for it we must also acquire the capacity for it, the discipline—personal and social—without which freedom is a myth. It is in the Universities that we are expected to acquire habits of discipline, critical reflection and judgment. There is so much material poured on us through the cheap press and radio that we must learn to discriminate between information and knowledge. We must try to look beneath the surface of things. Unfortunately the students are acquiring a mob mentality. A few of their leaders, by alternate doses of coaxing and bullying, make the large numbers accept opinions which are more extreme than representative. Instead of thinking for themselves they merely follow the lead of others. A vast mass of emotional unreason has invaded the student world. They are false to the education they have received in the free and generous atmosphere of a University, if they believe only in regimented opinion and blind faith in the leader. Students must be helped to develop healthy public

opinion, which fortifies the individual against the herd. He is truly educated who is poor in spirit, humble but true to his convictions.

Let me congratulate you on the success which has attended your efforts. You are entering on another stage of your career, and these are not times when you can expect soft options. Life will be full of difficulties, but if you have profited by your training, you will find opportunities of service and happiness. May I conclude with a stanza of Asolando, which was published on the day of Browning's death, for it sets forth the ideal suited to our times.

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

The Hindu University Convocation

Sj. Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Sj. *Syama Prasad Mookerjee* at the Annual Convocation of the Benares Hindu University, held on **Sunday, the 1st December, 1940** :—

I consider it a proud privilege to be invited to address the Convocation of your great University, and I thank you sincerely for the honour which you have bestowed on me. Your University cannot claim a long history bearing marks of the toil of generations but within the short period of it existence it has secured a fame and a reputation peculiar to itself which have justly won for it an abiding place in the hearts of millions of our countrymen. Yours is a great seat of learning that has sprung into life amidst surroundings which remind us of all that is best in Indian civilization. Your renowned city was the metropolis of a Philosopher-King of the Upanishadic Age and the home of Parsvanath, the celebrated Tirthankara of the Jainas. It stands in the vicinity of the holy steps where Gautama Buddha preached his first sermon, where Sankaracharyya distinguished himself in Dialectics and Philosophy, where Tulsidas wrote his immortal songs, and where Sree Chaitanya distributed the nectar of divine love to high and low. Indeed, that great son of India whose name will for ever be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen, not only as the most illustrious of your founders but also as one of the makers of New India, could not have selected a more appropriate site for the Hindu University of Hindusthan. May your University produce sages like Silabhadra and ardent missionaries like Dipankara who made this country the intellectual centre of the East and carried the torch of Indian civilization beyond the heights of the Himalayas and across the shores of the Southern Seas ! Advancing years have now left their mark on the health of Pandit Malaviya, and I voice the sentiments of all sections of Indians throughout the country when I pray that he may yet be spared for a long number of years to see the ever-increasing development of his beloved University as an active and progressive seat of learning dedicated to the service of the nation. The present distinguished occupant of the office of Vice-Chancellor commands universal respect and confidence and the destinies of this University could not have been entrusted to a worthier person, whether from this country or from abroad.

I shall not attempt to analyse in detail the activities of your University but I must pay my tribute to the solid progress you have made in diverse branches of knowledge, literary, philosophical, scientific and technical. Scholars have flocked to your portals from distant parts of India, attracted by the richness and variety of facilities offered by you. The reputation of some of your departments, specially in the domain of science and engineering, has gone far beyond the limits of this province. If large and generous benefactions have enabled you to erect imposing and commodious buildings which have helped to create a beautiful city of your own, you have also been able to attract to your halls a long line of devoted teachers who have considered it their sacred duty to dedicate themselves to the

cause of knowledge. I know financial difficulties have often been a matter of deep anxiety to the authorities of the University, and it is all the greater reason that one should gratefully acknowledge the spirit of sacrifice that has animated the members of your staff who have cheerfully carried on their work, often in spite of great financial uncertainties. I hope the State will do its obvious duty towards this great national institution and, by giving you the necessary financial relief, will enable you to march along, with vigour and courage, on the path of progress and expansion.

Your University has paid and will pay due homage to the cause of spread of knowledge in its diverse branches but I would also ask you to fulfil in an abundant measure your obligations for the revival of the glory of Hindu culture and civilization, not from a narrow or bigoted point of view but for strengthening the very root of nationalism in this country. In this great land of ours where twenty-eight crores of Hindus live, the word Hindu sometimes stinks in the nostrils of many a son of India. A re-orientation of Hindu culture and ideals, of which your present Vice-Chancellor is one of the ablest exponents, will not only help to bring back to India that political freedom which she has lost but will also raise the soul of mankind throughout the earth to a higher level of thought and action.

As a University you have a great role to play in re-shaping the destinies of the people of your country. We must bear in mind the cardinal principle that we want to see developed and trained through education the whole nature of our alumni, intellectual, moral and physical, not merely for the purpose of qualifying for any special calling but to bring up good citizens, useful members of society, men, true and fearless, capable of bearing their part with credit in public and private life. Such University-trained men are needed in rich abundance in India to-day.

Interested persons often try to raise a controversy about the relative claims of elementary education and higher education in India, forgetting the fact that the University expresses the corporate longing of the people for the higher things of the spirit. As University men we want that elementary education should spread from one part of the country to the other and that provision should be made for this purpose in a liberal and unstinted manner. Indeed, the failure of Government, which has remained in dominant authority in India for more than a century and a half, to discharge this obligation, is regarded as one of the black spots in its administration. Let us not, however, forget that eminent thinkers in countries where elementary education is both free and compulsory have felt that such an instruction, unless crowned by something which is higher, is not only barren but may even be dangerous. It is not enough to teach our democracy to read unless we also teach it to think. It is the ignorant and unthinking mind, with its trivialities, its uncertainties, and its clouded vision, from which we have most to fear.

Another class of critics in our country often advocates curtailment of University education in view of the increasing acuteness of the problem of unemployment. The Universities of India have on their rolls a little over one lakh of students, which constitute an insignificant proportion of India's population of thirty-five crores. It is not feasible for the University to find employment for all its alumni, although the University should do all it can to establish close contact with those men and institutions that control the fields of commerce, business and industry. These must know and understand one another and work in harmony for the larger welfare of the community. It is indeed one of the primary duties of the State, more than that of anybody else, to solve the problem of unemployment. In a country such as ours, where so much still remains to be done, where more than thirty crores of people are still illiterate and the task of spreading the light of knowledge alone may occupy the energy of tens of thousands of educated youths, where raw materials still remain in perpetual abundance and are often at the mercy of exploiters and adventurers, where industrial expansion absorbing the valued services of thousands of skilled technicians yet receives only half-hearted recognition from the State, where the vital agencies of national defence such as the army, the navy and the air-force have yet to expand on an all-India basis, thrown open to all classes of people, free from artificial restrictions—in a country such as ours it is amazing that unemployment should stare ardent educated Indian youths in the face and that unpatriotic demands should be made for arbitrary restriction of higher education. It is true that no country can have a truly national system of education unless it enjoys the blessings of freedom. But let the Universities within their limited sphere do their duty with courage and

foresight and so readjust and reorganise their courses of study that they may worthily meet the manifold requirements of our country in diverse fields of public service, social, industrial, economic and political.

An important subject to which I should like to refer is the progress of science and industry in this country. Faced as we are with international conflicts of gigantic proportions, it does not require much imagination to see that the scientific and industrial development of a country is essential not only for its prosperity but also for its very existence. In this sphere the Universities in advanced countries, backed by liberal and active support from their Governments, have played a vital part. The industrial development of a country is, however, conditioned not only by research but also by the all-important questions of finance and national policy. In Germany, as is well-known, the intimate co-operation between Government, the Universities and the industrial organisations resulted in a very rapid development although the industrial revolution came to that country considerably later than in Great Britain. Both in Japan and in Soviet Russia, it is the driving force of Government, mobilising and co-ordinating all the resources of the countries, that has led to their phenomenal industrial progress in recent years.

In this country, by contrast, we have a tragic story to tell. The Universities and the industrialists with their limited means have been ploughing practically lonely furrows. The university laboratories, particularly, have worked under great handicaps, which have been only partially lightened by the generous donations of a few benefactors. It is absolutely clear that unless the Government of the country pursues a settled and irrevocable policy of industrialisation and adopts co-ordinated measures for the furtherance of this object, industrial progress in this country can at best be only fitful. The danger of this industrial backwardness does not require any emphasis today. Even the Famine Commission of 1880 recognised that the problem of the dreadful poverty of the Indian people could not be tackled by improvement in agriculture alone, but required also the improvement of industries. The war of 1914-18 again threw into relief the pathetic industrial helplessness of India and the Indian Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916 to make remedial recommendations. But this Commission was specifically debarred from entering into the question of tariffs or any other aspect of the fiscal policy of the Government of India. "The part of Hamlet must be totally omitted," Sir Frederick Nicholson honestly declared in his statement to the Commission. The Commission, nevertheless, made some fairly comprehensive recommendations within the province allotted to it. Although the able minute given separately by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya showed that even these fell short of public expectation and had some serious defects, there was no indication that they were going to be implemented by Government. A series of conferences met but the situation remained practically where it had been. It was indeed clear that Government had no heart in a policy of industrialisation, and it has required the war of 1939 to quicken Government again to some semblance of action. The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, which was long overdue, has been set up with a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs, which is all too meagre for research in Government laboratories and the Universities. The corresponding organisation in Great Britain was set up in 1916 and it now enjoys an annual grant of a crore of rupees. Even the National Research Council in Canada, which has a population of only a crore and a quarter, has got an annual grant of about 13 lakhs of rupees from its Government.

It is not yet clear whether Government, in the midst of this deepening crisis, still realises that the industrialisation of India is the *sine qua non* for the safety of India, that the rejection of a full-fledged policy of industrialisation would be tantamount to a betrayal of the people of this country. Our Universities have their brains, their laboratories and their workshops, and in a very large measure they can deliver the goods. Benares has amply demonstrated this in her own limited sphere. But where is the evidence that Government is eager or even prepared to mobilise these resources for a policy of industrialisation, which, in order to be effective, must not be confined to munitions industries alone but to all heavy and light industries necessary both in peace and in war ? Are we sure that the Eastern Group Conference will assist this all-round industrialisation of India ? Or is India going to supply chiefly the raw materials, and perhaps steel, for industries to be built up in countries other than India ? And is this going to be done in the name of rationalisation and co-ordination of war effort ? The other day the leader of an important delegation to this Conference suggested, with reference to the aircraft industry, that since it was already developed in Australia, the best rationalisation of war effort would be effected by the expansion of that industry in

Australia and not so much by creation of aircraft industries *de novo*. There is a genuine apprehension that the industrialisation of India may still be prevented by vested interests and by the inertia of the old policy. Great things can yet be achieved if only the Government of India would realise the danger of adhering to the policy of retaining in India only a market for manufactured goods, of exploiting her raw materials for the benefit of foreign capital, and of regarding Indians as only hewers of wood and drawers of water. If Government, the Universities and the industrial organisations are made to participate in a national policy of intensive industrialisation, none can resist the early attainment of India's economic freedom. Deputation of a few hundred Indians for training in British factories can hardly meet our needs and aspirations.

If the State policy hitherto pursued has hampered industrial progress on rational lines consistent with our vast resources and national requirements, there is another direction in which much fuller co-operation is possible, and is indeed essential, between the State and the Indian Universities, and this relates to the preparation of our youths for efficient and adequate military training in accordance with the needs of modern warfare. It is not for me to stress here the history of the control of the Indianisation of the so-called Indian army. But I believe there is none to-day who will deny that the policy of keeping Indians unarmed and unprepared for national defence has not only put this country in a highly perilous state but had practically emasculated the manhood of India. Indian Universities should demand with one voice provision for compulsory military training fully related to mechanised warfare. The existing arrangements for the University Training Corps constitute a most niggardly acknowledgment of the rights of the Indian youth. Only the other day one of the able representatives of your province in the Council of State raised the question of recognising the University Training Corps as mechanised units. The characteristic reply of the Defence Department was "heart-felt sympathy" with the proposal but "great practical difficulties" in accepting it.

It is not want of funds or want of resources that constitutes the stumbling block. Such difficulties are not insuperable. It is the absence of the will, it is that old deep-rooted distrust and apprehension of possible repercussions, that stand in the way of taking effective steps for militarising the youth of India. What has England not done for her own sake in her home territory since 1939 ? Are not stupendous difficulties melting away before the call of national service and solidarity ? Today the European war threatens the destruction of civilization itself. Whatever the merits or demerits of the respective combatants, philosophy, logic or reason will not weigh with any of them at a time when moral forces have almost ceased to function, and that Power will be the ultimate victor which has at its disposal the largest supply of brain-power and those forces of defence and offence which the knowledge and skill of man can invent. We are repeatedly told that India may become a part of the war zone sooner than many of us expect. If that be so, it is essential that the defence of India against foreign aggression and from internal chaos should be well-organised and broad-based on gigantic efforts of Indians themselves. Some progress has been made recently but we are satisfied neither with the extent of the arrangements nor, what is more vital, with the policy behind them. The Indian Universities should within their limited sphere be taken into full confidence and the youth of India should be thoroughly trained to defend their hearth and home just as the children of eveay free country claim to do.

A good deal of confusion prevails to-day about the ethical doctrine of *Ahimsa*. There is no doubt *Ahimsa* is one of the cardial virtues taught by Indian thinkers of all dominations throughout the ages. "Dharma" consists in Ahimsa, proclaims the Mahabharata :

Ahimsa lakshano Dharma
Iti dharmavido viduh.

"Ahimsa confers immortality," declares the Code of Manu. The doctrine of Ahimsa is a neccessary corollary to the Hindu belief that the supreme spirit pervades universe (Sarvam Brahmamidam jagat), that everything is strung on the Blessed Lord as rows of gems upon a thread (Sarvamidam protam sutre manigana iva), and that welfare of all beings (Sarvabhutahita) is a sacred duty. Ahimsa doubtless implies abstention from selfish and aggressive violence. But does it signify inertia and pacifism under all circumstances ? Did not Sree Ramachandra, so kind to righteous men and women, including even Nishadas and Savaras, wage a war to punish the arrogant evil-doer who insulted womanhood and violated the sanctity

of the peaceful hermitage ? Were not "Panchajanyasya nirghosho Gandivasya cha nisvanah" meant to strike terror into the hearts of those whose pride and conceit would not allow them to do justice and repair wrongs ? Did not Sree Chaitanya roar like Narasimha to restrain the bigot and the oppressor ? Did not the great Asoka himself lay as much stress on Parakrama (powers) as on Ahimsa and declare in one of his Rock Edicts that there was a limit to his forbearance ? "Should any one do him wrong, that must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty so far as it can possibly be borne with." Even Budhist theologians prescribed condign punishment for treachery and mischief-making, typified by the career of Devadatta. Readers of the Chachnama need not be told what pusillanimity masquerading as religious quietism may do to endanger the life and liberty of a people and destroy its morale.

If I have understood the history of my country aright, a pacifism that refuses to take up arms against injustice and makes one a passive spectator of oppression and aggression, does not represent the real teaching of India. Let us not forget that valour was greatly esteemed by the sages and free rulers of India in olden times. When valour languished, the entire polity weakened. When the sword and the book of knowledge kept together, justice, equity and liberty ruled the affairs of the State. We want to see the reappearance of the ancient spirit of valour tempered with a spiritual wisdom consistent with our genius and present needs, which alone can recover civilization out of the chaotic condition of the modern age.

We live in an age when the need of Parakrama, ceaseless exertion, courage and valour, in all spheres of activity affecting the public weal, is more imperative than ever. The menace of invasion from without is within the bounds of possibility. Disruptive forces are at work within the country itself. A nation can only save itself by its own energy. But energy and strength hardly came to a people that does not enjoy the blessings of unity and freedom. Unity need not imply uniformity in every respect. In a country like India, with its huge extent, teeming population and diverse culture, a dull uniformity is not to be encouraged. India is traditionally a land of village republics, and local autonomy has had many noble champions whose patriotism and public spirit are beyond question. But accentuation of differences cannot make for strength. A divided India was always prey to the foreign invader from the days of Alexander and Mahmud of Ghazni to those of Vasco da Gama, Dupleix and Clive. There is much disharmony and disunity in India today. Communal differences have taken such an acute turn that fantastic claims for the vivisection of our Motherland are widely asserted, backed by tacit encouragement of the powers that rule the destinies of India today.

Political and social justice requires, not the disintegration of a country and destruction or humiliation of a class which shows initiative, intelligence and drive, but equality of opportunity for all, genuine freedom for self-fulfilment, in which all men irrespective of caste or creed may share. Slavery withered in the atmosphere of England when Catholic and Protestant, Anglo-Saxon and Jew, Northumbrian and Kentishman obtained equal citizenship. Can freedom flourish where religious and racial groups are encouraged to clamour for separate existence as segregated communities, and majorities are set up by Statute unalterable by an appeal to the general body of citizens ? We have to sweep away the cobwebs of mistrust and the miasma of harted if India is to fulfil her destiny and play her part worthily in the Commonwealth of Free Nations.

We are passing through momentous times and, situated as we are, we know not what the future has in store for us. These are obvious limitations within which the Universities of a country such as ours have to function. At this critical period in the history of India it is our duty, first and foremost, to give that training to our youths which will fit them to uphold, with dignity and courage, with faith and fervour, the flag of Indian liberty. Let the Universities hold aloft the torch of learning and make their students devoted to those subjects of study which will make them useful citizens and amply widen their horizon. Let our students become physically strong and morally unbreakable, never forgetting the eternal teachings of our great masters that, even when the body of man is chained, his soul may still remain free and unconquered. Let Benares bring together twenty-eight crores of Hindus, not for the purpose of oppressing the weak and the depressed, but for uniting the Indian people and laying the foundations of the spirit of that true democracy which signifies a Government of the people, for the people, by the people. Political subjection has not yet completely destroyed the soul of India, but the perennial truths of Indian religion and philosophy have to

be saved from the clutches of fear and superstition which dominate the popular mind, and the hearts of all, the rich and the poor alike, have to be blended together so that love for truth, righteousness, justice and equality that constitute India's great heritage may once again reign supreme.

Today nations intoxicated with power claim to justify their international endeavours and actions, specially in relation to their conduct towards weaker countries which they desire to dominate, on self-deceptive grounds of either God-gifted trusteeship or of elevation to a higher level of thought and achievement. Let us declare without fear and hesitation that to us justice and liberty as propounded by them are meaningless if they do not include their willingness to do justice to and honour the liberty of other men and other nations. It is not so much what our students learn, not so much what they know, as what they are, which should concern us. Do they love liberty, love it so much that they will fight for it, die for it and will accord it to others as well as claim it for themselves? Do they love their country, and not merely say they love it; do they love liberty and justice with a fervour that transcends their desire for ease and wealth and position? Let us remember that nations live or die according to the character of the people. Wealth, arms, munitions, disciplined armies and navies are of splendid service, but the character of the people, the character into which the youth is growing, determines the life or death of the nation. An Indian politician of repute, in answer to the question as to what would happen if England lost the war, observed the other day that God who has so long protected India would then have to protect both England and India. But we do not wish to treat the Almighty merely as a useful Palladium. Heaven helps only those who help themselves. History affords us examples of great peoples who fell but rose again out of a sheer determination to win back their lost freedom, without which they thought life was not worth living. "Liberty," says Manu, the great Law-giver of our race, "is happiness and dependence is misery." Sarvam paravasam duhkham, Sarvamatmavasam sukham. Do we share the same feelings with equal intensity and devotion? With our ancient heritage, with the spirit of India still ennobling the mind of man, with vast resources of man power and buried wealth, let a supreme effort be made by all classes of our people to organise themselves effectively for the liberation of our country, and in this task of mighty reconstruction let the trained youth of India heroically play a conspicuous part, not by mere surrender to emotions but tempered by a keen sense of practical wisdom and a thorough and efficient preparation, physical, moral and intellectual.

Let us pledge ourselves, body and soul, to the preservation of the noblest ideals of our race and culture and a life-long devotion to the cause of that enlightened liberty which a great seer has worshipped in words worthy to be written in gold, that will remain engraved in the heart of mankind for all ages to come:

"O Liberty, thou art the god of my idolatry! Thou art the only deity that hatest bended knees. In thy vast and unwalled temple, beneath the roofless dome, star-gemmed and luminous with suns, thy worshippers stand erect! They do not cringe, or crawl, or bend their foreheads to the earth. The dust has never borne impress of their lips. Upon thy altars mothers do not sacrifice their babes, nor men their rights. Thou askest naught from man except the things that good men hate—the whip, the chain, the dungeon key. Thou hast no popes, no priests, who stand between their fellow-men and thee. Thou carest not for foolish forms, or selfish prayers. At thy sacred shrine hypocrisy does not bow, virtue does not tremble, superstition's feeble tapers do not burn, but Reason holds aloft her inextinguishable torch whose holy light will one day flood the world."

The Nagpur University Convocation

Sir Henry Twynam's Address

The following is the text of the speech delivered by His Excellency *Sir Henry Twynam*, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S, Chancellor, Nagpur University at the Nagpur University Convocation held on the **7th December 1940** :—

After a period of nearly nine years the Chancellor has been called upon to address you. I did not expect that the privilege of addressing you would fall to

me. While I value the privilege of addressing you so soon after I have assumed the governorship of this Province, I feel that I am a very incompetent substitute for the wellknown speakers, politicians and administrators who have been chosen to speak on previous occasions.

It is customary, I believe, on these occasions to refer briefly in the annual address to the outstanding features of the year which concern the University. Let me therefore at the outset refer to the loss which the University has sustained through the death of one of its most distinguished members on whom the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred on the occasion of the last Convocation. I allude to Dr. K. G. Tamhan, M. A., Doctor of Literature, whose demise took place on the 7th of August last. Dr. Tamhan had reached the ripe age of 80 when he died. He was a distinguished teacher of Sanskrit, one of the earliest pioneers of higher education in the Province and head of the Morris College in its early years.

Let me express on your behalf to Mr. Kedar, our gratitude for his successful and vigorous administration of the University during the last three years. His term of office will be commemorated for many years to come by the completion of the construction of the College of Law and by the beginning of the Laxminarayan Institute of Technology. Mr. Kedar has always had at heart the expansion of military training in the University, a subject in which I also take the keenest interest. The University Training Corps has grown considerably during the last year and I am glad to think that this development has come about during Mr. Kedar's tenure of office. I have heard with interest of the success of the University teams in the Small Bore League Competition and also of the wining of the Individual Best Shot Competition by Corporal Sahane of Morris College. We thank Mr. Kedar for his efforts on behalf of the University and for the ability with which he has conducted its affairs.

During the course of the year the University College of Law and the Post-Graduate Hostel for Students have come into use as also the excellent playing fields on the Amraoti road where the University Sports Tournament, which I hope to attend, will be held next Saturday.

I am very glad to hear that a Degree in Commerce has now been instituted. I feel that there is bound to be increasing scope for the employment of men with Degrees in Commerce. The formidable competition which now obtains in the legal and medical professions makes it desirable that an increasing number of young men should make themselves eligible for employment in the higher ranks of Commerce and Industry by securing Commerce Degrees.

We welcome the conferment of Honorary Degrees of Doctorates of Law on the Hon'ble Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy and Sir Moropant Joshi. Both of these gentlemen are distinguished sons of this Province, either by adoption or by birth, and have well earned the recognition which the University has conferred upon them today.

Since I received the Vice-Chancellor's invitation to address you, I have been thinking hard what I can say to you which may be of some help to those of you who are about to embark upon your careers in life. It is many years ago since I was myself, like you, a student at a University, but I have been trying to bridge those years and place myself back in the same position in which you are now with the object of asking myself "is there anything that I can say to you young men which may be helpful to you ?"

Pondering this question I have been led to ask myself what thought or principle I have myself found useful in my mature years ? And the result of my cogitation is that I have come to the conclusion that the most valuable thought for everyday life—or at least the thought which I personally have found myself valuable—is one the author of which was that great Roman, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Those of you who are studying, or have studied history, will remember that he was one of the Emperors who ruled in the first century A. D., during a period which Gibbon has described as the happiest period in the history of mankind. It was a period free from great wars and for three or four generations the vast Roman Empire enjoyed a peace during which man could enjoy the fruits of his labour while the distant clash of arms on the frontiers was scarcely heard by the ordinary citizen.

The saying of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius to which I refer is as follow :—

"The Universe is change. Our lives are what our thoughts make them."

The truth of this thought is perhaps not so apparent in the happy days of youth. But as you grow older you will realise that it is not so much external

circumstances which fashion the life of the individual as the thoughts which he himself thinks. If your thoughts are good and cheerful, so will your lives be, irrespective of the material conditions in which they are passed. If your thoughts are bad or lugubrious, your lives will be bad or sad, however satisfactory your external circumstances may be. In short, cultivate a philosophic mind and you can smile not only at adversity but at all the petty irritants which are the inevitable companions of daily existence. When you find difficulties in your studies, when things do not go just as you would like them to go, and, especially when you feel overworked, there is no better remedy that I know of than to repeat to yourself the words of Marcus Aurelius—

"Our lives are what our thoughts make them."

It has been said by a sage of antiquity that "Every man is the architect of his own fortunes" but we are not entirely masters of our external circumstances. We can, however, have complete control of our thoughts and, if Marcus Aurelius is right—as I believe he is—we can thus make our real lives, our inward lives, as we would have them to be. Today is a great day in the lives of many of you. You have achieved success in the academic field and you are now qualified for careers in life. I wish you all success and offer you as a guide to happiness and success the saying of Marcus Aurelius.

The Lucknow University Convocation

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh's Address

The following is the text of the address delivered at the Nineteenth Annual Convocation of the University of Lucknow, held on the 14th December, 1940, by *Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh*, M.A., C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, M.L.A. :—

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Staff and Students of the Lucknow University, Ladies and Gentlemen :—I stand before you in unusual circumstances. As you are aware, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai was to have delivered the Convocation address to-day. His speech would have been in every way appropriate, as coming from a man of high intellectual calibre with a wide experience of education in India and its many problems. It is not without hesitation that I have accepted the pressing invitation of your Vice-Chancellor. He is an old and valued friend with long and honourable associations with this University, to whose wishes I felt bound to accede. Though I appreciate the honour done to me, I need hardly say that I am quite unprepared to deliver the usual type of Convocation address which, I understand, should be lengthy, learned, profound, even abstruse, and, as a necessary corollary, devoid of humour ! I can not say that mine fulfils these conditions. Necessity, ever stern, though not always the mother of invention, rules that on this occasion at least convention must go. It is well perhaps that it should, for we are living in a rapidly changing world where much to which we have been accustomed is disappearing and will disappear.

One qualification, denied to those who have addressed you in the past, can, I think, be claimed by me, that is, family and personal relations of long standing with our University and the circumstances which led to its establishment. As you have just heard, there are many Medals and a Scholarship donated by my father. The grounds on which the University stands were familiar to me as a small boy, when I lived with my parents in a house not far which at that time was the only one existing in the spacious park known as the Badshah Bagh. Of those days one building alone remains, the Baradari, a landmark to remind one of the past. I recall with pride my family connection with the then Canning College, which later was transformed under Sir Harcourt Butler, the greatest of the Lieutenant-Governors of the United Provinces, into the present unitary, teaching and residential University of Lucknow. I had also the privilege, when Secretary to the United Provinces Government, of helping to prepare and to pilot through the then Provincial Legislative Council the Lucknow University Act of 1920. Little did I think that 20 years later one of my sons would be a student of this University. I may be permitted to make a further claim which may appeal to those among us today who are young. It is that from time to time I have taken an active part in the games

of the University and of Canning College which preceded it. I played my first games of cricket, football, hockey and tennis on the Canning College grounds more than 35 years ago, while the last game that I enjoyed in the Lucknow University was less than two months ago, when I played in a cricket match against your team and was enabled, whether through the kindly indulgence of your bowlers or otherwise, to remain at the wickets for one hour and to make the not wholly disreputable score of eight runs. I venture, therefore, to speak as one of you.

I do not propose on this occasion to refer to the two burning topics of the day, namely, the War in Europe and Africa and the political situation in this country. You are old enough and have sufficient intelligence to form your own opinions, provisionally at least, on both these subjects. None of us here, perhaps no one in the world, has been able to forecast with any degree of accuracy the course of the present War. Nor can any one say with confidence what the future has in store. I believe, however, that I voice the opinion of a great majority of the people of this country in saying that we have no sympathy with Nazism or its ideals or the aggression and cruelty which seem to be its inseparable accompaniments.

As regards the political situation in India, it is a platitude to say that we live in anxious times. I know that you have been stirred by recent events. I appreciate your feelings and sympathise with your hopes. I beg of you, however, in the words of the Premier of the United Provinces uttered in this place two years ago to maintain a "balanced mind" and an "independent judgment" and to let yourselves be guided by reason, a faculty of special service in times of stress and difficulty. Of one thing you may rest assured, that is, that Indians irrespective of their political creed and an increasing number of British sympathisers desire that India should attain to her full political manhood in the very near future. Indeed I am optimistic enough to believe that most of us present here will live to see that day. What the future form and methods of Government will be I cannot anticipate but it is highly probable that in a self-governing India as elsewhere they will be more socialistic in conception and have a greater regard for the poor and the needy.

Our University has completed almost twenty years of active life. I well remember the criticisms and the fears openly expressed prior to its creation but I believe that in general they have not been justified. The fact that the Lucknow University Act has never been amended shows that it has served its purpose well. The number of students has increased beyond expectation and *pari passu* the standard and volume of original work. It is not an excessive claim to make on behalf of your *alma mater* that she has made her influence felt throughout these provinces. But we have to look ahead. The future of education in the United Provinces is in the crucible. Important changes are inevitable. Primary education must receive an increasing impetus. So, I hope, will the education of girls, one of the crying needs of India. High Schools and Intermediate Colleges may no longer exist as we know them and English will probably cease to be a medium of instruction up to the University stage. Our Universities cannot remain unaffected. But, whatever changes are made, I hope that the ideal of a unitary teaching and residential University will not be discarded. For, whatever its defects, it has resulted in the creation of an academic atmosphere, concentration of educational effort, greater efficiency in teaching and a fuller life for the students.

I now commend three suggestions for your consideration in the hope that you will not think them impracticable. The first is that each of you should take an interest in some subject outside your daily task both now and in the days to come. In colloquial language I invite you to cultivate Hobbies. How much in Nature is there open to the humblest of us to interest, to amuse and to enjoy! The University grounds contain within them a variety of birds and plants. So do the rural areas ever close at hand in India. And yet how many, old or young, to whom I am speaking to-day, take an interest in these matters? Then, there is Photography with its ever developing technique. Gardening has its special attractions. There is the useful art of Carpentry. Painting, for which India was once famous, should appeal to some, while above are the starry heavens open to all and sufficient in themselves to enthral you. Believe me, my friends, you will never regret in later life the cultivation of hobbies. On the contrary, they will be a perennial source of pleasure and relaxation.

Secondly, I wish to plead for Research, and specially for those branches which yield practical results. It was because he felt that India lagged behind the West in this respect that my father founded the one and only privately endowed

Research Scholarship here and assigned it for Medical research in connection with King George's Medical College, which is an integral part of the University. Why is it, he was sometimes tempted to say that in spite of an increasing number of Medical Colleges and schools India has not yet produced a Pasteur ? Why was it left to Ronald Ross to connect Malaria with the Anopheles mosquito, to Koch to discover the Cholera vibrio ? But we must not despair. There are still vast fields open to genuine Medical research workers in this country. The etiology of diabetes, a disease prevalent throughout India, remains undiscovered. The prevention and cure of cancer are still beyond us. Practical means for eradicating malaria, the scourge of India, within responsible cost have not yet been found. Industrial Chemistry has enormous possibilities, while in a country such as India there are no limits to agricultural research. The world does not stand still. Humanity is ever expectant of the further boons which come from the patient worker in the Research Laboratory after perhaps years of seemingly useless toil. Some of you will remember the lines from Tagore.—

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free."

These words fitly apply to Research which must ever be independent, bold and critical. I appeal to you and through you to the more well-to-do citizens of these provinces to endow our Universities with the necessary funds to enable them to discharge one of their most beneficent duties.

Thirdly, I implore you to shun that excess of religious or political zeal which goes by the name of Communalism. There is too much of it in India at the present time, and, whatever be the reasons, I say with regret after a long experience that it has increased rather than diminished. You in the University are, I hope and believe, more immune from this canker than many outside. Whether Hindus, Muslims or Christians, you come in close contact with each other both in your work and in sport, and you have come to know that nobility of character and high standards of conduct are not confined to the adherents of any one creed or sect, and further, that a truly religious spirit is incompatible with intolerance. The outside world, the semi-educated and the illiterate are not so happily situated. Hence there are communal riots whether between Hindus and Muslims or Sunnis and Shias, from which even our historic city of Lucknow has not been immune. Communalism is an insidious disease which leads to a frame of mind in which independent thinking disappears. Experience, for instance, shows that few venture to give evidence in a Court of Justice against their own community, however much its members have been guilty in a particular case. The dictates of conscience are suppressed in spite of Shakespeare's wise counsel "to count life a stage upon the way and follow conscience come what may." I am convinced that the main obstacle to political advance in this country is communal ill-feeling. The solution is not easy. But I suggest that it is only by having intimate friends among the followers of another creed, by appreciating their point of view, and above all by a spirit of compromise on which Burke has said—" all Government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue and every prudent act is founded," that Communalism can be successfully attacked. Should you for this purpose need inspiration, I invite you to study, as I did last cold weather, the writing of the mystics, Hindu, Christian and Muslim, and learn from them the eternal truth of the fundamental unity of man transcending all diversity. A short time ago I had the privilege of entertaining Mahatma Gandhi in my house in Simla. I also had the pleasure of a long talk with Mr. Jinhah. I am not able to disclose my conversations with these two eminent persons. All that I can say is that in all humility I begged them both to see each other and to discuss ways and means for ending the present tension, for, as they both felt, it is not by speeches and writings that this burning problem can be solved but by meeting each other and by a sincere desire to arrive at an agreement. Men and women of our generation have failed to solve this question. May you succeed where we have failed !

A very pleasant duty remains. It is to congratulate with all my heart the many recipients of prizes. You have won these by hard work and by that self-confidence which has been described as the first secret of success. Through you I congratulate your parents, who in many cases have contributed to the success of their children by a self-denial which can never be adequately repaid. I should like, almost in defiance of convention, to pay a tribute to your able and zealous University staff who open to you the gates of knowledge and by their guidance and example can justly claim a share in your achievement. Speaking for myself I feel to this day a debt of gratitude to those teachers in the University of Oxford,

among them men of great name and high example, whom to know was to revere and under whom to learn was a privilege. And to all students of the University, whether winners of prizes or not, in extending my best wishes for their future. I would say, "Acquire knowledge with eagerness now and in the days to come. Do not neglect opportunities which can never return. At the same time remember that the great end of life is not so much knowledge as action." "To live," it has been well said, "is to meet life eagerly and unafraid, to refuse none of its challenges, to evade none of its responsibilities, to go forth daily with a gay and adventurous heart, to encounter its risks, to overcome its difficulties, and to seize its opportunities".

May all good attend you now and always and may the zest of endeavour and the joy of achievement be yours in full measure throughout the years that lie ahead!

The Muslim University Convocation

Sir Sultan Ahmed's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Sir *S. Sultan Ahmed*, D. L., KT. at the Aligarh Muslim University Convocation held on the 21st December, 1940 :—

I am conscious of the great honour you have done me in asking me for the second time to address the Convocation of your University which has a distinguished place in the mind of everybody interested in education, for the M.A.O, College, from which your University is sprung, had a cultural tradition, a spiritual homogeneity and an educational ideal which were its proud marks of distinction when most other educational centres in India were satisfied with merely imparting a deal of information to their students. That tradition has, I am glad to observe, persisted in the Muslim University. Education, if it is worth anything, means something more than working for and passing a string of examinations. And if the students of this University have realised that, as I hope they have, they have travelled a long way on the path of that self-culture the other name of which is education.

In a country where there is economic stringency, where heterogeneous and conflicting forces are at work in moulding its destiny, and where the cultural pattern is made of a criss-cross of different traditions it is very easy to lose sight of the primary significance of education and of the final effect it has (if it is true education) upon the spiritual, moral and social values of the individual.

In such a country, economic concepts, and economic necessities unfortunately colour the very theory of education ; and to the student, the hard and thorny path that runs via the school and the University with its hurdles of the severely-testing examinations and its vigorous competitions, becomes a sort of arduous road, that leads ultimately to the promised land of a comfortable job of work. So, for all intents and purposes, to minds conditioned and matured in this economic atmosphere, education becomes synonymous in its aims with a training which will bring to all earnest seekers the Holy Grail of a Government job. If they fail in attaining the quest, the whole period of preparation and training, everything learnt with pleasure or under the shadow of the rod, is considered by them a dead and useless waste of spirit, time, money and energy. Education becomes a vain and futile tragedy of frustration.

In India where some of these conditions obtain, certain special circumstances, in addition, provide a definitely artificial and truncated background for modern education. The famous draft of Macaulay's was intended to create a body of responsible Government servants, who would understand and sympathise with the ideals and aims of the British Government. It was a fairly comprehensive programme of what was liberal education those days, but it was the immediate product of local necessities. It is not my intention to discuss the usefulness or otherwise of the educational theories that inspired that programme, or of the practical shape it took in the formation of the schools and colleges in India. What I want to emphasise is that its genesis lies in a special sort of demand and the desire to make the

necessary provisions to satisfy this demand. And ever since an unenviable aura of the merely utilitarian has clung to it, inspite of the fact that the major portion of the University curricula in India is based upon liberal ideals of education, emphasising the cultural element in it.

Graduates of the Muslim University, you will be going forth on that great adventure that comes the way of all young men, hitherto protected from some stern realities when they, as the term goes, 'enter life'. It is something very real, something fraught with tremendous consequences for you. Some of you will succeed in your objective, whatever it is, at the first go, some will succeed after one failure, some after more. And I, with perhaps more experience and fewer illusions than you, unfortunately know that the battle of life goes counter against many men, young and old. You have my best wishes and prayers for your success, and my sympathies if life treats you harshly. But if things seem to go against you let me ask you not to listen to that counsel of despair that whispers in your ears that you have wasted your years at the University, that your education has failed in its purpose, for your education aimed higher than that.

Let me concisely review your life at the University, taking it for granted that you made the maximum use of your opportunities. When you took admission into the University you made a tacit moral contract to abide by its regulations, to submit to its discipline, to help and promote the spirit it stood for, and to make a real effort to learn what it taught you. The institution in its turn undertook to educate your mind, your morals and your sensibilities. It never pretended that it would give you specialised training to run an executive department or a Police Force, nor did it pretend to admit you into the secrets of manufacturing soaps or cigarettes. It really tried to train your mind to cope adequately with different situations arising in life. It tried to make your mind adaptable and elastic by making you study various and perhaps unallied subjects, to create a complexity of interests in you, to give you a sense of proportion, to make you respond quickly to various appeals to your emotions, your mind and your soul. It tried to cultivate your sensibilities by revealing to you beauties in life, in art and in literature. If it did not do any of these things it failed in its most important function.

Civilisation is the result of the thoughts and efforts of a few intelligent people in every age who help humanity a little further ahead each time in the march of progress ; and man is driven forward on the journey by a desire for self-realisation and self-fulfilment. It is a sort of creative process whereby man reorganizes himself, brings into play hitherto unsuspected qualities of the mind and the sensibilities, furnishes himself with a better personality, as it were ; and perhaps unintentionally induces other people to imitate him. Education in its real and comprehensive significance is the most effective and vital instrument of these self-realizing activities. That is why the type of education you have been getting is called liberal education, education that liberates you from the shackles of the merely temporal, which is the instrument of refinement, sensitiveness, spiritual and mental poise and a profound outlook on life. The uncultured mind is capable of perceiving only the immediate and superficial. It skims over the surface of experiences and encounters, understanding only the obvious in the thoughts and actions of other people. The profounder outlook on life that cultural education connotes is really a form of understanding and sympathy, an imaginative capacity to get into the mind of the person whose views are perhaps different from yours, to perceive all facets of an experience or idea, and to evaluate it as a synthesis of all the facts and elements that go in the making of it. It teaches us to understand and tolerate points of view that may be contrary to ours, to see the sincerity of those who differ from us, to be even and balanced and not too aggressive in our opinions, to make beautiful gestures, love ideas and things that are beautiful and defend the truth wholeheartedly. The thinkers of the Renaissance called the study of the literatures of antiquity, the Humanities. It is a very revealing word and it should have, I think, always guided the aims of higher education. It makes you feel that that type of education means adjusting yourself more harmoniously to the human landscape around you. It cultivates your emotional life, and gives a more proportionate view of your own feelings. We always tend to exaggerate our emotional experiences, our grief, our happiness, and thus indirectly our own personalities.

Cultural education is like climbing a steep hill. The higher you climb the vaster the prospects that open before your eyes. The horizon expands, and everything fits more and more beautifully into an ever-enlarging pattern. The things

that had loomed so big as to occupy your whole field of vision at the foot of the hill become comparatively unimportant and form part of a larger scheme of things at the peak. The fatigue of the climb is forgotten in the bracing nip of a clearer atmosphere and you have an acuter perception of the miracle of familiar and common things.

In an age of Science when stress is laid upon the importance of the practical there is a tendency to minimise the importance of things that touch our emotional and spiritual life. The cult of the machine drives away the cult of beauty. Our age is unfortunately such an age, and at no other time, I believe, was there so much need to emphasise the type of education that goes beyond the practical and useful and shows us the vision of an inner and more important world.

Our first duty by ourselves, therefore, is to create within us that inner harmony, that refinement, intellectual alertness and awareness which the study of arts brings to us. But being a very balanced, intellectually keen and cultured person is not sufficient in itself. We are placed in a world of objective realities, in a world crowded with other minds, other personalities. There are contacts and impingements, conflicts and resistances, the need to overcome obstacles and the need to fall in line with other forces and minds. Self-realization presupposes action as well as thought ; our personalities have to be operative as well as reflective. And it is here that scientific education claims its importance. Its immediate field of action has for the last few centuries been the understanding and conquest of Nature, the latter for the uses of humanity. I do not propose to go through the history of the discoveries and inventions in Science, of their beneficial and harmful effects. Both the good and the evils that have attended the march of Scientific progress have had remarkable repercussions upon our lives and our mentalities ; but they are not everything. Neither does material comfort bring supreme satisfaction to our souls, nor can the destructive effects of scientific inventions make us complete cynics or misanthropes. There is always a vital spark in our being that is beyond the reach of these accidental things. It must always be remembered, that the deciding factor in the social and moral life of man, after all allowances are made, is Man himself. It is his soul, his mind, that can make of Science a weapon of destruction or a Messenger of Mercy. He can always choose between the gun and the ploughshare. Perhaps it is true that the scientific age has made man cling too tenaciously to material values, thereby shaping his mind, making him grasping and greedy. But a time comes, and it has perhaps now come, when he has to pause and consider which path he is going to tread. The old statement about gaining the whole world and losing our own soul, forces itself upon his consciousness. I believe, however, that there is more good in humanity than evil, and the choice after a lot of hesitation and chopping and changing is practically ever the right one.

That scientific education may not be an unmixed blessing would be evident to all, but equally evident is the necessity of this type of education. We are living in an age where it is essential, and unless we choose to slide back into obscurity there can be no question of neglecting it. There is a practical world as well as a world of transcendental or emotional values, and the one is as real as the other. If we equip ourselves for the one there is no sense in neglecting the other. The old Greek ideal of a proportionate and harmonious development of all our faculties holds for all times. And if our hearts are in the right place, if we are guided by our love of humanity and a desire to ameliorate human suffering we would always make Science an instrument of mercy.

There are practical and social considerations also which should urge us to promote scientific education in India. In our country there are vast unexplored resources than can be made to benefit man. You have youth, ambition and energy, and there is a world of possibilities waiting to be explored by you. It is obvious, however, that the Government of the country also has to play a very vital and important part in this connection. Every impetus must be given to enlarge, expand, and encourage industries and that as quickly as possible. Their meagre activities in the past do not redound to their credit. I only hope they have become wiser by experience and will put their full weight in favour of complete industrialisation in this country. If only the Government had vision and had started heavy industries after the last war, India alone would have won the present war. India is naturally expecting great results from the Eastern Group Conference and the Roger Mission and I hope that their deliberations will not only result in finding ways and means to meet the immediate needs of the War, but will also show the way of establishing heavy and minor industries so that India may be, as far as

possible, self-contained, not only able to defend herself from aggression but also help the British Commonwealth of Nations in times of necessity.

This brings me to the terrific crisis that is facing the world to-day. I mean the War. It is a stormy upheavel the tidal wash of which will affect the remotest shores of the world. Its origin is really in the repudiation of all civilised values, in the spiritual pride of which I spoke before. If spiritually humanity is striving for complete self-realisation in the realm of politics, civilization is aiming at creating an atmosphere where it can be made possible by giving the utmost freedom of thought and action to the individual. The maximum individual liberty possible under social conditions is the ideal of a cultured and civilised community. Regimentation is repugnant to it, for after all, institutions are made for men and not men for institutions. Where a question of misfits arises the institution must be remoulded to suit man's needs. And now an attempt is being made to reverse the order of things, to enslave men to an ideology which is abhorrent to all civilised sensibilities.

If formerly the sort of ideological tyranny which at the moment obtains in Central Europe ever occurred, it affected a single or a very small group of States. But to-day due to many types of inter-dependences, due to intricate economic and social relationships each such revolution attempts a more widespread change than before.

The ideological pragramme of Hitler and Mussolini with its theory of race superiority and *lebensraum* for only some stronger nations is in direct opposition to the trend of modern civilisation which has been trying to explore all possible revenues for the establisment of greater liberty and greater possibility of development for each individual, each nation, strong or weak. This can only be made realisable by the evolution of a new psychology in international life as it exists to a remarkable extent in national life; reverence and fear of the law and scrupulous discharge of moral obligations.

In the State, one can see the paradox of a handful of unarmed policemen maintaining order, even in big and unruly crowds, because the might of the law has sunk so deep in the individual's consciousness that physical force is unnecessary for making men obey the law. Its symbol in any form does. To-day when all nations are interlinked it is necessary to evolve that sort of consciousness for international law and international morality. The League of Nations is an attempt at this sort of International policing and it must remain the ideal of all future States, if we want peace and security in life.

The glove has, however, been flung in the face of the civilised world by Hitler and Mussolini, backed by their bands of marauders and gangsters, and it behoves everybody with a love for freedom and honour to take up the challenge. The implication of this War are so universal, the interests involved so all-embracing that one cannot remain indifferent, and the side one takes will show whether he loves civilised living or barbarism. There was a time when the extravagances of certain German publicists and philosophers had appeared fantastic and absurd. When Arndt wrote "every State has the right to ask for certain things from neighbouring States when they wrongfully take away the air and the light on which it must grow. Up to the present Holland is the most outrageous violation of German's natural frontier.....I desire hatred, burning and bloody hatred. May this hatred burn as the religion of the German people, as a sacred madness in all hearts" or when Von Treitschke wrote of Germany's neighbouring States "these lands are ours by the right of the sword and we shall dispose of them by virtue of a higher right of the German people", or when he spoke of treaties "every State reserves for itself the right to be the judge of its own treaties. All the restraints by which States bind themselves by treaty are voluntary. When a Nation has been wounded in its honour the breaking of treaties is only a question of time" everybody considered it high flown nonsense, a sort of mania confined to a few eccentric writers which would not be considered seriously by any nation. But to-day the extravaganza, the mania has become the philosophy of life of two powerful nations of Europe, and they are drawing other nations within their orbit. The fantasy has become a grim and menacing reality, the expression through action of a savage, coercive mentality. Please bear in mind that the present War is not a War between two or more nations, but between two different types of outlook on life, and that we are not faced with the task of destroying only Hitler and Mussolini and their hordes, but that philosophy of life which we find in the German and Italian nations—a much more difficult task. It is a poisonous miasma which bids fair to paralyse the sense of international morality and bring chaos to

the structure of moral and political thought that has been built up through centuries of ceaseless effort.

Graduates of the Muslim University, in the lives of men a moment arrives when they have to choose between material well-being and spiritual health, between a dishonourable life of comfort and an honouarble life of penury, toil and sacrifices. The choice involves a mental struggle, there are temptations and there is the natural human desire to follow the path of least resistance. But there is only one choice possible for an honourable man. Our material comforts are after all not such mighty important things as the ideals we live by. All young men the world over are faced with such a choice to-day : and do not forget, however far you may be from the theatre of the actual struggle, you too have to cast your lot one way or the other. And the glorious tradition of democracy and freedom, of thought and action that has been ours, assures me what your choice is going to be. We have to smash something really very big and though optimism is essential in all fights, neither the risk nor the danger involved must be minimized. And please remember that there is no loophole for half measures in this particular War. Hitler's erstwhile friend Rauschning has made that clear: "Hitler's ultimate aim is the maximum of power and dominion. He is not a person with whom any sane man may negotiate, he is a phenomenon which one slays or is slain by". I for one, gentlemen, am not particularly in love with the notion of being slain, passive and unresisting.

Different people's attitude towards most things is different, even contradictory. To some, as to Hitler, war is the very breath of life, the one means of assuring them that they live To others it is so great an evil that the only way of meeting it is passive indifference to it. To them waging war under any circumstances is repugnant and soul-searing. To the majority of sane healthy men, it is an evil of the first magnitude, but it cannot be charmed away with incantations or vanish if you simply do not take any notice of it. War must be banished from the world, but this can only be done by putting against the war-mongers a more effective force, a force that has the sanction of morality and justice behind it, which is built upon the most constructive ideals of men and women.

Waging war in a good cause, to destroy the forces of injustice, coercion and oppression is, therefore, the duty of all right thinking people. And though the immediate vision that war conjures up before our mind's eyes is one of suffering and the waste of life, there is another side of the picture too. War is a living effort, the paradoxical means whereby life asserts itself. In the effort of war you do not only live at an intenser pitch of feeling and being than at more normal times but you also offer your life-blood because you are convinced of the sanctity of life which must be protected at all costs, even at the cost of the lives of many individuals. It is often for protecting itself that life makes us fight our battles. When humanity is building up a less imperfect world than the one we live in after defeating the powers of darkness, a sense of peace, of having done something worth doing will come to you if you have done your share of the work.

It is the greatest tragedy that in India men fully convinced of the great barbarism of Hitler and Mussolini and having power and influence to help Great Britain in her grim and heroic stand for principles dear to humanity should be opposing efforts to crush Nazism and Fascism. In any case their attitude seems to be most inconsistent, unwise and unworthy. It is no good taking up the position involved in the old proverb "what does it matter to me whether the cow came or the donkey left". The difference between the present conditions in India and the future, if Hitler and Mussolini succeed must be clearly appreciated. It will be the difference between living as a subject race as we are doing with a number of grievances and being slaves, mere serfs. I will not say anything of the present conditions under which you and I live. You and I know them, but by contrast let me tell you what will be our position if these outlaws win. Only one passage from Hitler's well known 'Mein Kampf" will be sufficient. Discussing the publication of the news that a negro had qualified as a lawyer he says :—

"It does not dawn on the murky bourgeois mind that the fact which is published for him is a sin against reason itself, that it is an act of criminal insanity to train a being who is only an anthropoid by birth until the pretence can be made that he has been turned into a lawyer, while, on the other hand, millions who belong to the most civilised races have to remain in positions which are unworthy of their cultural level. The bourgeois mind does not realise that it is a sin against the will of the Eternal Creator to allow hundreds of thousands of highly gifted people to remain floundering in the swamp of proletarian misery while Hottentots

and Zulus are drilled to fill positions in the intellectual professions. For here we have the product only of a drilling technique just as in the case of the performing dog. If the same amount of care and effort were applied among intelligent races each individual would become a thousand times more capable in such matters."

After this shameless pronouncement of Hitler it should be impossible for any Indian with self-respect and love for his country to be simply an onlooker at the course of events in Europe. The speed at which the conflagration is spreading towards the East leaves no room for doubt whatsoever than sooner than later we will be directly called upon to surrender our hearth. home, honour, life and liberty to this, the greatest demon the world has ever seen. Will you wait till his *blitzkrieg* in india ? I am afraid, it will then be too late to resist it. Thank God, whatever may be the view of a certain section of political India to-day, India as a whole is acting up to the advice given by the leaders of that very section—Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru a year ago. Their wise statements have often been quoted and bear repetition. The Mahatma said : "My personal sympathies are with England and France—I am not just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come. But what will it be worth, if England and France fall." Pandit Nehru said the same thing in a different language : "We have repeatedly stated that we are not to bargain. We do not approach the problem with a view to taking advantage of Britain's difficulties.....It is perfectly true that in a conflict between democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism and aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of democracy." Why then act directly against these professions and go to jail ? I will say no more about them.

As regards the attitude of the Muslims of India, as such, it is as clear as day light. If Islam was ever in danger, it is to day. The fat, swollen-headed Mussolini assumed to himself the title of "Protector of Islam" not long ago. His first generous act in this self-styled role was to swallow the small Muslim State of Albania without the slightest justification or provocation, when King Zog aud his consort with a baby in her arms had to flee for their lives ! His next act was to land troops in Egypt, another Muslim State ! The third overt act of this "Saviour of Islam" was to throw bombs at Bahrain ! His fourth act which was the greatest insult offered to the Muslims was his attempt to set up a Kaaba for us at Harhar in Abyssinia ! All that now remains to be done by him with the help of his master Hitler is to bomb Hedjaz, Iraq and Palestine and involve Turkey in the war and he will then have justified his pretensions. Fortunately, the swiftness with which he is being mauled on land and sea, justifies us in hoping that this 'Protector of Islam' will soon find himself flat on his back on the mat. Let me therefore finally say without any hesitation or equivocation that we Indian Mussulmans shall resist by all means in our power this wanton violation of all laws of God and man by beasts in the garb of human beings.

The British Forces—Army, Navy and Air—are all doing our work elsewhere and it is our pride and privilege that the blood of our men is being mingled with theirs in the noblest cause of saving humanity from total destruction. This service to mankind will not and can not be forgotten and I am convinced that India after the sacrifices that she is making will in no distant time get her full share of equality, freedom and justice within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

And please do not forget that at this momentous hour lesser things that have loomed so large recently on your mental horizon must assume their right proportions in the scheme of your life. They are comparatively trivial ; and if there are differences between you and others the tragedy that is being enacted in Europe should make you realise how dangerous and mischievous they can be, on what a shallow conception of life they are built up, how completely they are founded upon ugly passions, insignificant ambitions and a total lack of human emotions. We realise that since life is what it is and men are what they are, these passions and jealousies will unfortunately be there. But to-day in our country they have assumed a gigantic magnitude. This deplorable state of affairs must disappear completely if we want progress of any sort in India. It was expected that in the face of the present danger these differences would be forgotten, and then under the influence of a united effort disappear permanently. After all when a tiger is roaming at large people do not quarrel about their share in the communal food supply, for they realize that if they do not unite and destroy the animal there would no longer be a question of food supply for them, whereas a similar problem of the tiger will have been solved. But that is what we seem to be doing at the moment here, and those who were expected to introduce a saner frame of mind seem to me to be aggravating the symptoms of unreasonableness. To state the

situation frankly, a great deal has been made of cultural differences between Hindus and Muslims and the impossibility of a compromise between the two. Now there is no doubt, as has been stated before, that in India there are different cultural forces at work, not the least important among them being the modern European civilization. There is no doubt also, that due to the very great influence religion has been on the life of Muslims in India as elsewhere, their art, their poetry, their way of life is very largely designed after Arabian and Persian patterns. But that does not mean that culturally the Muslim is a complete alien to Indian traditions, thought and art, nor does a United National Evolution mean the disappearance of the two religions. After all individuals are differently constituted, yet they do co-operate and work harmoniously together. Why should not communities with certain distinct and different religions do so ? Why can not individuals keep their intimate and private life disentangled from the public life, and why should not Hindus and Muslims keep their religion which after all is a man's private relationship with his God or gods separate from their civic and political life ? If you look at the Hindu-Muslim problem from a commonsense point of view the problem as such is not insoluble or all-pervading. If we desire to find out only differences, big, small and insignificant, between a Muslim and a Hindu and if the largeness of those differences can be the measure of our satisfaction we can make most wonderful discoveries ! As an illustration just look to what we have deliberately done to our common language. Urdu has been the mother tongue of the Hindus and Muslims for centuries. The very name and history of its growth shows that this language was the result of the contact of the Hindus and Mussalmans in India, yet unfortunately insidious attacks were made on this language treating it as the language of the Mussalmans of India and a propaganda for an artificial Hindustani language which was not the language of anybody in India was started and is being given effect to. What has been the result ? The Mussalmans unfortunately started stuffing in the Urdu language, Arabic and Persian words which were absolutely unnecessary and in many cases have undoubtedly spoilt its charm. I claim that the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and I speak Urdu but the Urdu which has been used by some Urdu papers will not be understood either by him or by me. Here we find a deliberate attempt by extremists of both communities to create a split where no difference existed. In a country like India with a population of over 350 millions, we can even find materials to support the wildest and most fantastic statements of Miss Mayo ; but is it at all helpful or useful in the present world conditions ? I suggest that the other line of approach, which is to emphasise points of agreement, will lead to greater justice, happiness and satisfaction to both communities in every walk of life, social, economic and political.

There is no gainsaying the fact that racially and politically we are all Indians, we breathe in the same atmosphere and till the same land. We are inheritors of the same old proud civilization and whatever we may privately think and aspire after, our destinies are linked together. Differences that there are I have already admitted, but our foundations of life are the same. Our political and social salvation can only lie in both Hindus and Muslims pooling their energies together for the reconstruction of a better India. However much you try there is no other road to salvation. Any other road will lead India to chaos, anarchy, bloodshed and perpetual subjection.

From a practical viewpoint too, even taking for granted the pessimistic view of the irreconcilable differences between Muslim and Hindu cultures there can be no other means of a better future for India. No amount of wishful thinking will perform the miracle of the total disappearance of millions of Muslims or Hindus from our landscape. For better or for worse "till death do us part"—that is our destiny. Even in such a situation the only sane and graceful thing is to arrive at some sort of working compromise, at any rate till the duration of the War. A compromise always indicates mutual generosities, a whole series of give and take, concessions and sacrifices. The peace and concord that a compromise like that begets is a sufficient reward for all self-denials. And I conjure you earnestly, all young men, both Hindus and Muslims, to remember this hard, sane and incontrovertible fact when you enter a larger sphere of life. You must try to promote mutual understanding, mutual trust and mutual love and to remember your mutual obligations. Otherwise the example of Europe to-day is before you. What racial arrogance and racial intolerance can do is being vividly enacted before your eyes. Do not take up a defeatist attitude. With a broad minded approach our domestic differences can be and must be solved. The determination to solve it has to be

found rnd once it is found, it will restore the chapter of friendliness, cordiality and even affection between the two communities which unfortunarely has been closed in recent years. Remember, time is a great factor in destroying the Totalitarian Powers, and a united India will work the double miracle of bringing about their downfall and bringing India closer to the goal of political and economic freedom.

The Punjab University Convocation

Mr. John Sargent's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by *John Sargent*, Esq., M.A., Educational Commissioner with the Government of India at the Convocation of the University of the Punjab held on the **21st. December 1940** :—

First of all I should like to express my very keen appreciation of the honour which the Authorities of the Panjab University have done me in inviting me to deliver the Convocation Address to-day. In more ways than one it is a very real honour and my gratitude is correspondingly sincere. Although I happen to be one of those strange and perhaps unnatural people who get no thrill out of the sound of their own voices and although the preparation and delivery of a Convocation Address is not a matter lightly to be undertaken in any circumstances, it is an undoubted privilege to be given the opportunity not only of addressing the members of a great university but also of saying a few words to young men and women who may before long be exercising a considerable influence over the destinies of their country. Let me hasten to say, however, that unlike many deliverers of convocation addresses I have not come here to offer you advice on questions of behaviour or academic deportment. I am fortunately blessed with a fairly good memory and have not forgotten how university students of my own generation were wont to react against an over-dose of admonition or pious exhortation from their elders. There is no bore like an old bore and as the ancient writer said "Great reverence is owed to youth."

May I also congratulate warmly those who have just received their degrees and express the twofold hope, firstly that for all of them and not only for the lucky few their university career may be the prelude to lives of progressive prosperity and happiness and secondly that they will regard this day not as the end of their education but as marking the successful completion of one more stage in a lifelong process !

All I want to do to-day is to ask you to consider from what is perhaps to some extent though only to some extent a fresh angle one or two time-honoured questions which have always been important but which have never called for the right answer so urgently as they are doing at this moment. You must forgive me if I appear to be thinking aloud rather than presenting you with a reasoned philosophical discourse. It is unnecessary for me to admit, for it will soon be apparent, that I am groping my way towards the light of reality. Like the prisoners in Plato's cave all I can see at the moment is but the reflection of a reflection.

In the tremendous crisis through which we are passing it is almost impossible to think of the major issues which control the destiny of mankind without relating them to current events. Whether we do or do not approve of violence as a method of setting personal or national differences, and whether we do or do not propose to take any part in this particular struggle, we cannot ignore the fact either that it is going on, or that a very considerable part of the world is already involved in it. Nor can we shut our eyes to what is perhaps the most serious aspect of all, which is that it has taken place within a generation of a war which was, we were told on the best authority, a war to end war, a war to create a world fit for heroes to live in, a war to make the world safe for democracy, and to ensure a number of other results that seemed extremely desirable to people of my generation. There is neither the time nor the need to investigate the reasons why the last war failed in fact to ensure any of these things. Its failure cannot in my opinion be satisfactorily ascribed to a sudden emergence of all that is worst in human nature. So far as one can judge there was no lack of men of good will at the Peace Conference ; in fact in all probability they greatly out-numbered the knaves

and the fools. In any case we have had over twenty years to repair their mistakes if we had wanted to do so and in spite of that our civilisation is again plunged in a catastrophe which will shake it to its foundations. How are we to account for such an exposure of human futility ? These matters have already been the subjects of explorations as exhaustive as the explanations have been diverse. But it seems to me that they can all be boiled down to one or other of two main alternatives, either the last war and the peace which followed it failed to prepare the way for things that are essentially and permanently desirable or the things that appeared desirable to the last generation have ceased to attract the present one ? Next time must we try to improve our methods or must we change our objectives. In other words is there anywhere we can look for principles that are always true, or are moral and intellectual values liable to fluctuations like the money market ? Speaking for myself alone I have no doubt that there are eternal verities if only we can find them. The war of ideas, as I read semewhere the other day, is not a mere episode in hostilities : hostilities are an episode in the war of ideas. Although we may be forced to admit that the last war failed not merely to clear the ground for the millennium but even to indicate the general lines upon which any better system of human society could be planned, it does not necessarily follow that it is going to be the same again this time.

For it appears to me that there is at any rate one curious and perhaps significant way in which the last war differs from the present one and I cannot make up my mind whether it implies that we may be struggling at tremendous cost towards a new world order or whether it merely marks one more stage in the collapse of our civilisation. The difference, as I see it, is this. It seemed to a great many of those who fought on the Allied side in the last war that they were fighting to save the world from the sort of aggressive bullying and contempt for good faith that was implicit in the gospel of the mailed fist, as shaken by Kaiser Wilhelm the Second, and exemplified in the overruning of Belgium. No doubt there were an equal number of honest Germans who saw the war as a struggle to save their country from the reality and not the bogey of encirclement. But there were also a lot of people, and quite honest people on both sides, who viewed the whole affair in an entirely different way. It appeared to them to be a squalid fight for vested interests or for imperialism or for international finance ; humble soldiers were at times given some excuse for wondering whether their commanders were not more anxious to get the better of one another than the common enemy. It was in fact undeniable that in all the belligerent countries there were considerable minorities not at all satisfied as to the validity of the cause for which they were being called upon to fight. The peace merely accentuated these differences of opinion.

Now if there had been any widespread confidence in the ultimate power of human reason to overcome emotion and prejudice, it might have been expected that the so-called civilised nations would after much tribulation have found a way out of their difficulties. Some of us, foolishly perhaps, were optimistic enough up to two or three years ago to believe that this would hapen and there was a brief period when it looked as if our hopes would be realised. Unfortunately, however, there was abroad a poison or leaven if you like so to regard it, which has appeared at other epochs of national misery and humiliation to inspire men with a contempt for their own rational processes and a much greater contempt for those of other people. The surrender to authoritarianism, which was the inevitable result, abolished any possibility of the peaceful triumph of reason and by distorting the angle of the approach gave a new aspect to the old issues. The subject of the argument has now become less important than the method by which it is to be settled.

Consequently to-day the position is curiously different from what it was in 1914-18. The amount of convinced opinion on both sides is staggering. From one point of view it is almost disconcerting. There is a degree of unanimity among my own people which makes one almost wonder when one looks back through our history, whether in some way or other we have not abandoned that very freedom of thought of which we claim to be the protagonists. It seems almost incredible, human nature being what it is, that so many millions of people from all classes of society should have come of their own volition to an identical conclusion and be prepared to sacrifice their all for it. The only opposition comes from voices that seem to be crying in the wilderness, from pathetic protestors against the frailty of a moral splendour unattainable by ordinary men, perhaps only attainable by the saint who is also a philosopher. Are we right in assuming

from this unanimity that at long last the issues are clarified and that the battle has been joined between the forces of light and darkness ? Does the present desperate battle differ from its predecessors in being not one between men coveting each other's possessions but between men who view the whole aim and object of life from entirely different angles ? If we may take it that those who are on our side are fighting for another ideal, this contains at least the seed of hope, for it means that we are at last face to face with the question as to what are the essential values.

Of all these values the one most clearly in dispute is the conception of freedom. What is commonly meant by freedom ? We have to face the fact that a by no means negligible section of the human race have come to regard that freedom which we have long held to be the goal of human progress as no more than a mirage, in fact much less valuable than that, for a mirage at least presents the image of something which is accepted as desirable. Is 'freedom' only another word for anarchy or chicanery or the interest of those who are powerful by violence or cunning rather than reason or merit ? Some of you will no doubt be familiar with the argument put forward by Thrasymachus at the beginning of Plato's Republic when being asked to give his definition of justice, he maintained that it was the interest of the stronger. When I was a young man I used some times to think that Thrasymachus had made out rather a good case. I saw so many foolish and feeble persons in positions of authority that I thought that if the strong man were to be given his way, everyone would be the better for it. I wondered why men should want to be free if freedom only led to licence and whether the desire for freedom, where it existed, were no more than an appetite or a sentiment. The fact that men had died for it and were still ready to die for it seemed to be neither here nor there. Men have died for all sorts of strange cause. I felt it ought only to be judged in relation to its practical value as a means of establishing a form of society in which human beings could live together most happily and find their fulfilment both as individuals and as members of a community.

It would be easy to enter into an almost endless disquisition on the nature of freedom but for my purpose to day I shall be satisfied with the very simple definition that it is the right of each one of us to do and think what we like provided that in so doing we do not infringe to right of others to do the same thing. There is a temptation now-a-days to confuse freedom with independence. It is one thing to wish to be free as I have defined the word 'freedom', it is quite another to claim liberty of action without regard to the existence of others. After the experience of the last thirty years I cannot believe that when this war is over the conscience of the world is going to allow nations to be independent any more, if such independence means the right to refuse to co-operate in the maintenance of world peace.

If, however, you are ready to accept my plea that a reasonable freedom is a thing which all sensible men should desire and that beyond all shadow of doubt it is the condition precedent to the members of any human society developing their manhood to its highest potential, what is the best practical way of securing and maintaining it ? You will perhaps hardly be surprised if I reply 'by a soundly conceived and efficiently administered system of public education.' In very recent times we have had quite astounding proofs of the power of education to mould the outlook of a whole generation. Within ten or fifteen years the young people of Italy and Germany have been convinced by educational propaganda that in the doctrines of Fascism and Nazism as expounded by their leaders is to be found the way of world salvation. No doubt the same is true of young Russia and Communism but I have no first-hand knowledge of this as I have of the others. And I say 'convinced' designedly because I do not believe, as some assert, that they have all been coerced by fear of the concentration camp or lured by flag wagging and similar emotional enticements to profess a faith that is repugnant to their reason. Whatever the ultimate reaction may be when their eyes are opened to the practical outcome of this conviction, I think we must take it that a scientifically designed system of propagandist instruction has made most of them genuinely believe in the principles which their teachers wanted them to accept. After all the rational processes as distinct from the behaviour of the great mass of men and women are comparatively simple and it is only fair to realise that Fascism and Nazism, and possibly Communism also in its somewhat different way, have offered to a generation which had lost its faith in contemporary civilisation not merely an intelligible theory but also a practical

way of life based on a wide if superficial appreciation of human psychology. The reformer, and above all the idealist, would do well to remember what a strange and fallible instrument the mind of man is, how it is swayed almost incalculably by desires and emotions and physical urges, those "many and savage masters", as Plato calls them. It is well, therefore, to be suspicious of over-simple explanations of human behaviour. I remember listening nearly ten years ago to a Fascist orator and thinking what an attractive mess of pottage he was offering to the ordinary man. In the first place there was an appeal to that sentiment, strong in many of us, which is called patriotism by those who admire it and nationalism or imperialism by those who do not. Then there was a call to revolt against the uneven distribution of wealth and opportunity in a world teeming with raw materials of comfort and prosperity for all. To those who despise abstractions and want to be up and doing there were offered marching and drilling and drilling, flag waving and drum beating and all the apparatus of pomp and circumstance. This I thought at the time is potent medicine particularly for those who are conscious of a grievance against society, and in the light of what totalitarian propaganda has since achieved I do not think I was wrong.

It is possible, however, to diagnose a disease correctly and then apply the wrong remedy. The totalitarian medicine it seems to me is one of those drugs which may give temporary relief to the sufferer but so far from arresting the progress of the malady accelerate the final collapse.

But if one form of Education has demonstrated its power to lead a whole generation in the wrong direction, is it beyond the wit of man to evolve another form of education which will be not less impelling in the opposite direction ? Can we not so train our boys and girls that they may become passionate lovers of that freedom which I have tried to describe ? I believe we can and I will try in the few minutes left to me to indicate in outline one or two of the things that are essential in this or any other country if there is to be a real education for freedom.

First of all we may learn a little from our adversaries and attach more importance than we have so far done to the question of physical fitness. Children who are ill or even merely conscious of physical discomfort cannot benefit as they should from instruction however skillfully administered. Moreover, childish ailments neglected lead very often to permanent ill-health or unfitness and this distorts and embitters all but the very noblest characters. I wonder how much human misery and how many world calamities have been due to the imperfect working of the human liver. I commend to those of you who are looking for a subject for historical research "The influence of indigestion on the social evolution of man". So I put health first and the first plank in the platform of freedom will be the provision of those things that will help to make and keep children healthy—an efficient school medical service, sufficient and proper nourishment, hygienic school buildings, a scientific system of physical training. All these are attainable things.

Then after the health of the body has been cared for comes the health of the mind, for mind works on body as body on mind. If the peoples of the world are to be brought closer together and made conscious of their common humanity, they must be equipped to use and understand those means of communion and communication which modern science has so lavishly placed at our disposal and which we so lamentably misuse. Everyone therefore must be able to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. Digestion by the mind is not less important than digestion by the body.

Since all foods do not suit all people equally well, we must see to it that our educational diet is sufficiently varied to suit all tastes. From my experience in this country I cannot emphasise too strongly the truism that the curriculum should be to fit the student and not the student the curriculum. Here in brief is my second practicable objective.

But because God has not made all men equal and no systsm of men's devising can alter this—Are we to suppose that God made men two legged and left it to Aristotle to make them rational, as the indignant theologian enquired some men and some women are potentially capable of contributing more to the community than others ? And because no form of human society on any considerable scale, which one can possibly conceive, can do without leaders, it is worth much trouble to see that it gets the right ones. The training of leaders is indeed so important, not merely for the preservation of democracy as we know it but also for the evolution of a still higher form of free association among men, that it is difficult to understand why we are so careless about it and why our higher education is so haphazard. There is a very true saying by Professor

Burnet. "In the long run everything depends on higher education and so it remains true that the chief purpose of education is to form an elite not for its own sake but for that of society." What hope have we of achieving our object unless our higher educational system is most delicately adjusted to meet the varied aptitudes of the students on the one side and of the equally varied needs of society on the other? Even if we may assume that we have opened the doors of our high schools and universities to potential leaders, what is the chance of a remunerative return if we persist in canalising the whole output along one restricted channel? I wonder how much of the brain power of India is being wasted to-day, either because it never gets the chance of being trained at all or because it is trained in the wrong way. For a poor country and for one at a crisis in its fortunes as India is at this moment nothing can be more important than the scientific development of its intellectual resources. This is a condition precedent to the development of its economic resources. In small things as in big the need of the hour is the cultivation of a sense of values. "Proportion, gentlemen, proportion", a famous general constantly reminded his staff.

Why do people in this country attach such an exalted value to examinations and degree? "Socrates", Trevelyan says, "gave no diplomas or degree and would have subjected any disciple who demanded one to a disconcerting catechism on the nature of true knowledge". Whether you regard him as an unserviceable unit in the social machinery, nothing seems to me so pathetic as the educated persons who fails to find his appropriate place in the world. I could bear with complacency all the charges levied against British rule in India except this, that we have foisted false educational gods on the young people of this country. Do not think that I despise examinations and degrees: in the right perspective they are indispensable adjuncts to any educational system; and do not think either that I am one of those people who can find no good in Indian higher education and in the Indian University. I know that in this as in other universities it would not be difficult to find both teachers and students 'enflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue". Such disquiet as I may feel arises, I think, from my high conception of the function of a university. The whole world is starving for great men and a university, because it deals with people who are standing on the threshold and becoming conscious of the meaning of life, is of all parts of the educational structure that in which the seeds of real greatness may best be nurtured towards fruition. I am not suggesting that universities should devote themselves exclusively to the manufacture of statesmen or generals or high officials or captains of industry. This would be as remote from what I conceive to be their real objective as barren scholarship or commercialised learning. There is a greatness which is within the reach of all who are privileged to enter the doors of a university and although its acquisition may bring none of the rewards which the world commonly associates with greatness, it is the one quality above all others requisite in those who will be called upon to restore order out of those and convert the "what is" of to-day into the 'what might be' of tomorrow. I cannot do better than use the words of a modern poet, who was himself a public servant, to describe the quality I have in mind:—

Greatness is the vision not the deed;
Greatness is to be one with the vision and ensue it;
Greatness is suffering, greatness a long need
And distant bugles crying faintly through it
Lights out! Lights out!
Greatness is to hear the bugles and not to doubt.

The Osmania University Convocation

Sir Maurice Gwyer's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by the honourable Sir *Maurice Gwyer*, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.C.L., Chief Justice of India and Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, at the Convocation of the Osmania University held at Hyderabad in 1350 Fasli (1940):—

I have first to express my appreciation and thanks to His Exalted Highness and to the authorities of the University for the honour they have done me in inviting me to deliver this Convocation Address. It is also a very real pleasure to revisit a University whose acquaintance I made for the first time only a few months ago, and to enjoy a further opportunity of watching the progress of a unique experiment. I have seen what the encouragement of an enlightened and far-seeing ruling House, the vision of a Minister, and the genius of an architect have, in felicitous combination, already achieved. I have seen the plans and models of your future development and the immense scale on which these have been conceived. I have however observed no attempt to produce everything at once, but rather an ordered and regular progression, which makes sure of one position before it advances to another. When foundations are thus strongly laid, the success of the superstructure must be assured.

These things would not have been possible without the co-operation of a band of devoted men, teachers and others, inspired by a determination to transmute dreams into reality ; nor is the work already accomplished to be measured by the years of the University's life. I am told of remarkable results achieved in the sphere of physics and mathematics ; and I have myself seen something of the novel researches and experiments in zoology which have attracted the attention of scientists in far distant lands. And if I refer to these two departments only, it is not because I am unaware of the work done in others also.

Observing thus all that has been and is being done and admiring your spacious site, your stately buildings, and the equipment so lavishly provided, I have been led to ponder, as others have often pondered before, upon the true purpose of University, upon the conditions in which it may flourish, and upon the obstacles which may sometimes hinder its free development and usefulness. It is, I think, very important that we should have a clear idea in our minds why we establish Universities at all, and what results we expect to get from them. It has been sometimes said that Universities were established in India solely for ensuring a supply of persons capable of assisting in the day-to-day administration of government. I have read Convocation Addresses delivered in the early days of Universities in India, and I am quite sure that that was not the only motive which inspired those who established them ; but, whether it was or not, Indian Universities have had now for several generations the opportunity of selecting for themselves the lines upon which they shall develop. It must always be a delicate matter for a stranger to express opinions upon the institutions of a country not his own, and I do not, I hope, need to assure you that anything which I may say on this subject is not by way of criticism, but rather for the purpose of provoking thought and discussion ; perhaps indeed I should have hesitated to say anything at all, if a gentleman who is esteemed throughout India no less for his personal qualities than for his services to the cause of education had not in a recent address spoken on the same subject, and with a freedom which, however much I may admire it, I feel that it would scarcely be fitting for me to imitate.

Why then do we establish Universities and what do we expect them to do ? A University is of course, first and foremost, a place of learning, a place where some learn and others teach, but a place also where men are not only taught but learn to teach themselves ; where men not only teach, but by extending the bounds of their own knowledge extend the bounds of knowledge generally. And we seek to extend the bounds of knowledge because we are urged on by an inborn and imperious desire from which we can never escape, which will never allow us to rest so long as there remains one more hypothesis to be verified or disproved. But experience has shown that the ardent pursuit of knowledge, whether we are making ourselves acquainted with what men have already learned in the past, or are prosecuting our researches into territory still unknown, itself strengthens and enlarges all our intellectual faculties, so that young men who have submitted to this form of mental discipline find themselves with the capacity to integrate the knowledge so slowly and painfully acquired, to apprehend the principles which underlie a mass of facts or phenomena and thus to reach out into still further and wider fields. I remember vividly the days of my early study of the law and the effort which was needed for the full intellectual grasp of a legal principle ; but I remember also how that principle, when grasped, lit up at once the "codeless myriad of precedent", so that everything arranged itself into an ordered and rational system. I have read somewhere a letter from a man who had been listening to the argument of one of the greatest lawyers of the 19th century, in which

this phrase occurred : "I stood amazed at the stretch of the human mind." He was, I take it expressing his admiration of the way in which a powerful intelligence was able to achieve a synthesis of related legal principles and to illuminate his whole argument by showing not only their application to the facts of the case but their interaction on one auother. And in the same way the human intellect operating over the whole field of knowledge and not merely, as in the case I have just mentioned, on a single legal argument, is able both to see each branch of learning as a part of the universal whole, and what is of no less importance, the relation of each subject to other subjects in the same branch, just as one branch of learning stands in relation to other branches of every kind.

Thus a University education stands above all things for the disciplining of the intellect. Bodily discipline is also good, and the influence of a healthy organism upon the mind cannot be overrated ; but the body is after all a means and not an end. Technical training is not the business of a University, nor the finding of work for its graduates ; but the disciplined intellect which a University education ought to produce should enable every man to do his work more efficiently and with greater satisfaction to himself in that state of life to which it shall please God to call him, and to derive greater profit from any technical training which he may afterwards undergo. It is the disciplining of the intellect which distinguishes, or should distinguish, a University education from the mere acquisition of knowledge. It ought to produce men possessing what I have called a stretch of mind. Though I am far from suggesting that wisdom is the hallmark of every University graduate yet the training which he has received ought not only to have added to his store of knowledge but have taught him how to use his mind and not only to rely upon his memory. The distinction between knowledge amd wisdom is a familiar one. "Knowledge dwells", says the English poet,

"In heads replete with thoughts of other men,
Wisdom in minds attentive to their own" ;

and he goes on to speak of knowledge as "the mere materials with which wisdom builds". That wise man, Francis Bacon, was describing, with his usual felicity of phrase, the difference between the two, when he wrote : "Expert men can execute and perhaps judge of particulars one by one ; but the general counsels and the plots and marshalling of affairs come best from those that are learned".

A disciplined intellect is a very valuable possession for any man. For the individual it is a key which opens the door into a vast domain, where he can enjoy the society of great and noble men throughout the ages. But I am not thinking so much of the value of a disciplined intellect to the individual man as of the effect which it can produce upon a man's own times and upon his own generation. It is impossible to overstate the influence which can be exerted by an inflexible integrity of mind, by an insistence upon the highest standards, by a determined refusal ever to compromise with truth. All these things a University ought to teach, and it is for that reason that its national importance becomes at once apparent. Is it not the business of a University to provide the best possible education for the fine flower of each successive generation, for the men who stand out from their fellows in intellect and character, to whom their own generation will a few years later look for leadership and guidance ? And therefore no country can dispense with a system of University education, and no country, if it thinks wisely, can afford to allow that education to be anything else but the best. One might sometimes suppose, after reading what has been written by one type of men who hold extreme political doctrines, that the mere choice of a man by the general body of citizens, by the electorate, or whatever you like to call it, is itself enough to confer upon him every gift of nature, so that he becomes as it were in a moment of time endowed with all the wisdom necessary for the conduct of great affairs. The general experience has not seldom been in a contrary sense ; yet if ministers and leaders have to be chosen, the more generally diffused is that discipline of mind which I have ventured to describe as the essence of a University training among those from whom they are selected, the greater the likelihood that they will be fitted for the tasks laid upon them.

A certain habit of mind results from the discipline of which I have spoken, acting upon the wide and general culture which ought to characterize a University education ; and I am by no means sure that of all the functions of a University the production of this may not be the most important. I mean that habit of mind which enables a man to develop and to maintain a sense of proportion, to exercise a sane and balanced judgment, to see a subject or problem not as an isolated phenomenon but in its relation to other subjects and problems. It results from a

fusion of many elements, and it is difficult to say which of them predominates. There is of course the logical or reasoning element, there is the intellectual element, and I would not omit something of the emotional too. I do not say that the emotional element ought to play any part in the sphere of pure learning, unless indeed one should classify the imagination as part of it ; for imagination must always play a large part in any successful piece of research, in the erection of provisional hypotheses, in the search for the underlying and unifying principle which, if once accepted, can explain so much of what has hitherto seemed obscure or inexplicable. But when I speak of a sense of proportion and balanced judgment, I by no means have in mind a completely detached attitude, which regards the affairs of mankind as though they were a mathematical problem. I am thinking rather of that sense of proportion and balanced judgment which is so necessary in the practical affairs of life, and more especially in those men on whom rests the burden and responsibility of guiding and leading their fellow men. It has been well said that to judge wisely we must know how things appear to the unwise ; and it is impossible to guide or influence men without knowing something about human nature and without having some knowledge of, and sympathy with, the outlook of the ordinary man. Nor should I ever think of denying to emotion and sentiment a great part in the affairs of men. They often provide the springs of action which reason and logic have failed to engender ; and therefore a statesman's sense of proportion is, as I have said, not perfect, if he leaves emotion out of account. But though it may furnish springs of action, no great political problems have ever been solved by emotion alone. They can only be solved by hard and persistent intellectual effort ; but that effort, if it is to be fruitful, requires not only the disciplined mind, but also above all things that sense of proportion of which I have spoken.

Whether University education in India at the present day falls short of what University education ought to be, and whether the Universities are filling successfully the place which, as it seems to me, Universities ought to fill in the national life is not for a stranger like myself to say. But I have had for some time past the honour of being associated with one Indian University and I have visited many others ; and perhaps I may without offence be permitted to make one or two observations which occur to me. They will be of a general character and will not, I hope, be taken as having any particular application.

It has seemed to me that boys go to the University often at too young an age. University studies are after all arduous and difficult, and a certain maturity of mind is needed in those who would benefit by them. I have known instances of University students who would almost be regarded as youthful at a school, and there are sometimes to be found among the junior ranks of University students those who are scarcely beyond the standard which one would expect at a good secondary school. Indian friends of my own have remarked on the same thing, and I throw the suggestion out that possibly this may be the reason for a certain instability and immaturity of judgment which from time to time has been observable among students even at some of the more advanced educational institutions in this country. I think that these too low ages probably tend to depress University standards and increase the temptation to assimilate some of them to those of a school. Perhaps the remedy lies in a prior reorganization of secondary education ; but the excessive number of failures (over fifty per cent is not unknown) in the pass examinations seems to show that something is radically wrong.

Then there is often the lack of what I may call an academic atmosphere. I will not attempt to define the true academic atmosphere ; but no one can fail to recognize its presence. It is something wholesome and ennobling, and where it is, nothing mean or sordid can exist ; it has no room for anonymous letters, for intrigues about examinerships and text-books, for suggestions of attempts to influence examiners or of the leakage of papers. It is an indefinable and intangible thing, but nevertheless one of the first importance. It may be found in very humble surroundings, and history has afforded examples of advanced teaching without buildings at all. Certainly the academic atmosphere is not always secured by buildings and equipment, if the spirit is lacking ; and if the spirit is rather that of the school than that of the University, the academic atmosphere is difficult to secure. I have myself on one or two occasions ventured, greatly daring, to express a doubt whether it is to be secured by a multitude of lectures ; and I confess that I would rather see young men taught to teach themselves than having instruction imparted to them in the mass. A lecture is no substitute for

the intelligent study of authoritative work ; and I attach very much greater importance to personal contact between teacher and student than to the mass contact of the lecture-room. The lecture system, as I have seen it sometimes in operation, is often more reminiscent of a school than of a University.

Next I would ask the question whether the position accorded to teachers in Indian Universities is all that it ought to be. The teacher has for thousands of years been a revered figure in this country, but I am not sure whether the reverence due to, and I think often felt for, his vocation is always evidenced nowadays in the conditions in which that vocation is carried on. It would be wrong to generalize on this subject, certainly on the basis of some of the instances which have come to my notice. Let me rather say what conditions teachers ought in my view to have, than criticize those cases in which they have not been fulfilled. In the first place I think that teachers ought to have reasonable security of tenure. They ought also to have reasonable salaries ; I do not mean excessive salaries, but at least salaries which would mark the value of the work which they do, which would enable those who receive them to live a life without domestic care or anxiety, and which would give them opportunities for leisure and self-improvement. They ought to have reasonable prospects of a career. And lastly, they ought not to be, as they only too often are, overworked. What is to be said of teachers who have to deliver eighteen to twenty-four lectures a week, or who have to provide as many as 27 different periods of teaching in the week ? Such cases have come to my notice ; and I ask what merit can there be in lectures so delivered and what benefit can any student get from them. How can a man who has to deliver lectures on this scale hope to maintain any personal contact with his students ? What leisure has he left for study, and how can he be expected to keep his mind fresh and supple ? I should like to see conditions and minimum salary scales for teachers in different grades agreed by all the Universities throughout India, and a firm determination on the part of teachers themselves to have nothing to do with any institution which refused to concede the conditions or salaries so agreed. Here I recognize that financial considerations will obtrude themselves ; but how can education flourish if teachers feel themselves unjustly treated ? There can be no academic atmosphere where there is injustice. Teachers are human beings, not machines. They must have the opportunity of living their own lives and of living richer lives, and I have been moved with indignation to see advantage sometimes taken of their economic position, and their knowledge and skill made the subject of the higgling and huckstering of the market-place. I should myself like to see them enjoying a much greater degree of automomy and freedom ; and I am convinced that the status accorded to the teacher is in the last analysis the measure of a University.

A University stimulates and enriches the national life of a country ; but just as men, not walls, make a city, so it is the teachers who make a University. And it is for that reason that I have spoken on the subject longer than I had meant to do ; but it is one very near to my heart. Nor would I have it thought that what I described is the normal state of things. I am sure that it is not ; but nevertheless it exists and it ought to exist no more.

I have sometimes wondered too whether the University curriculum is conceived on sufficiently broad lines for the training of future citizens. It is they who will influence the events of tomorrow ; it is they who will help to form public opinion and to make new ideas familiar to the mass of the people. They will best achieve this, not by any assumption of superiority (I should be sorry indeed if they took no more than that away from their University), but by example rather than precept and by the intellectual and moral integrity of their own lives. They will have had their mental discipline, but I think it necessary that they should have had their imaginations stirred also ; and I know of no better instrument for this purpose than the study of history. I hope that I shall not be understood as denying the existence of historical teaching in India. I am well aware of the work which is being done in the way of historical research, the material for which is ample indeed ; and the project now being undertaken, I think at Benares, for a co-operative history of India on a large scale has given both pleasure and satisfaction to those who hold historical knowledge to be the soundest basis for political judgment. But the one is for specialists, the other is for those of maturer years. I should like to see young men made better acquainted with the grand sweep of history and the philosophy which underlies it, with the story of great movements and of great causes, of the sublime heights to which the soul of man can rise. Let them read the biographies of great men, in

which more than anywhere else, as an English Prime Minister of the last century once said, history ought to be studied. No two persons will take the same view of historical events and therefore the purely objective history has yet to be written, nor perhaps if it were would it be readable ; but let the student at least avoid those writers who distort history in the interests of particular doctrines or theories. History, like other branches of learning, should be the handmaid of truth ; and of all the abominations of a dictatorship none is worse than the prostitution of history in order to corrupt or poison the minds of the young.

History is concerned with the past, and I have already spoken of the future ; what of the present ? Can it be said that the Universities are at this moment playing their full part in the formation of public opinion on all the complex problems with which India is now faced ? When I think of the immense influence which Universities have exercised in other countries at times of national crisis, in stimulating research, in forming and guiding public opinion, I cannot but regret that the chief contribution of Indian Universities towards a solution of the present difficulties is too often to be found in sporadic and irrational action by some of their more junior members.

The Indian student of political science and political institutions has indeed at this moment one of the richest fields in which to labour that could possibly be conceived. Let me pause for a moment to sketch for you some of the constitutional problems which seem to me to present themselves to him. I will endeavour to make this presentation as objective as possible, and you will not, I hope, harbour any suspicion that I am going to suggest solutions for any of them. But if there is one way in which a difficult problem will never be solved, it is by denying that it exists ; and the first essential task is to face facts and to see exactly what the problems are which are calling for a solution.

Premising that any new constitution, if it is to have a chance of life, must be generally and on the whole acceptable to the people who are going to live under it, our imaginary student would, I suppose, begin with the assumption that his future government must be responsive in some way to public opinion, and at the same time be strong enough to keep the peace at home and to defend itself against foreign aggression. He will see that this has been secured in my own country by a system known as parliamentary government, in which after many struggles executive and legislature have come to recognize their respective spheres and by not trespassing outside them have solved the very difficult problem of combining a strong and efficient executive with a strong and efficient legislature. He will think perhaps that because different conditions exist in India that system with all its merits may not necessarily be effective there ; and certainly I have seen it criticised and repudiated by persons who are entitled to speak for substantial bodies of Indian opinion, though it is not for me to say whether those criticisms are right or wrong. But clearly if the system is not generally acceptable (and by "generally acceptable" I mean what I say, not merely acceptable to a majority ascertained by counting heads), then it may become necessary to seek an alternative, and our student of political science could spend his time in no better way than by seeking to discover a satisfactory solution to a problem which has hitherto baffled political thinkers. That problem, assuming that an alternative solution has to be sought, is to secure an executive responsive to public opinion, but not necessarily responsible to a party majority in a legislature, in the sense that it can be ejected from office by that majority at any moment. Perhaps this will involve a complete re-examination of what the relations between government and legislature so situated ought to be ; and one very important question in this connection will centre on the voting of the budget. Another aspect of the problem to which our student might usefully devote some attention is the method by which the executive is to be selected and the possibility of what may be called statutory coalition governments.

Perhaps our imaginary student of political science may at this point despair of reaching a solution at all on the lines which I have mentioned, and he may then turn his researches in another direction. It may have occurred to him, as I am told it has occurred to some political thinkers in India, that a solution might be found which, while preserving the unity of India, envisaged a re-arrangement, perharps a re-grouping, of governments and areas. In that event, a whole series of entirely new political problems would require to be examined on their own merits, whatever those may be. I express no opinion on any of these matters ; I only say that the student of political science ought to be able to study them all with an impartial and and unbiassed mind.

Then a third group of most important problems presents itself, those connected with the Indian States. Standing as I do on the soil of the greatest of all the Indian States, I will do no more than refer to this subject; but our student will find here a number of problems which will require for their solution his highest gifts of intelligence, sympathy and imagination.

Lastly, our student, if (which God forbid) he fails to discover a solution in any of these directions, may have to bring himself face to face with a possibility from which I am sure he will have done his best to avert his eyes, that is to say, the danger of open conflict. I would not dare to mention such a contingency, if men whose opinions carry weight had not spoken, I had almost said lightheartedly, of civil war. I have heard mention of a non-violent civil war ; but I ask myself whether that dire calamity can ever in the nature of things be non-violent. Can fraternal strife avoid being the bitterest and the most irreconcilable of all strife, just because it is strife between brothers ? Our student will remember the history of India during the eighteenth century and the suffering and misery of that dreadful period. He will have before his eyes the history of China, that gallant and undefeated country, during the last thirty years. He will see how an industrious and peace-loving people, united and ardently desiring union, have since their revolution suffered from an almost perpetual civil war, from famine and pestilence, and from foreign aggression, because when framing their new constitution they forgot the vital necessity for securing first of all a strong and powerful central government; and if they have such a government now, it is only because it has been forced upon them, in self-defence against invasion, by a marauding and unscrupulous neighbour.

You will agree, I think, that our student will find his time fully occupied when he considers all these things ; but is it chimerical to believe that the intellectual forces of Indian Universities might, by a concerted and concentrated effort, free from passion or bias, not only enlighten and inform public opinion upon them but suggest the true direction in which these many difficult problems may be solved ? They will in that event earn the gratitude of their countrymen, and, I dare to add, of the whole civilized world.

If what I have just been saying may seem to some irrelevant to the main theme of this Address, I can only assure them that I am not conscious that it is so. It is because, being associated with an Indian University myself, I am anxious to see the Universities taking a more useful and prominent part in Indian public life that I have been led to suggest directions in which their activities would find ample scope. I am not advocating that they should plunge into party politics ; far from it ; but rather that they should give an impulse to political thought, based upon historical knowledge, instructed sympathy, and that sense of proportion which I have ventured to single out as the most valuable gift which a University can confer upon its children. It should be the aim of a University so to train up younger students that they may become men worthy to undertake such tasks.

As I grow old, I find my heart going out more and more towards the young ; perhaps because they recall so much of one's own early self, its follies as well as its ambitions. The young merit the best we can give them, but I am not sure whether at the present day they are receiving it. I would infinitely prefer to see a system which aimed rather at producing in students a sturdy independence of thought and a desire to study politics before entering them. But for what seem to me the defects of the present system, it is impossible at least to hold the young men themselves responsible, and even in their less defensible moments I cannot withhold from them a considerable measure of sympathy. To those young men who stand here today on the threshold of their careers, I wish success and prosperity, and, in an old phrase, a right judgment in all things. Those that come after them I would urge to remember that they have all their lives before them and that these years of study and preparation are a privilege not to be lightly treated : and that if it be true, as I believe it is, that though all men may start equal, yet the best man has the most say in the end, the best is he who has wasted least of the opportunities which good fortune has given him. May none of you have cause to look upon his University career save with pleasure and satisfaction.

Let me say one word more. As I passed through your gracious and peaceful city, as I looked upon the gardens and lawns of your University, I could not but contrast them with my own city at this moment, wounded and scarred, but inhabited still by a clear-eyed, confident and intrepid people, whose heads are bloody but still unbowed. And then I took comfort from this reflection, that the

citadels of thought are not the work of men's hands and that no assaults by a savage and relentless enemy are able to destroy them, until the human mind is itself destroyed. Those citadels are to be found in this University and in all Universities in India and elsewhere ; and where Universities have been destroyed by a brutal conqueror, there still remains the citadel of man's unconquerable mind. The destruction or suppression of so many of the great Universities of Europe will surely inspire the Universities of India with a new determination to preserve and maintain that freedom of thought for which a University above all stands, and which is mankind's only hope for the future.

I pary that the Osmania University, with the ideals which it has set before it and with its great resources, with the enterprise of youth joined to the wisdom of an ancient culture, may come true all the dreams of those who founded it ; and that its learning and magnificence may inspire the reverence and wonder of generations still to come in as ample measure as we today revere and wonder at the craftsmanship and beauty of Ellora and Ajanta, those twin glories of this State. And so, with all my thanks, I bid you farewell.